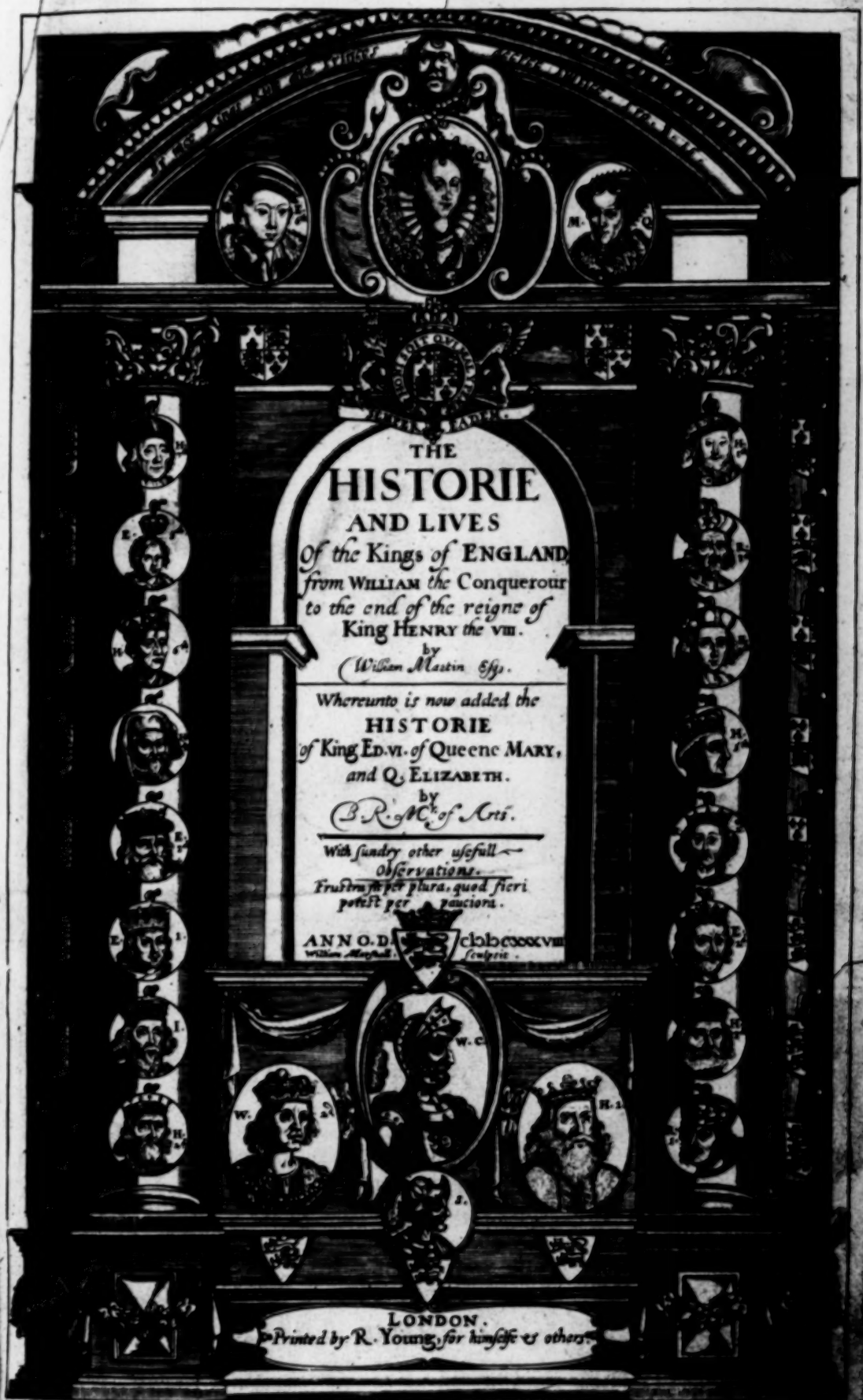

THE
HISTORIE
AND LIVES
Of the Kings of ENGLAND
from WILLIAM the Conquerour
to the end of the reigne of
King HENRY the VIII.
by
William Martin Esqr.

Whereunto is now added the
HISTORIE
of King ED. VI. of Queene MARY,
and Q. ELIZABETH.
by
B. R. M.r of Artes.

With sundry other usefull
Observations.
Frustra fit per plura, quod fieri
potest per pauciora.

ANNO D[illegible] MDCXXXVIII

William Marshall sculpsit.

LONDON.
Printed by R. Young, for himselfe & others.

TO THE GENTRIE OF ENGLAND.

Worthy Gentlemen (omitting all elaborated Eloquence, which oftentimes is used as a varnish to couer unprofitable labours; As cunning Goldsmiths do enrich their baseſt Silver, when they gild it with their pureſt Gold) I purpoſe to render to you an accompt of two reaſons, which induced me to take this paine, and to publiſh this worke.

1. *It is common among Phyſitians, that though profound learning, and frequent experience, haue furniſhed them with abundant skill in their honourable profeſſion, yet they doe ſtill ſtriue to make their knowledge more perfect, in the diſcovery of the imperfections of other mens bodies, than of their owne: In like ſort it is the common cuſtome of our times, that many hopefull Gentlemen (whom nature and Arts haue beautified with the rich treaſures of their bountie) doe endeuour*

to bee more exact and refined in knowing the Religion, Lawes, Government, Manners, Strength, and Sites of forraigne Countries, than of that Kingdome wherein themſelves were borne.

But as that man is wiſe in vaine, who is not wiſe unto himſelfe, ſo is it a ſimple grace (nay to ſpeake plainly it is a foule diſgrace) to a Gentleman, eſpecially to ſuch a one as hath or doth intend to ſpend much time abroad, to know the faſhions of forraigne Nations, to bee ignorant in the State of his owne Countrey at home. The hiſtorie of which affordeth as much variety and profitable inſtruction, to captivate the Readers delight in the peruſall, as the faireſt Pictures doe contentment, when with their artificiall beauties they do allure mens eyes to looke and to gaze upon them.

To this end therefore, that henceforth ſuch worthy Gentlemen as are purpoſed in long travelling to enlarge their experience, by the view of forraigne Countries, may firſt bee furniſhed with a convenient knowledge of their owne, I undertooke this labour, and doe preſent it unto you, with this my firſt reaſon which induced mee thereunto.

2. *The ſecond reaſon of my ſo doing, ſpringeth out of mine owne conceit; which (as I conjecture) deceives me not. For in regard that the Hiſtories of this kingdome are frequently interrupted, yea blemiſhed by too too many intervening occurrences, and by a multitude of extravagant obſervations (which doe much differ from the true method and nature of a well digeſted and compoſed Chronicle; and thereby doe extend it into a needleſſe and unprofitable length) I am reſolved that*

the

the Readers capacity to obſerve and to remember is much weakned thereby: and that many young Gentlemen, who do eagerly ſtrive to attain to much knowledge in a ſhort time, doe rather bend their ſtudies and their courſes to read over the more narrowly contracted Hiſtories of other countries, than the voluminous diſcourſes of their owne.

Wherefore to inlighten their knowledge much, by reading this little, I have thruſt forth into the World this ſhort Hiſtorie, of the reignes, deeds, and actions of twenty of our Engliſh Kings; which I will neither praiſe, leſt I wrong it by mine owne commendation; nor diſpraiſe, leſt you beleeving mee on my word, ſhould thinke your time ill ſpent to read what I have written.

I know that ſuch as are worthily deſcended, or who by learning are made worthy, will not onely winke at ſome imperfections, becauſe ſome knowledge is to bee gained by the reſt; but will alſo take in good part the preſentment of a ſmall gift, if it bee delivered with a friendly hand. To ſuch onely, and to none other (which are you) doe I dedicate theſe my labours; being confidently aſſured, that they cannot want their expected reward, which is nothing but your kind acceptance, and gracefull love.

Fare you well. From my houſe in *Exeter* the twentieth day of *January*, 1615.

Your loving friend,

VVILLIAM MARTIN.

TO MY MOST DEARE FATHER
Father WILLIAM MARTYN *Esquire.*

THough my unpractis'd Muſe might well conceale
Her ſelfe from th'eye-reach of a publike view,
Yet my devoted heart, ſtir'd on with zeale,
And dutie (which are owing both to you)
Feares not the ſpleene of Criticks, but ſhall beare,
Their heavieſt cenſures; *True love orecomes feare.*

I will not ſpeake of your unwearied paine
In gathering and diſpoſing, 'tis a treaſure
Well worth the Readers paines, when he may gaine,
With little reading profit mixt with pleaſure.
Theſe ruder lines your labours little need,
To winthe Readers liking, Let him read.

NICHOLAS MARTYN.

To my moſt loved and deareſt Father
WILLIAM MARTYN *Eſquire.*

I Could, deare Sir, have ſpoke with farre more eaſe,
In copious Proſe than inſtrict Verſe your praiſe,
But that I knew your fame would farre out-goe
All *foot-leſſe* Proſe; my Verſe (not full ſo ſlow,
Having the helpe of *feet*) ſerves thus farre forth,
Though not to uſher, yet t'attend your worth.
You need not either to inlarge your fame,
The Booke it ſelfe doth *Chronicle* the ſame.

WILLIAM MARTYN.

To my moſt dearly loved Father
WILLIAM MARTYN *Eſquire.*

WHilſt others ſend you lines trickt out with Art,
My infant yeares ſhall onely ſend mine heart:
Looke for no greater gift from ſo ſmall ſtore,
He that gives all he has can give no more.

EDWARD MARTYN.

TO MY DEARLY HONOURED FATHER-IN-LAVV *VVILLIAM MARTYN* Esquire.

A Publike good must quell your private feare.
The profit of a Writers industry,
Should be imparted to a generall eare;
For *good is bettered by communitie.*
Nor may *detraction*, or the injury
Of some mens censures dash what he doth write:
If but what onely pleaseth all mens sight,
No work should come to light, no worke should come to light.

What though you gather'd have the severall flowr's
Of other Bookes into this Historie?
Distill'd to Spirit by you, they're wholly yours:
So honey suckt from the variety
Of flow'rs, is yet the honey of the Bee.
And though in these dayes *Miracles* are fled,
Yet this shall of your *Chronicle* be read,
It brings back time that's past, and gives life to the dead.

Peter Bevys.

The Nobilitie ranked in their order.

THe Kings moſt excellent Majeſtie.
The Prince.
The Duke of Yorke.
The Duke of Buckingham.
Marqueſſe of Wincheſter.

Earles.

EArle of Arundell and Surrey.
Earle of Oxford.
Earle of Northumberland.
Earle of Shrewesbury.
Earle of Kent.
Earle of Darby.
Earle of Worceſter.
Earle of Rutland.
Earle of Cumberland.
Earle of Suſſex.
Earle of Huntington.
Earle of Bath.
Earle of Southampton.
Earle of Bedford.
Earle of Pembroke and Mountgomery.
Earle of Hartford.
Earle of Eſſex.
Earle of Lincolne.
Earle of Nottingham.
Earle of Suffolke.
Earle of Dorſet.
Earle of Salisbury.
Earle of Exeter.
Earle of Sommerſet.
Earle of Bridgewater.
Earle of Leiceſter.
Earle of Northampton.
Earle of Warwicke.
Earle of Devonſhire.
Earle of Cambridge.
Earle of March.
Earle of Carlile.
Earle of Denbigh.
Earle of Briſtoll.
Earle of Middleſex.
Earle of Angleſey.
Earle of Holland.
Earle of Clare.
Earle of Bullingbroke.
Earle of Weſtmorland.
Earle of Mancheſter.
Earle of Barkeſhire.
Earle of Cleveland.
Earle of Mulgrave.
Earle of Danby.
Earle of Monmouth.
Earle of Marleborough.
Earle Rivers.
Earle of Lindſey.
Earle of Newcaſtle.
Earle of Dover.
Earle of Peterborough.
Earle of Standford.
Earle of Winchelſey.
Earle of Kingſton.
Earle of Carnarvan.
Earle of Newport.
Earle of Cheſterfield.
Earle of Thanet.
Earle of St. Albans.
Earle of Portland.

Viſcounts.

VIſcount Mountague.
Viſcount Purbacke.
Viſcount Say and Seale.
Viſcount Wimbleton.
Viſcount Savage.
Viſcount Conway.
Viſcount Banning.
Viſcount Camden.
Viſcount Wentworth.

Barons.

LOrd Aburgavenny.
Lord Awdly.
Lord Delaware.
Lord Barkley.
Lord Motley.

Lord

Lord Dacres.
Lord Dudley.
Lord Sturton.
Lord Vaux.
Lord Windsor.
Lord Cromwell.
Lord Eure.
Lord Wharton.
Lord Willoughby of Parham.
Lord Paget.
Lord North.
Lord Shandos.
Lord Peter.
Lord Gerrard.
Lord Spencer.
Lord Stanhope.
Lord Arundell of Warder.
Lord Tenham.
Lord Brooke.
Lord Mountague.
Lord Grey of Warke.
Lord Deincourt.
Lord Roberts.
Lord Craven.
Lord Fawconbridge.
Lord Lovelace.
Lord Pawlet.
Lord Harvey.
Lord Brudenell.
Lord Mainard.
Lord Coventrey.
Lord Howard of Escrick.
Lord Goring.
Lord Mohun.
Lord Savill.
Lord Dunsmore.
Lord Powis.
Lord Herbert of Cherbury.
Lord Cottington.

Bisho-

Bishopricks.	Counties subject to their severall Jurisdictions.	Parishes in each severall Bishopricke.
Canterbury Arch. Bish.	Kent.	257
Rochester.		98
London.	Essex, Middlesex, Hertfordshire part.	623
Lincolne.	Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Huntingtonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire part,	1255
Chichester.	Hertfordshire part, Sussex.	250
Winchester.	Hamshire, Surrey, Wight Isle, Gernsey Isle, Jersey Isle.	362
Salisbury.	Wiltshire, Barkshire.	248
Exeter.	Devon, Cornwall, Exeter Citie.	623
Bath and Wells.	Somerset.	388
Gloucester.	Gloucestershire.	267
Worcester.	Worcestershire, Warwickshire part.	241
Lichfield and *Coventry.*	Warwickshire part, Staffordshire, Darbyshire, Shropshire part.	557

Hereford.

Biſhopricks.	Counties ſubject to their ſeverall Juriſdictions.	Pariſhes in each ſeverall Biſhopricke.
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Ely.	Cambridgeſhire, Ely Iſle.	141
Norwich.	Northfolke, Suffolke.	1121
Oxford.	Oxfordſhire.	195
Peterborough.	Northamptonſhire, Rutlandſhire.	293
Briſtow.	Dorſetſhire, Briſtow.	236
Landaffe.	Glamorganſhire, Monmouthſhire, Brecknockſhire, Radnorſhire.	177
S. David.	Pembrokeſhire, Caermardenſhire.	308
Bangor.	Caernervonſhire, Angleſey Iſle, Merioneth, Denbighſhire part.	107
S. Aſſaph.	Denbighſhire part, Flintſhire part.	121

Yorke

Biſhopricks.	*Counties ſubject to their ſeverall Juriſdictions.*	*Pariſhes in each ſeverall Biſhopricke.*

Yorke Province.

Yorke Archbiſh.	Yorkeſhire, Nottinghamſhire.	581
Cheſter.	Cheſhire. Richmondſhire, Cumberland part, Lancaſhire, Flintſhire part.	256
Carlile.	Cumberlandſhire part, Weſtmorland.	93
Durham.	Durham, Northumberland, Man Iſle.	135

Biſhopricks in England and Wales 26.	Shires in England and in Wales 63.	Pariſhes in England and in Wales 8083.

At the time of the firſt diſſolving of Religious Houſes in England there were

Archbiſhoprickes and Biſhoprickes,	21
Deanries,	11
Arch-deaconries,	60
Dignities and Prebends in Cathed. Churches,	364
Benefices,	8803
Religious Houſes,	65
Hoſpitals,	110
Colledges,	96
Chauntries and free Chappels,	2374
Their rates were *per annum*,	320180

A Table

A Table containing the proviſions of the *Spaniſh Armado* againſt England, *in Anno Domini* 1588. *& Anno* Eliz. Reg. 30.

Leaders	Provinces ayding.	Galliaſſes and gallions	Ships and Hulkes.	Pinaces and Carvels	Great Ordnance.	Saylors	Souldiers.	Galley-ſlaves.
D. Medina Sidonia.	*Portugal.*	10	2		300	1300	3300	
Diego de Mandrana.	*Portugal.*	4			20	360		868
Joh. Martins de Richaldes.	*Biſcai.*	10		4	250	700	2000	
Michael de Oquendo.	*Guipuſco.*	10		4	310	700	2000	
Pedro de Valdez.	*Andoluzia.*	10		1	280	800	2400	
Martin de Vertendona.	*Italy.*	10			310	800	2000	
Diego Floris de Valdez.	*Caſtile.*	14		2	380	1700	2400	
John Lopez de Medina.	*Medina.*		23		400	700	3200	
Hugo de Moncada.	*Naples.*	4			200	460	870	1200
Antonio Buccado.	*Mendoza.*		22		193	574	488	

Shires in England.

Barkeſhire.
Bedfordſhire.
Buckinghamſhire.
Cambridgeſhire.
Cheſhire.
Cornwall.
Cumberlandſhire.
Darbyſhire.
Devonſhire.
Dorſetſhire.
Durham B.
Eſſex.
Glouceſter.
Hampſhire.
Herefordſhire.
Hertfordſhire.
Huntingtonſhire.
Kent.
Lancaſter.
Leiceſterſhire.
Lincolnſhire.
Middleſex.
Northamptonſhire.
Northfolke.
Northumberland.
Nottinghamſhire.
Oxfordſhire.
Rutlandſhire.
Shropſhire.
Somerſetſhire.
Staffordſhire.
Suffolke.
Surrey.
Suſſex.
Warwicke.
Weſtmerland.
Wiltſhire.
Worceſterſhire.
Yorkeſhire.

Shires in Wales.

Angleſey.
Brecknocke.
Carmarden.
Carnarvon.
Cardigan.
Denbigh.
Flint.
Glamorgan.
Merioneth.
Monmouth.
Mountgomery.
Pembroke.
Radnor.

A Table

A Table containing the principall matters treated of in the Hiſtorie of ENGLAND, from the beginning of *William* the Conquerour, to the end of the reigne of Queene ELISABETH.

King VVILLIAM the Conquerour.

After the death of king Edward, Harold *(contrarie to his promiſe and oath) refuſeth to give the poſſeſſion of the Crowne and kingdome of England to* William, *the ſeventh Duke of the Normans: Wherefore (to prevent the effuſion of much bloud) the Duke challenged him to a ſingle combate, which he refuſed: whereupon the Duke landeth, and (being aſſiſted by the Natives of this Countrie) he obtaineth the victorie, and claimed this Crowne by conqueſt.* Pag. 2

He is in danger, as he travelleth towards Dover, and makes his peace. 3

His policies to ſuppreſſe the Engliſh Nation, and his cruelties towards them. 3,4,5

He taxeth them beyond meaſure: they rebell twice, and are twice ſubdued. 5

He pluckes down Churches, Religious houſes, and Townes (for his pleaſure in hunting) to make the New Forreſt; and enacteth tyrannicall Lawes, for the preſerving of his Game. 6

His eldeſt ſonne Robert Curthois *rebelleth, and puts him to the worſt in Normandie, but is reconciled.* ibid.

He warreth in France ſucceſſefully. ibid.

He falleth ſick, and repenteth of his crueltie to the Engliſh Nation, and dyeth, but his body can hardly obtaine a place to be buried in. ibid.

King VVILLIAM RUFUS.

His cruelties to the Engliſh Nation. 9

He flattereth them in his diſtreſſe; but requiteth them unthankfully when his turne is ſerved. 10

The welſhmen doe rebell. 11

His valour. 12

He pilleth and polleth the Church. 13

He yeeldeth, when the Pope peremptorily commandeth. ibid.

He is fortunate in his warres in Normandie. ibid.

In the New-Forreſt, which his fa-

there had made, by the ruine of many Churches, religious houses, & towns. 14

He was slaine, being mistaken for a Deere, as he hunted ibid.

King HENRIE the First.

HIs policices and Lawes. 17

He yeeldeth to the Pope, and restoreth Church livings, dignities, and liberties; not for conscience sake, but because Robert his eldest brother troubled him for his Crowne. ibid.

He invadeth Normandie, and prevaileth; and plucketh out his brothers eyes. 19

Hee curbeth and ransacketh the Church and Church-men, and makes them pay for enjoying of wives, whether they have wives or no. ibid.

Anselme and Thurstone appeale against him to the Pope, and he yeeldeth. ibid.

He is patient and very thankefull. 21

He is lascivious, he surfeiteth, and then dyeth. 22

King STEPHEN.

HE usurpeth the right of Mawld the Empresse, and breaketh his oath. 25

He is very liberall. ibid.

He refuseth and releaseth the paiment of Dane-gilt, and of all other taxes: he honoureth the Clergie, and gives unto them large restitution, and exempteth all Clergie men from the authoritie of the Temporall Magistrate. 26

Mawld the Empresse invadeth and taketh him prisoner: hee is enlarged for the Duke of Gloceſter. The Empresse is besieged in Oxford, and escapeth by a policie in the snow. ibid.

Hee is againe invaded by Henrie Short-Mantell, the sonne of Mawld the Empresse: Prince Eustace his sonne is drowned. 27

They two compound, and King Stephen dyeth. 27,28

King HENRIE the Second.

HIs great courage: 29

He refineth the Lawes, and deviseth the circuits, in which Nisi prius, and other law-causes are decided. 30

Hee destroyeth Castles to prevent Rebellions. ibid.

Hee reseiseth things given by his Predecessors. ibid.

He exerciseth his people in martiall Discipline in times of peace. 31

He conquereth Ireland. ibid.

His children are rebellious, and punished by God. ibid.

His Riches. 32

His amorous affections to Rosamond. ibid.

He is vexed by Thomas Becket, who is slaine, &c. 32,33,34

Hee is accursed. 35

Hee doth Penance: hee is whipt; And dyeth. ibid.

King RICHARD the First.

FOr his valour he is termed Cœur de Lion. 38

His pitty and compassion to his Mother, and to distressed prisoners. ibid.

His bountie. ibid.

He

Hee warreth gloriously in the holy Land. ibid.
He winneth Cyprus twice. 39
Jarres arise betwixt him, & the French King, and Leopold *Archduke of Austria, whereupon they depart, and doe leave him.* ibid.
He is stiled King of Jerusalem. 40
By swimming hee saveth his life, but is taken prisoner: ransometh himselfe, and returneth into Normandie from the holy Land: he warreth successefully against the French King in his owne Country, and returneth into England. 41
To pay his ransome, and to relieve his wants, hee ransacketh religious houses, and receiveth such things as formerly he sold to get money. 42
He besiegeth the Castle of Chalons, and is revengefully wounded to death: he taketh the Castle, pardons the offendor, slaies all the rest, and then he dyeth. ibid.

King JOHN.

PHilip *the French King raiseth against him* Arthur Plantagenet, *who demands the Crowne.* 44
The King goeth twice into Normandie, and puts the Frenchmen to flight. 45
He loseth Normandie. ibid.
His quarrell and unspeakable troubles with the Pope. 46
He forbiddeth all appeales to Rome. ibid.
Foure of his owne Bishops doe interdict him, and hee seiseth upon their lands and goods: he is accursed, and his kingdome is by the Pope given to Philip *the French King: he taketh an oath of Allegeance of his subjects. He invadeth the Scots, and they doe submit themselves.* 46,47
Philip *of France provideth to invade him, but loseth three hundred ships.* 47
King John (*without the knowledge of his Nobilitie or Councell*) *submitteth himself on his knees to* Pandolphus, *the Popes Legate, and resigneth to him (to the Popes use) his kingdome and his Crowne, and after a few dayes receives it as a gift.* 47,48
His people do despise and forsake him. ib.
Lewis *the Dolphin (in his fathers right, by reason of the Popes donation) invadeth England. The Pope accurseth him and his father, and protecteth king* John *and his kingdome: hee also accurseth such of the Nobilitie of England as sided with the French, by reason whereof the Commons robbe, rifle, and forage, both their goods and lands. Miserie makes them to submit themselves.* ibid.
The Dolphin is expelled. ibid.
The King hath peace, and is poisoned by a Monke. 49

King HENRIE the third.

LEwis *the Dolphin disturbs him in England: The French attempt to invade, but are overthrowne at Sea.* 52
They are accursed, absolved, and do leave this kingdome: The king restoreth the ancient Lawes. 52,53
Hee warreth in Anjou, and elsewhere. 53
And concludeth a Truce. ibid.
His Barons and hee doe jarre, but are reconciled. 54
The league with France is broken. ibid.
King Henrie *hath the worst in the new warres.* 55
He warreth with his Barons. ibid.
Infanum Parliamentum. ibid.
The commission of the twelve Peeres. ibid.
It is confirmed, wherefore the king saileth into France. ibid.
He releaseth his Title and his Right in Normandie, and is confirmed Duke of Guyan. 57
He procureth two Bulls from the Pope; The Lord chiefe Justice is displaced. ibid.
He publisheth the Popes Bulls against the twelve Peeres; and the Londoners take an oath

Oath to aſsiſt him. ibid.
The Barons raiſe an Armie, and doe write unto the king, and he anſwereth them. 58
The Barons Armie is joyfully received into London. ibid.
The controverſie is referred to the French King, who is accuſed to be partiall. 59
The Barons fight with the Prince, and doe overthrow him. ibid.
Richard *King of the Romans (being wronged) is angrie.* 60
The battell of Lewis, *in which the Barons tooke the two kings and Prince* Edward *priſoners, and more than twenty thouſand men were ſlaine.* 60,61
An agreement is made, the Prince is one of the Hoſtages: The commiſsion given to the 12. Peeres is confirmed, and the Hoſtages are enlarged. 61
A diſcord betwixt the Earles of Leiceſter and Gloceſter, ibid.
Occaſioned the overthrow of the Barons in the battell of Everſham. ibid.
The Barons are executed. ibid.
The Commiſsion of the twelve Peeres is by Parliament diſſolved. And the king (for revenge) reſolved to have burnt the Citie of London, 61,62
But it is redeemed by ſute, and by money. 63
The Earle of Gloceſter, with the baſe offſcum of London, doe much miſchiefe: but by the Prince his entreatie all is pardoned. ibid.
The Earle of Gloceſter is by the king furniſhed to goe a warfare in the holy land. He gives it over, and Prince Edward *undertaketh it: he is trecherouſly wounded, but recovereth: The king dyeth, and hee returneth with much honour into England.* 63,64

King EDWARD the Firſt.

THE French king feareth his valour, and therefore inviteth Lluellen *to rebell againſt him in Wales,* 66
By promiſes, that hee ſhall marrie with the Ladie Eleanor, *the baniſhed daughter of the baniſhed Earle of Leiceſter, who for ſuccour was his gueſt.* ibid.
The king taketh her in her paſſage toward Wales; the king marcheth toward Lluellens *Armie, he ſubmitteth himſelfe, ſweareth to bee loyall, and is wived.* 67
He rebelleth againe, and he and his brother are both beheaded. ibid.
King Edward *is choſen (as ſoveraigne Lord) to decide the controverſie and debate touching the right to the Crowne of Scotland, which many Competitors doe ſtrive for.* 67
That kingdome is ſurrendred into his hand; and he decides the doubt, conferres the kingdome upon John Bayliol. 67,68
Hee ſtrippeth the Church and Churchmen, and is diſliked of them, eſpecially for enacting of the Statute againſt Mortmaine. 68
John Bayliol *(being ungratefull) invadeth England: but King* Edward *winnes from him the Caſtle and towne of Barwicke, and ſlayeth 25000. of his men.* 69
He ſurrendreth Scotland, and king Edward *governes it by a Lievtenant, and placeth all Officers of ſtate therein.* ibid.
The Scots rebell againe, and are ſubdued. ibid.
They rebell once more: thirtie and two thouſand of them are ſlaine. 69,70
They doe homage and fealtie to king Edward. 70
John Bayliol *(at the Popes requeſt) is ſet at libertie: his ſubjects do againe rebell againſt England: the king entreth into Scotland, and the Caſtle of Eſterlin (in which the Scottiſh Nobility for their ſafeguard incloſed themſelves) being ſummoned, is yeelded to king* Edward. ibid.
He ſweareth them to his obedience, and (for a monument of his victories) he bringeth from thence the Chaire in which their kings were uſually crowned. 71.
He inquireth of the extortions done by his

his Officers, and correcteth them. ibid.
Prince Edward *is committed to prison, and his unthriftie companion* Pierce Gaveston *is banished.* ibid.
Wales and Cornwall are given to the Prince. ibid.
The Pope claymeth the soveraignty of Scotland, but King Edward *rejecteth and scorneth his claime.* Robert le Bruze *usurpeth in Scotland, so that King* Edward *the fourth time goeth in his owne person into Scotland. The Usurper flyeth into Norway, and king* Edward *dyeth.* ibid.

King EDWARD the Second.

HEe *breakes his oath, and recals* Gaveston. *Hee doateth on* Gaveston, *makes him Earle of Cornwall, and he doth all in all: whereat the Nobles are displeased.* 73
The king (through Gavestons *wicked counsell) liveth lewdly, and forsaketh the companie of the Queen.* 74
Gaveston *hath the custody of the kings Jewels, and convaies many of them into* Ireland. ibid.
The people murmur at Gavestons *authoritie and wicked courses. The king rejects good counsell. Yet at last* Gaveston *is banished into* Ireland. *The king comforts him, and sends him money and Jewels.* 75
The king is so sad for his departure, that at the request of the Nobility (in hope of amendment) he is recalled. ibid.
By reason of his insolencie he is againe banished into Flanders, *but is recalled, and waxeth more scornefull than he was before.* ibid.
The Lords (despairing of redresse) doe strike off his head. ibid.
The king (to despight his Nobilitie) entertaineth the two Spencers, *who are worse than* Gaveston, *and doe perswade him to more lewd and ungratious courses.* 75,76
The king and his Nobles doe not agree. Robert le Bruze *(taking advantage by the kings evill government) usurpeth in* Scotland. *He is againe crowned king, and overthroweth king* Edward. 76
John Poydras *is discovered to bee a counterfeit, and is put to death.* ibid.
Barwicke *is betrayed to the* Scots. ibid.
The Scots *doe overthrow king* Edward *the second time.* 77
The king (being intreated) will not put the Spencers *from him.* ibid.
The Nobles in the Parliament do stand on their Guard. 78
The Spencers *are banished for ever.* ibid.
The Nobles complaine of the younger Spencers *Piracies: but the king maketh sport at it, and recals them from their exile. They scorne the Barons, who fight, but are overthrown.* ibid.
Twenty and two Barons are beheaded. 79
The elder Spencer *is made Earle of* Winchester: *and Sir* Andrew Harckley *(by whose principal service the Barons were overthrowne, and who was made Earle of* Carlile) *consorting with the* Scots, *who had almost taken the king, and enforced him to fly, lost his head.* ibid.
The Queen (being oppressed by the Spencers) *goeth into* France, *and carrieth the Prince with her. She is well entertained by the* French *king her brother. But he is bribed by the* Spencers, *and so is the Pope, who conspire her deliverie to king* Edward. *And she with her son doe fly into* Arthoys. 80
The Queene and Prince doe land in England. The Nobles repaire to her with an Army, and the king is strangely taken prisoner. The Earles of Arundel *and* Winchester *are beheaded.* 81
And Hugh Spencer, *the younger, being carried to London, is disgraced, and cruelly executed as a Traitor.* ibid.
The King is committed and deposed, his sonne is crowned, and the old King is murdered by the practise of Sir Roger Mortimer

mer, *who was too familiar with the Queene. For which offence shee was honourably imprisoned thirty yeeres and more before shee died.* 81,82

King EDWARD the Third.

HE *goeth with an Army into* Scotland, *to correct them for their insolencie in his fathers dayes. The Natives flie into the woods, and the King returneth.* 84

Hee concludeth a dishonourable peace with Scotland, *by the counsell of Sir* Roger Mortimer, *whom hee createth Earle of* March, *and marrieth his sister* Jane *to the King of* Scots *sonne, named* David. *He releaseth the tenure, soveraignty, homage, and the fealtie of* Scotland *& delivereth up the great Charter called* Ragman, *which testified their tenure of the Kings of* England. 84,85

The Earle of March *procureth the Kings Uncle the Earle of* Kent *to be beheaded, and is himselfe executed as a Traitor.* 85

The King and the French *king doe jarre about the kings homage for the Dutchie of* Guyan. ibid.

The Kings title to the Kingdome of France *was now first broached.* ibid.

He recovereth Barwick *from the* Scots, *and maketh* Edward Balyol *King.* ibid.

In his own person he settleth the government of Scotland. 86

The King seekes aid of forraine Princes for his French *wars.* ibid.

And is (by favour) made Vicar Generall of the Empire, and is thereby enabled to win Jaques Dartuell, *with the* Flemings, *and the Princes of* Germanie, *to joyne with him.* 87

He filleth his Coffers.

The French *king staieth his Armie from going to the* Holy Land, *to fight with* England. ibid.

King Edward *transporteth his Armie into* Flanders, *and joyning with his consorts, he marcheth into* France *with* 27000. *men. The* French *king takes the field.* 88

Jane *Countesse of* Henault (*mother to the Queen of* England, *and sister to the* French *king*) *parts the fray without blowes.* ibid.

King Edward *quartereth the Armes of* France, *and coynes his mony with the like stampe.* ibid.

He taxeth his people, and borroweth much money. 88,89

As hee passed towards Sluce *with his Armie, hee met with and overthrew the* French *Navie.* 89

He with his associates doe besiege Tournay; *but the said Countesse procures a Truce.* ibid.

The Scots *doe rebell. The king marcheth against them. A truce is made, but they doe breake it. They doe invade and burne* Durham. ibid.

The valiant exploit of Sir William Montague. *The Castle of* Roksborough *is besieged. The king marcheth against the* Scots, *and they fly.* 90

He concludes a truce with them. He returnes, proclaimes a Feast, and martiall exercises and sports. ibid.

Subsidies are granted, but Commissioners are made to receive and imploy them. 91

He deviseth the Noble Order of the Garter. 92

Jaques Dartuell *is murdered, because he would have disherited the Earle of* Flanders *to preferre the Blacke Prince.* 93

By his death King Edward *lost the* Flemish *aide. But he is the more resolved in his attempts.* 94

The French *king besiegeth* Aguilon *with* 100000. *men. The king takes* Harflew, Loviers, Cane, *and many other things, and harroweth and burneth in* Normandy *at his pleasure.* ibid.

He passeth with his Army over the River of Some. 95

The battell of Cressey. ibid.

The numbers of slain men and prisoners. 96

King Edward *besiegeth* Callice, *and the* French *king with* 200000. *men could not releeve*

releeve it. The king winnes it, and peopleth it with his owne Nation 97
The Scots invade England in the kings absence, and king David is taken prisoner. 98
The king himselfe surpriseth the Frenchmen, who came to receive Callice. 99
The Calicians take Guyans. 100
The Blacke Prince winneth the battell of Poyters, and brings king John and his younger son prisoners into England. 101
The whole English Army is made rich. ibid.
The Dolphin allowes not his fathers agreements with king Edward. 102,103
He is enforced to crave peace, which is granted upon conditions. 103
The king relinquisheth the French title and right. 104
A taxe levied by the Blacke Prince, and the not paying of his souldiers, occasioned his great losses in Guyan, Aquitaine, &c. 104,105
Whereto civill dissention must be added. 105
The Earle of Pembroke is taken at Sea. ibid.
The kings evill Officers 106
The Blacke Prince dieth. ibid.
The king dieth. 107

King RICHARD the Second.

THe summarie of his evill government. 109
Wat Tylars Rebellion. 110,111
Their insolencie and madnesse. 111
Their entertainment in London. 112
They doe burne, rifle, and commit Sacriledge. ibid.
Their behaviour at the Tower, and at Milc-end-greene. ibid.
Their Captaine is slaine. They prepare for revenge, but doe flie. 113
Fifteene hundred of them are executed. ibid.
The Kings evill Counsellors. 114
Fifteenes in Parliament are denied. 114,115
The Lower House will depart except the king in person will come to them. 115
Michael de la Pole is displaced from his Chancellorship. ibid.
Commissioners are appointed to order the kings Officers, and the King sweareth to observe it. 116
The Commissioners are reputed to bee Traitors. ibid.
The Scots and French do make a bad voyage into Wales, and in the meane time the king with 68000. men spoyleth Scotland. 117
The Frenchmen well rewarded by the Scots. ibid.
The French king prepares an Armie of 1200. Ships to invade and to conquer England, and king Richard makes incredible preparations to confront him. 117,118
The French Army vanisheth and comes to nought. 118
The petition of the Nobilitie is denied by the king; wherefore they doe raise an Army. 118,119
The king cannot get an Army out of London. 119
On the kings faire promises the Army is dismissed. He performes nothing: so that a new Army is levied, and received into London. 120
The Duke of Ireland flieth, is slaine by a Bore, and is buried like a king. ibid.
The Kings five evill Counsellors and some Judges are condemned as Traitors. ib.
John of Gaunts journey, valour, and fortunate successe in Spaine. ibid.
The king marrieth the French kings sister, and delivers up Brest, for which his Uncle the Duke of Gloucester reproveth him: but his death is plotted, and he is murdered. 121,122
The flattering Speaker of the Parliament grossly deifieth the King. 122
A strange Commission. ibid.
The king (in his vanity) will be stiled Prince of Cheshire. ibid.

The

The Duke of Norfolke untruly informeth the king against his Coſen Henry Bollingbroke *Duke of Hartford, for which hee is challenged to a ſingle combate.* 123,124
They are both baniſhed. 124
John *of* Gaunt *dieth, and his ſon* Henry Bollingbrooke *(now Duke of Lancaſter) in the kings abſence in Ireland, landeth in England, and raiſeth an Army. The king returneth, and levieth his forces:* ibid.
But his people daily ſhrinke and ſteale away from him: by meanes whereof hee ſubmitteth himſelfe to the Duke. ibid
Articles are propoſed againſt him for his evill government, which are by him confeſſed under his hand in the Parliament. He reſigneth his kingdome, and is depoſed. Henry *of* Bollingbroke *is crowned King. And king* Richard *(valiantly reſiſting) is wickedly murdered.* 125,126,127,128

King HENRIE the Fourth.

JOhn *Biſhop of Carlile ſtoutly reproveth king* Henries *doing openly in the Parliament houſe.* 131
The Crowne is entailed. ibid.
Treaſon at Oxford. ibid.
The traitors flie, and are executed. 132
Owen Glendor *rebelleth,* ibid.
And taketh Roger Mortimer *(the rightfull heire apparent to the Crowne) priſoner, and the King refuſeth to ranſome him.* ibid.
The Scots rebelling, are overthrowne by Henrie Hot-ſpurre, *who will not deliver his priſoners to the king.* 133,134
The Frenchmen do aide the Welſh Rebels in ſhew, but doe fly to their ſhips when the king commeth. 134
The Percies *doe ranſome* Roger Mortimer, *and joyning with* Owen Glendor, *they intend to make him king.* 135
They levie an Army, and doe publiſh Articles againſt king Henry. *The Scots doe aide them, but are all overthrown. And in that battell the King himſelfe ſlew ſixe and thirty men.* 136
Dowglas *is enlarged without ranſome.* 137
131
Glendor *is forſaken of his companions, and is famiſhed in the woods.* ibid.
The Duke of Orleance his challenge is ſtoutly refuſed by king Henry, 138
And diſgraced. ibid.
The Duke of Burgoine is commanded by the French king to abandon the ſiege of Calice. 139
Divers Lords do practiſe treaſon, which is diſcovered, and moſt of them are put to death. ibid.
The king warreth againe proſperouſly in Scotland. ibid.
Hee was in danger to bee taken on the Thames by French Pirates. ibid.
Sir Ralph Roksbie, *Sheriffe of Northumberland, valiantly overthrew the Northern Rebels, and chopt off their heads before the kings comming thither.* ibid.
Hee createth his younger ſonnes Dukes, and prepareth to warre in the Holy Land, but falleth dangerouſly ſicke. 140
His ſpeech to the Prince his ſon when he ſeiſed on the Crowne. ibid.
He dieth. ibid.

King HENRIE the Fifth.

THis king was unmeaſurably wild in his fathers daies, and was impriſoned and diſgraced for ſtriking the Lord chiefe Juſtice on the eare: 141,142
But being king, he enriched his looſe companions, but baniſhed them perpetually from his Court. 142
He choſe the graveſt, wiſeſt, and beſt experienced men to be of his Counſell of eſtate. ibid.
Hee reformeth the Clergy and the Lay people, and erecteth Caſtles to curbe the Scots. ibid.
A motion was made in Parliament to diſſolve

diſſolve religious houſes: but the Clergie reviving the kings title to the kingdome of France, and being bountifully liberall, doe turne the ſtreame into that channell, ibid.

The King demandeth that Crowne, but is ſcoffed by the Dolphin, whom he girdeth by a reply. 143

The king levieth an Army. The French King deſireth peace. The king yeeldeth on certaine conditions, which are denied. ibid

The Queene is made Regent. And as the king is ready to depart, his deſtruction is conſpired: But the treachery was revealed, and the traytors were put to death. 144

The king landeth in Normandy, and taketh Harflew. His Army (being but 15000. men) falleth ſicke, and is oppreſſed with many wants. Yet the king reſolveth to march by land unto Calice. ibid.

He winneth the moſt famous and the moſt memorable battell of Agencourt. 145

The French priſoners were unwillingly, yet miſerably ſlaine. ibid.

He giveth God publike thanks. 146

And returneth into England with his great priſoners. ibid.

The new Conſtable of France is overthrowne. 147

The French doe beſiege Harflew, and their Navie of 500. ſhips is overthrowne. And John *Duke of Bedford raiſeth the ſiege.* 150

Civill diſſention among the French Nobility doth further the ſucceſſe of king Henries *wars.* 151

Great ſummes of money are chearfully given to the King, to maintaine his invaſion. ibid.

Nine Carricks of Genoa, and Tonque, and Cane, are taken by the Engliſh. 152

Moſt townes in Normandy become Engliſh. ibid.

Roan is beſieged by the King. ibid.

A proud Roaniſt darcth him; he replies, and takes the City. 153

The French Nobles are outwardly reconcilcd, but not in heart. 155

Normandy is won by king Henry. 158

He marrieth the Lady Katharine, *ſiſter to the French King; and is made Regent of France, and is proclaimed Heire apparent to that Crowne.* 159, 160, &c.

The Kings brother the Duke of Clarence, Regent of Normandy & France, is betraied, and ſlaine in the battel of Blangy. 163, 164

The Earle of Mortaigne ſucceedeth in his charge. 165

The King warreth againe in France. ib.

The Dolphin raiſeth his ſiege from Chartiers, & flyeth fearfully from place to place. 166

The King falleth grievouſly ſicke, exhorteth his Nobles to unity and concord, and to bee eſpecially carefull to retaine the friendſhip and love of Philip *Duke of Burgoine.* 167

He commends unto them his young Infant, and their King; directs them for their proceedings in France: and then dyeth. ibid.

King HENRIE the Sixth.

FRance contemneth the infancy of King Henry. 169

John *Duke of Bedford is made Regent of France; and* Humfrey *Duke of Gloceſtr, is made Protector of the kings perſon, and of the Realme of England.* ibid.

The Regent winneth Townes daily. ibid.

The Pariſians are treacherous. 170

The battell of Vernoile. 171, 172

The Earle of Salisburies valour & name is feared. 172, 173

A ſtrange overthrow of the French. 173

They doe bragge and runne away. ibid.

Townes and victories are daily won by the Engliſh. 174, 175

Orleance is beſieged, and offered to Philip *Duke of Burgoine; but the Regent will not conſent thereto, and for that*

cauſe the ſaid Duke revolteth to the French king. 176
The battell of Herrings. ibid.
The ſiege of Orleance is abandoned. 177
The Duke of Alanſon overthroweth the Engliſh, ſlaieth the Earle of Salisbury; and taketh priſoner the Earle of Suffolke, and the Lords Talbot, Scales, and Hungerford, and many others. 177, 178
Charles cauſeth himſelfe to be crowned king of France, & is ſummoned to a battel by the Regent: he flyeth cowardly, and is hunted from place to place, but all in vaine. 178
Divers Nobles of France doe revolt from king Henry. 179
The French king aſſaults Paris, and is well beaten. ibid.
The Pariſians doe flatter, but are trecherous. 180
King Henry is crowned king of France in Paris. ibid.
England is wondred at for her puiſſance. ibid.
Treaſon diſcovered. ibid.
A rebellion in Normandy. 181
The noble Regent dieth, 182
And from the time of his death the Engliſh gaine little, but doe loſe much both in Normandy and in France. Richard, Duke of Yorke is made Regent. 182, 183
Paris revolteth. 183
Calice is beſieged by the Duke of Burgoine, ibid.
But he flyeth in the night. 184
The Earl of Warwick is made Regent. ib.
The French king flyeth in the night. 186
Ponthois is taken by the Engliſh. ibid.
A parley for peace. 187
The Articles propoſed are diſliked. ibid.
A cruell Army and a huge, on the French part. ibid.
Much is gotten daily, and much is daily loſt beyond the Seas. 188
A truce with France for eighteene moneths. 189
An unworthy marriage concluded for the king, by the Duke of Suffolke, without Commiſsion, ibid.
Which was the Dukes overthrow. 190
He will have his Acts and Counſels regiſtred in Parliament. ibid.
The cauſe of the loſſe of France, Normandy, Aquitaine, &c. ibid.
The deſcriptions of the king and Queen. 191
The good Duke of Gloceſter is removed by the Queene from the Protectorſhip, and is murdered. ibid.
The French wars are neglected, and the Truce is broken on both parts. 192
Townes are loſt, Roan yeeldeth to the French King. ibid.
The Engliſh are overthrowne in field. ibid.
Cane is yeelded to the French King. 193, 194
The Duke of Suffolk is accuſed of treaſon, and baniſhed, 196
But is taken at Sea and beheaded. ibid.
The policies of the Duke of Yorke to attaine unto the Crowne. Jacke Cade the Rebell flyeth, and is proſcribed and ſlaine. 197
A pacification, but fained, betwixt the king and the Duke of Yorke. 198
The Duke is accuſed and impriſoned for treaſon, but is enlarged. ibid.
Guyan and Aquitaine are yeelded to king Henry, but are regained by the French. ib.
The warres betwixt the king, and the Yorkiſts. 199
The king is overthrowne, and taken priſoner in the battell of S. Albons, and in Parliament the Duke of Yorke is made Protector. 200
Merchant ſtrangers are riſled in London. ibid.
A policie againſt the Yorkiſts, but it is diſcovered. 201
The King labours for peace; but each part diſſembleth. ibid.
New Armies are raiſed. 202
The Lords doe fly in the night, and are proclaimed traitors. 203
The Kings ſhips twice taken out of Sandwich by John Dynham, and the Yorkiſts. ibid.
The battell of Northampton, in which

which the Queene is overthrowne, and the king is taken prisoner. 203
The Duke of Yorkes proceedings in Parliament against King Henry. 204
The Crowne is settled by Parliament: The Scots overthrow, and doe slay the Duke of Yorke in the battell of Wakefield. 204, 205
The young Duke of Yorke winneth the field of Queen Margaret. 205
He is by the Queen overthrowne, and the King is enlarged. ibid.
The Dukes new Army consisting of 49000. men: the Queenes new Army consisting of 60000. men: The Queen is overthrown in the battell of Towton. ibid.
The king to win favour with the king of Scots, delivereth to him the Castle and the Towne of Barwicke: and the Duke of Yorke is crowned king. 205, 206

King EDWARD the Fourth.

IN Parliament hee repealeth all former Acts, which attainted him & his friends of high treason. 208
He is troubled by warres, raised against him by Queene Margaret, *in which he prevaileth.* 209
He taketh especiall care for the Commonweale. 210
King Henry *is taken prisoner.* ibid.
The Earle of Warwick becomes his enemy, because he wronged him in the choice of his wife. 211
George *Duke of Clarence taketh part with Warwick against his brother King* Edward. 212
The Yorkshire-men doe rebell. ibid.
King Edward *is taken prisoner and escapeth.* 214, 215
The discommodities of warre. 215
A new rebellion, in which the Rebells were overthrown. ibid.
Warwick and Clarence flie to Callice, and finde bad entertainment. 216
Prince Edward (*son to King* Henry *the sixth*) *marrieth the second daughter of the Earle of Warwick.* 217
Clarence secretly revolteth to King Edward *his brother.* ibid.
Warwick Landeth in England, where his forces doe so encrease, that king Edward *flyeth.* ibid.
King Henry *is enlarged, and by Parliament the crown is intailed to him.* 218, 219
King Edward *landeth in England, and breaketh his oath made to the Citizens of Yorke.* 220
He and his Army are joyfully received into the City of London. ibid.
Hee triumpheth victoriously at Barnet field 221
The Queene Margaret *levieth another Army, and is overthrowne in the battell of Tewkesbury.* 222
King Henry (*being murdered*) *is brought open faced into Saint* Pauls *Church.* 223
King Edward *hath new wars in France; and the Duke of Burgoine breakes promise with him.* 224
A peace for nine yeeres is concluded, for which the Duke of Burgoine is angry with the king, who cares not for it. 224, 225
The bounty of the French king to the English Army. 227
Henry *Earle of Richmond is by the Duke of Britaigne delivered to king* Edwards *Embassadours: but* Peter Landoys *freeth him.* 228
The Duke of Clarence (being a prisoner) is murdered. ibid.
King Edward *changeth the forme of his government; and (by executing of penall statutes) hee enricheth himselfe, but loseth his peoples love.* 229
He hath new warres with Scotland, but on certaine conditions he grants him peace, ibid.
The French king breakes all his Articles annexed to the last concluded peace; wherefore king Edward *levieth a new Army, but falleth sicke, and dyeth.* 230
The description of king Edward. ibid.

King EDWARD the Fifth.

HE *was a child when his father dyed.* 235

His Uncle Richard *Duke of Gloceſter, aimeth to have his crowne.* 236

Hee practiceth miſchiefe againſt the Queene Mothers kindred. 237

Hee betrayeth them, and bereaveth them of their lives. 238

The Queene Mother with her children take Sanctuary. 239

The Duke of Gloceſter is made Protector. ibid.

By ſubtiltie he getteth the young Duke of Yorke out of priſon, and ſends the King and him to the Tower, under pretence of greater ſafetie. 240,241

He with the Duke of Buckingham practiceth their deſtruction. 241

His villany at the Tower. ibid.

His friend the Lord Haſtings *is beheaded, becauſe hee will not conſent to that murder.* 242,243

Doctor Shawes *flattering ſermon.* 243

Richard Duke of Gloceſter is made king. 244

King RICHARD the Third.

KIng Richard *(by baſe flatterie) endevoureth to make a bad matter good.* 245,246

Doctor Morton, *Biſhop of Ely, is committed to the cuſtodie of the Duke of Buckingham.* 246

King Richard *is deſpiſed by the French king.* ibid.

The two young Princes (by the villanous procurement of king Richard*) are murdered.* 247

The reaſons which might have diſſwaded him from that wickeaneſſe, are examined. ibid.

His only ſon by death is taken from him. 248

Doctor Morton *(by flattery) inſinuateth himſelfe into the inward love and familiarity of the Duke of Buckingham, and having with him reſolved on the deſtruction of king* Richard, *he eſcapeth, and flyeth into Flanders, from whence he gives good intelligence of all king* Richards *proceedings, to* Henry *Earle of Richmond.* 249

Hee moveth him to marry the Lady Eliſabeth, *eldeſt daughter to King* Edward *the Fourth, which he proteſteth to doe.* ibid.

King Richard *had almoſt got into his hands the Earle of Richmond, but* Peter Landoys *freeth him.* 250

The Duke of Buckingham and the king doe levie two ſtrong armies, but the fight is deferred by a ſudden floud: The Welſhmen forſake the Duke: he flyeth: he is proſcribed: he is betrayed by his owne ſervant, and loſeth his head. 251

Peter Landoys *would have betrayed the Earle of Richmond to king* Richard; *but he and his doe eſcape hardly into France, where they are comforted and aided.* 253

King Richard *by flatterie and bribes gets king* Edward *the fourth his children into his owne poſſeſsion: and maketh love to his owne Neece, the ſaid Lady* Eliſabeth. 254

His owne wife ſuddenly dyeth, and he reviveth his inceſtuous ſuit to his ſaid Neece, who wittily protracteth that buſineſſe. ibid.

Falſe newes from France makes him ſecure. 255

The Earle of Richmond landeth in England, and the king, and hee are with their armies in Boſworth field. ibid.

King Richards *people cleave not to him.* ibid.

He is deſperate in fight: but is ſlaine by the Earle himſelfe, and his body is uſed with great deſpight by the common people. 256

Henry

Henrie, *Earle of Richmond, is proclaimed and crowned king by the ſouldiers in the open field, where his Enemy lay dead: And in the ſame place hee with his whole Armie doe thanke God.* ibid.

King HENRIE the Seventh.

King Henry *the Seventh (as he had ſworn) uniteth the two divided houſes of Lancaſter and Yorke, by his marriage with the Lady* Eliſabeth, *king* Edward *the fourth his eldeſt daughter.* 258
He cauſeth the Crowne to be intailed. ib.
He maketh Yeomen of his Guard, and is thankfull to his friends. ibid.
He repaieth the French King, and the Duke of Britaigne. ibid.
He repealeth Acts of Attainders, makes good lawes, and granteth a general Pardon. ibid.
He ſuppreſſeth Rebells. 259
Lambert, *the counterfeit Earle of Warwick, by force and policie is taken.* 259,260,261
King Henry *the ſeventh takes part with the Duke of Britaigne againſt the French king.* 262
The Earle of Northumberland (levying of a taxe) is ſlaine by the people. 263
The Rebells fly, and are puniſhed. ibid.
Maximiliam *(being aided by king* Henry *the Seventh) comes not fourth, yet king* Henry *alone warreth againſt the French king.* 264
The king demands a Benevolence. ibid.
Hee beſiegeth Bulleine, and granteth a peace. 265
Perkin Warbecke, *the counterfeited Duke of Yorke, vexeth king* Henry. ibid.
He is ſupported. ibid.
The king wiſely diſcovers their intentions. 266,267
The Mart is removed to Callice. 267
Sir William Stanley *is beheaded, and* Warbeck *is diſcomfited in Kent.* 268
The (Scots under pretence to aid him) vexe England. 270
The Corniſh Rebells are overthrown. 271
And many of them are executed. ibid.
The Scots invade, and are waſted. 272
The Mart is reſtored to the Flemings. 273
Exeter is beſieged, and defended valiantly. ibid.
King Henry *commeth to that Citie, and gives unto it his ſword.* 274
The Rebells flye. ibid.
Perkin Warbeck, *and the young Earle of Warwick (ſon to* George *Duke of Clarence, the brother of king* Edward *the fourth) ſeeking to eſcape, are prevented, and beheaded.* 275
Two marriages with France and Scotland. 275,276
Empſon *and* Dudley *doe execute penall lawes.* 276
The king (on his death bed) doth repent it, and lends mony freely to his Merchants, and dyeth. 276,277,278

King HENRIE the Eighth.

HE *executeth* Empſon *and* Dudley. 280
And marrieth his brothers wife. ibid.
He ſideth with the Pope againſt France. ibid.
His Father-in-law Ferdinando *uſeth him ill.* 281
And trecherouſly ſurpriſeth the kingdome of Navarre. ibid.
Edward Howard, *Lord Amirall, is drowned.* 283
King Henry *hath three armies in France.* ibid.
Maximilian *the Emperour ſerveth him in thoſe warres.* 284
Tyrwin and Tourney are wonne. ibid.
James *the Fourth king of Scots is ſlaine in Flodden field.* 286
Peace is concluded with France. 287
Cardinall Wolſeys *deeds and actions.* 288,289, &c.

The Clergy feare the Premunire, and therefore are liberall. 306
The king is acknowledged supreame head of the Church. ibid.
He marrieth Anne of Bullein, ibid.
And beheadeth her. 307
Evill May-day. ibid.
Tournay is delivered up upon conditions, ibid.
Which by the French were broken. 308
The Duke of Buckingham is attainted and executed. 309
The king writes a booke against Martin Luther. 310
He maketh warres in France. 311,312
English souldiers doe returne unlicenced out of France. 313
The Emperour, the Scots, and the French doe crave peace. 314,315
The King is in danger to bee drowned. 315,
He hath warres with the Emperour. 316
He curbeth the Popes authority. ibid.
Fisher and Moore doe lose their heads.
Petit Religious houses are suppressed. 318
All the rest are likewise suppressed. 320,321
The holy maid of Kent. ibid.
The Lancashire-men do rebell. 319
Another Rebellion is suppressed. 321
Cromwell is advanced highly, 322
But is overthrowne by concluding a marriage for the king with Anne of Cleve, which the king disliked. ibid.
That marriage is pronounced to be void. ibid.
The king marrieth the Lady Katharine Howard. 323
And beheadeth her. ibid.
He is made king of Ireland. ibid.
The Scots invade, and are miserably overthrowne. 324
The marriage being motioned by the Scots, 326
Is concluded, but they break their oaths, and the match too. ibid.
Scotland is wasted. 327
The king sendeth two Armies into France. 328
Bullein is worne. ibid.
The king hath a Benevolence. 329
The Frenchmen are overthrown. ibid.
The Scots invade and are vanquished. 330
The famous and renowned Earle of Surrey is beheaded: And the king dyeth. 330, 331

King EDWARD the Sixth.

THe king proclaimed. 333
The Earle of Hertford protector. ibid.
The king knighted. ibid.
The kings Coronation. 334
Duke of Somerset sent into Scotland. 335
The English army in a straight. 336
The Scots fly and are slaine. 337
Musselborough field. ibid.
Reformation of Religion in England. ib.
Peter Martyr, Bucer, and Phagius come into England. 338
The French joyne with the Scots. ibid.
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Fascastle in Scotland taken. 340
Stephen Gardiner committed to the tower. ibid.
He labours to prove the reall presence in the Sacrament. 341
Bonner preaches at Pauls Crosse. ibid.
Tonstall and Day deprived of their Bishopricks. ibid.
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The Admirall condemned. 344
An insurrection about inclosures. 345
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The Rebels complaints. 346
They are put to flight. 347
Another Rebellion in the West. ibid.
The French king invadeth Bullogne, Iern-

Jernsey and Garnsey, &c. 348
The Protector seekes aid from London but failes. 349
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THe Lady Jane flies into Suffolke. 367
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The Lady Mary laies claime to the Crown. ibid.
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Mary Proclaimed Queene. 372
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She is wooed by King Philip, putteth him off, and why. ibid.
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William the Conqueror Duke of Normandy after he had vin Battaile slaine Harald toke vppon him the Crowne of England He raigned 19 yeares 11 months died at the age of 74 yeares And lieth buried at Caen in Normandy

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AFter the death of King *Edward* (who was the ſonne of *Egeldredus*, and of *Goditha* his wife) *Harold* her brother, and ſecond ſonne to the Earle *Godwin*, uſurped this kingdome, and cauſed himſelfe to bee crowned King, the Crowne being formerly given by King *Edward* unto *William* the ſeventh Duke of the Normans, and baſe ſon to *Robert* their ſixt Duke. To whoſe uſe and behooſe, *Harold* had formerly ſworne to keep the ſame. Whereof when Duke *William* was certainly enformed, he charged him (by his Letters and by Meſſengers) with his promiſe, confirmed by his oath; and required him (in friendly ſort, and without blowes) to poſſeſſe him of his Crowne. But proud Ambition (arming him with a reſolution to remaine a King in deſpite of threats or fortune) made him, rather to coyne diſhonourable excuſes, than to give ſatisfaction, as he had ſworne: and for anſwer, to returne, That promiſes and vowes raſhly made, and by compulſion, as his was, eſpecially for a kingdome, whereunto the State had given no free conſent, were not (at all) to be regarded. And therefore (ſeeing the Dukes Rule and Dominions were as ample, and as large elſewhere, as Nature and Art had enabled him to manage, and

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to command) he wiſhed him to be contented with his owne, and not adventure to claſpe more within his hand, than hee was well able to hold faſt, nor to covet that which he ſhould not enjoy.

As this anſwer bred Diſcontent, ſo Rage began to reſolve on Armes: For the Duke, aſſiſted by his martiall friends, levied a ſtrong Armie, and furniſhed it with all abiliments and neceſſaries for the Warre; with which (through the aſſiſtance of ſome native Nobles, who adhered to his part) hee ſafely landed in Suſſex: where (having providently ſheltred himſelfe againſt all ſudden ſtormes) hee challenged *Harold* to a ſingle combate, thereby to decide the ſtriſe, without much blood. But *Harold* entertayned not the challenge; but ſent him word, That to gaine or keep a Kingdome, it required more blowes than two could give. So that (within few dayes after) a fierce and cruell Battell (of the continuance of one whole day) without intermiſſion or breathing, was fought betwixt them. But in the evening, *Harold*, being deadly wounded with an Arrow, left both his Kingdome and his life: and Duke *William*, almoſt with equall loſſe of his men, became Victor in the field.

October 14 1066.

The Saxons reigne ended.

And thus ended the Saxons reigne; which (from the firſt yeere of *Hengiſtus*, in the yeere of our Lord God foure hundred ſeventie and five, untill the time of this conqueſt in the yeere of our Lord God one thouſand threeſcore and ſix) had continued (ſaving that now and then it was interrupted by the Danes) the ſpace of five hundred fourſcore and eleven yeeres. The Duke having thus ſlaine *Harold*, and gained his kingdome, began to reigne as King: And on Chriſtmas day then next following hee was crowned by *Aldredus* Archbiſhop of Yorke, by the enforced conſents of the Engliſh Nobles: who (with an outward applauſe, but with an inward griefe and ſorrow) ſubmitted themſelves to bee his ſubjects, the Kentiſh men excepted. By whom, as hee travelled to poſſeſſe himſelfe of the ſtrong Caſtle of Dover, hee was prevented in his journey, and compaſſed round about by valiant men of warre; who (carrying greene boughs in their hands, and reſembling a mooving wood) environed the King and all his followers ere they were aware thereof; and proteſted manfully to dye, rather than they would (by ſervile baſeneſſe) be deprived of thoſe ancient Lawes and Cuſtomes, whereby their Country was then ruled. The King (perceiving his owne danger, and their reſolution) hearkned to their demands; and not onely granted their requeſts, but (for their bold and valorous attempt) he honoured them with this preheminence; That ever afterwards, the Kentiſh inhabitants ſhould make the Vauntgard of the Field.

The Conquerours Policies.

Thus gained he that Countrey, and became ſole Lord and Soveraigne of each whole Kingdome; and ruled it as a Conquerour, with more Policie than by profitable Laws, and with more ſeveritie than did become the gracious diſpoſition of a favourable King.

1 For firſt of all (becauſe he preſumed, that ſuch as were conquered, did rather feare than love, and would no longer obey, than the yoke lay heavie over their neckes) by receiving Hoſtages of the beſt and deareſt eſteeme, he ſecured the fidelities of ſuch as were either honourable,

nourable or potent, and ſent them into Normandie, becauſe ſudden force and ſtrength ſhould not deprive him of ſo ſure a meane of his ſafety.

Then (to deprive the Engliſh of all command, and to make them 2.
feeble, and his Normans ſtrong) hee ſeized their chiefeſt Offices, both of honour and of profit, into his owne hands, and conferred them upon ſtrangers: whereat the Engliſh grieved much, but found no remedy. For weakneſſe was enforced to yeeld to power, and uſurping Policie tyrannized over the oppreſſed, and bereaved them of their Right.

And (becauſe in thoſe daies the Clergie was had in great reverence 3.
among the people, in regard that their authoritie was not confined within the bounds of their Spirituall Juriſdictions) he reſolved to clip their wings, becauſe they ſhould no longer ſoare ſo high; and did ordaine, That from thenceforth they ſhould not command with any Temporall Authoritie whatſoever.

He was not ignorant, that the hope of Libertie did oftentimes incite 4.
ſuch as unwillingly were made ſervile, to watch for opportunitie to procure their Freedome: and therefore (to prevent ſuch dangers as might otherwiſe enſue) he utterly diſarmed and diſweaponed all the Natives of the Land, turning their hopes into deſpaire, and preventing their expectations for releaſement, with the preſent extremitie of their bondage. Thus weakened he ſuch as were truely valiant; and thus made he them to ſuffer much, who (if they had been at libertie) would have been able to repell great force.

And (becauſe the concourſe of much people might give them ſome 5.
occaſion, both to conferre of the eſtate which they were in, and alſo to conſult of the meanes of their deliverance from their Thraldome) he debarred the Engliſh from frequent and common meetings, eſpecially in the night: which to prevent, he cauſed a Bell in every Village, Towne, and Citie, to be rung at eight of the clock in the evening; upon the ſound whereof, all Engliſh men were enjoyned to cover their fire, and to keep themſelves within their doors. And this ceremonie was, and is yet called, *Couvre le feu*, or the raking up of the Fire.

To diminiſh the Nobilitie, he uſed to tranſport them for his Warres 6.
beyond the Seas: and if they returned backe againe, then might they well perceive, that he rather meant their deſtruction, than regarded their ſervice. For no reward was given to them, though they were valiant, nor any ſhew at all was made, that their forwardneſſe was accepted by the King.

And thus dealt he likewiſe with the vulgar ſort, by whoſe manhood 7.
he fought his ſharpeſt battels in Normandie and in France; thereby leſſening their numbers, and making his owne power more eminent among ſuch as hee enforced to lament their owne misfortunes, and in vaine to meditate upon their preſent woe.

He alſo erected ſtrong Forts and Caſtles in ſundry places of this 8.
Realme, which were commanded by his followers; whoſe bitterneſſe was ſuch againſt the Engliſh Nation, as that they dared not to make ſhew, that they repined at any thing, which wickedly they did amiſſe.

9. As long as the Engliſh abounded in riches and in wealth, hee knew they were not altogether heartleſſe; and therefore he deprived them of thoſe comforts. And (to encreaſe his own ſtore) he practiſed ſubtile tricks on both eſtates: for he robbeth the Clergie of all their beſt and richeſt plate and ornaments (which had been conſecrated to holy uſes) alledging, That Theeves and traiterous Rebels had hid them there, to deceive him of his forfeitures, and ſecretly to ſupport themſelves therewith, to his great hurt.

10. He alſo enacted and eſtabliſhed ſtrait and ſevere Lawes, and publiſhed them in his owne language; by meanes whereof many (who were of great eſtate, and of much worth) through ignorance did tranſgreſſe; and their ſmalleſt offences were great enough to entitle the Conquerour to the lands and riches which they did poſſeſſe. All which he ſeized on, and tooke from them, without remorſe.

11. Then he diſallowed the patents, and the grants of former Kings, and publiſhed them to be meerly void; and having ſequeſtred them into his owne hands, hee ſold them againe to the true owners for great ſummes of money, if they could pay them: but otherwiſe he gave them to his Normans, and to the French.

12. Hee procured a generall view to bee taken of his ſubjects Lands, and cauſed them to be juſtly meaſured, and their cattell to be numbred, and thereby he taxed them, according to ſuch proportions as he pleaſed; and (by ſuch undue exactions) he ſcraped and ſcratched together the Treaſure of this Realme, little regarding the wants and povertie of his conquered people, if (by any meanes) he could augment his owne ſtore.

13. Hee erected ſundry Courts for the adminiſtration of his new Lawes, and of Juſtice; and leſt his Judges ſhould beare too great a ſway by reaſon of his abſence, hee cauſed them all to follow his Court upon all removes: whereby he not only curbed their diſpoſitions, which incited them to bee great, but alſo tired out the Engliſh Nation with extraordinarie troubles, and exceſſive charges in the proſecution of their ſuits in Law.

14. To open a wide doore, and to give the more free acceſſe unto the French and Normans (if the Engliſh ſhould happen to rebell), he ruinated all Churches, Chappels, Villages, and Townes, which ſtood within the compaſſe of many miles in Hampſhire, and made the new Foreſt there; utterly diſpeopling thoſe places where God was formerly ſerved, and frugall husbandry maintained, making them an habitation for wilde and ſavage Beaſts: which act and deed he coloured with the pretence of fitneſſe and conveniencie for his recreation in hunting, when great affaires and important buſineſſe would give him leave. But God revenged his owne cauſe by the untimely death of *Rufus* his ſonne and ſucceſſor, who (as he hunted) was ſlaine with an arrow in the ſame Foreſt.

15. Above all other pleaſures, he placed his chiefeſt delight in hunting: and for the furtherance thereof, when he had ſeized into his own hands all the Chaſes and Foreſts of this Kingdome, then (to preſerve his game from diſturbance, and from ſpoyle) he made and executed moſt ſharpe and bitter Lawes againſt ſuch as (unlicenced) preſumed to hunt in them; as the loſſe of eyes, limbes, and ſuch like: But they were afterwards

afterwards made more milde and gentle, by ſuch as by ſucceſſion wore his Crowne.

Hee gave large territories and ſpacious fields unto his favourites; who did divide them into Farmes, for their particular uſes and neceſſities, and the reſidue of them they granted or leaſed to their ſlaves and ſervants; thereby creating Manors, and entitling themſelves the Lords of them. The King alſo upon thoſe his gifts proportioned thoſe grounds, dividing them into Hydes of Land, every Hyde containing twentie acres, and eight Hydes making a whole Knights fee. The Tenures which hee reſerved, were Knights ſervice *in capite*: by meanes whereof, his Tenants were injoyned to doe him many neceſſarie and honourable Services, either in his Warres, or to his Royall perſon. For the performance whereof, hee tooke their Oathes in publike Courts, both of Homage and of Fealtie. And by reaſon of this kinde of Tenure, he diſpoſed of the bodies of their Heires in marriage as he liſted, and retained in his cuſtodie and wardſhip, to his owne uſe, their whole inheritance, untill they accompliſhed their age of one and twentie yeeres. Which Tenures are continued at this day. And by his example others of great poſſeſſions did the like. 16.

And thus may wee plainely ſee (as in a Map) the perfect modell and deſcription of his rigorous and ſharpe Government; wherein hee rather practiſed the licentious power of an inſolent Conquerour, than the gracious kindneſſe of an annointed King. By meanes whereof, many feared, few did love him, and ſuch as pleaſed him beſt, were many times in great hazzard (upon ſmall occaſions) to bee frowned on.

ANNO 2. Taxes cauſed Rebellions.

In the ſecond yeere of his reigne, by reaſon of his Taxes, which exceeded beyond meaſure, the inhabitants of Northumberland, and of Devon, did rebell. But ſuch was his valour and expedition, that (ere they were aware thereof) his forces (like a loftie Sea, or a whirlwinde) ruſhed violently upon them, and eaſily ſubdued them, to their paine.

ANNO 3. The Danes invade, and are put to flight.

And not long after, *Swanus* then King of the Danes (being animated and ſet on edge by the daily perſwaſions and enticements of ſuch Engliſh Nobles, as to prevent their owne ruine and deſtruction were fled to him for ſuccour) arrived with a ſtrong Armie in the North: where the inhabitants (endevouring the enjoyment of their former libertie) with bold courage aſſiſted them in their invaſion. But the King almoſt no ſooner ſaw them, than he compelled them (upon the loſing hand) to flie unto their ſhips. And (to revenge the infidelitie of the Engliſh) he utterly ſpoyled and harrowed their beſt and moſt fruitfull Lands, lying betwixt Yorke and Durham: ſo that by reaſon thereof (for the ſpace of nine yeeres after) thoſe grounds lay waſte, and unmanured; and great numbers of people of all ages, died miſerably, with famine and with want.

The Engliſh are plauged.

ANNO 4.

The next yeere after hee ſummoned a generall Convocation of his Clergie. In which (with much aſperitie and bitterneſſe) he accuſed divers and ſundry grave and learned Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, and religious Prelates, of many ſurmiſes, faults, and offences: for which he utterly depoſed and deprived them both of their Dignities, Goods, and

Livings: all which he conferred upon ſuch as either through his favour, or for great ſummes of money, were able to procure them.

Another Rebellion.

Theſe fearefull preſidents of inſufferable cruelties provoked *Marcarus* and *Edwyn*, then Earles of Northumberland and of Mercia, together with *Egilwynus*, then Biſhop of Durham, to rebell. But the King (like a Lyon encountring weaker forces) drave *Edwyn* into Scotland; where trecherouſly he was murdered. He tooke *Marcarus*, and impriſoned him in the Tower of London: where many yeeres after hee remained, with little hope of his deliverance. And the Biſhop, being a priſoner in the Abbey of Abbington, was cruelly famiſhed to death.

ANNO 7. The Primacy of Canterbury.

At this time great ſtrife touching the Primacie, aroſe betwixt the Archbiſhops of Canterburie and of Yorke: which continued almoſt two yeeres. But at length *Thomas* was adjudged to be ſubordinate to *Lanfrank*,

ANNO 9. then Archbiſhop of Canterburie; and the other ſubmitted himſelfe accordingly.

ANNO 12. Biſhopricks tranſlated.

In the twelfth yeere of this Kings reigne (at a great Synod holden at Pauls Church in London) ſome Biſhopricks were tranſlated from one place to another: as Selwy unto Chicheſter, Kyrton unto Exeter, Wells unto Bath, Shirborne unto Salisbury, Dorcheſter unto Lincolne, and Lichfield unto Cheſter.

ANNO 13. *Secundum uſum Sarum.*

Oſwald, Biſhop of Salisbury, was a moſt devout and religious man: he deviſed a certaine forme of prayers to bee daily uſed in his Church: which was ſo generally liked by the Clergie, that they were publiſhed in bookes, and uſed in other Churches. Whence proceeded the common ſaying of *Secundum uſum Sarum*.

ANNO 15. A rebellion in Normandie.

In the fifteenth yeere of this Kings reigne (by the inſtigation and with the aſſiſtance of *Philip* the French King) *Robert*, his eldeſt ſonne, rebelled in Normandie: which occaſioned his father to go thither with an Army. But he was ſo ſtiffely encountred in the field, that by his ſonne he was unhorſed, and in great perill of his life. But he reſcued him againe, reconciled himſelfe, received pardon, and the King (with much loſſe) returned againe into England.

ANNO 20. The Conqueror invadeth France.

And within few yeeres after, to bee revenged of many injuries and wrongs to him done by the ſaid *Philip*, from Normandie hee carried a puiſſant Armie into France; where (with fortunate ſucceſſe, and with abundance of crueltie) he ſlew, burnt, ſpoyled, and ranſacked his People, Townes and Countrey. But ſo much was hee travelled in thoſe affaires, and ſo extremely did he heat himſelfe in thoſe eager conflicts, that preſently he fell ſicke, and within few dayes after he died, after hee had much ſorrowed and lamented for the tyrannies which he had exerciſed on the Engliſh Nation: and at laſt he was buried at Cane in Normandie, in the Abbey of S. *Stephen*, which himſelfe had builded. But his Funerals were interrupted by a Norman Gentleman, who would not permit him to bee interred there, untill a ſatisfactorie recompence was unto him given for that ſoyle, which the Conquerour had unjuſtly taken from him.

The Conquerour falleth ſicke, and dyeth.

This dead dog could not bite.

Thus this victorious Conquerour, whoſe minde was not to be confined with one kingdome whileſt he lived, could, being dead, hardly obtaine a place to be buried in.

He

He left behinde him one daughter, named *Adela*, and three ſonnes: *Robert*, to whom he gave his Duchie of Normandie: *William*, ſurnamed *Rufus*, becauſe his complexion was verie red; and *Henry*: both which ſucceſſively were Kings.

The deſcription of the Conquerour.

He was of an indifferent ſtature, ſtrongly compoſed in his limbes, and comely in his behaviour, ſterne of countenance, and of an undaunted ſpirit, reſolute in all his actions, quicke in his expeditions, wiſe, diſcreet, and politicke in the managing of his affaires and buſineſſe. He banqueted and hunted very much, coveted all, oppreſſed all ſuch as hee ſubdued (to keepe them low) and alwayes held his deereſt friends in an awfull regard of his love.

THE

William Rufus King of England and Duke of Normandy.
He was ſlaine being ſhot into the body by misfortune in new
Foreſt in Hamſhire, after he had raigned 12 yeares and
11 monthes, at the age of 43, and lieth buried at Winchester
Anno 1100.

2

R.E. ſculp

THE HISTORIE OF KING WILLIAM RUFUS.

WHen *William* the Conquerour died, *Robert* his eldeſt Sonne (being in Germanie) accommodated himſelfe (with great ſufficiencie) to thoſe affaires and buſineſſes wherewith his Father had intruſted him: ſo that by meanes of his abſence, the Conquerours laſt Will and Teſtament, the furtherance by *Lanfrank*, then Archbiſhop of Canterburie (who, by reaſon of his great learning and ſingular vertues, was very deare and reverend in the peoples eyes) and by many coſtly gifts, enlarged with unaccuſtomed bountie, *William* (his younger brother) was crowned King. 9 September, 1087.

But not long after, Duke *Robert* (repining that his right, by force and injuſtice, ſhould be made a prey to him that did uſurpe; and purpoſing to regaine by his preſence that which by his abſence he had loſt) came into England, guarded with a brave Armie of unconquered Normans, and many French, whom *Philip* their King had waged for his aide. But ſuch was the Dukes milde and flexible diſpoſition (though hee were paſſing valorous and bold) that he rather enclined himſelfe to a peaceable compoſition, which was gently craved by his brother, than (by the effuſion of much blood) to poſſeſſe himſelfe of this Crown: ſo that (in the end) being fairely promiſed, That if he ſurvived, he ſhould ſucceed; and accepting the grant of three thouſand markes by the yeere, hee tooke a friendly leave, and returned, well pleaſed, and ſafely unto his owne Duchie.

ANNO 2. Duke Robert warreth in England.

A compoſition betwixt the two brothers.

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A compoſition betwixt the two brothers.

The

The King oppreſſeth the Engliſh Nation by taxes and other cruelties.

The King (by theſe meanes) more ſtrongly fixed his foot in the poſſeſſion of this kingdome, and being better aſſured of his eſtabliſhment than hee was before, began forthwith to tread in his fathers ſteps, and (with like oppreſſions and ſeveritie) to humble the haughtie courage of the Engliſh. And finding by the rules of policie, That plentie puffeth up, and that penurie robbeth ſuch as are hardy, of the chiefeſt requiſites which might enable them to reſiſt, impoſed on them many unuſuall payments, and intolerable taxes; which by his greedy miniſters and ſawcie officers were levied with ſuch deſpight and crueltie, that thereby they might well perceive, that he meant nothing more than to cut the nerves and ſinewes of their ſtrength.

A old Biſhop made a young Earle.

About the ſame time, *Odo* his uncle, being Biſhop of Bayon, repaired into England; where (by reaſon of the Kings regardfull affection towards him) hee found ſuch welcome and friendly entertainment, that he was created Earle of Kent.

The old Biſhop, and young Earle, preſuming too much on his Nephewes love, and mounting his conceits above the height of a convenient pitch, tooke upon him more authoritie to rule, than either a ſtranger, or a ſubject, in wiſdome ſhould affect: which altered the pleaſantneſſe of the Kings countenance into frownes, and made him much leſſe eſteemed, than otherwiſe he would have beene.

The Kings uncle rebelleth.

The Biſhop (whoſe heart was haughty, and whoſe minde aſpired to more than ordinarie greatneſſe) ſo inwardly grudged that the line of Soveraigne Majeſtie ſhould tie him ſhort, that openly he did rebell; and in ſuch ſort (by the helpe of the Engliſh Normans) diſtempered the ſoundneſſe of the Common-weales peace, with many turbulent and dangerous mutinies, in ſundry places of the Land, that the King (contrary to his naturall diſpoſition, and contrary to the former rules of his policie) was compelled to ſtrengthen his owne part by the Engliſh Nation; whom (with better uſage, fairer ſpeeches, releaſement of injurious taxes, and great gifts) he made ſo firme and faithfull to him, that (by their aſſiſtance) he more than well hoped to prevaile. And ſuch was his new courteſie and kindneſſe to many of the revolted Lords, that (leaving the Biſhop and his aſſociates) they adhered firmely unto the King.

The King through neceſſitie flattereth the Engliſh.

The Scots rebell.

Theſe fractions and theſe diſorders in the publike State begot new conceits in *Malcolyne* King of Scots: who on the ſudden raiſing a faire Armie of adventurous men of warre, invaded the Northern parts of this kingdome. The newes whereof appalled not the King, but rather it inſpired him with a ſpirit of ſuch invincible courage, that marching firſt againſt the Biſhop and his complices, with an high hand he obtained a quicke victorie, and enforced the unwiſe Biſhop, his uncle, to abjure the Land.

The Biſhop is overthrowne.

ANNO 3.

The Scots overthrowne.

And forthwith (being mounted aloft upon the wings of furie, and ſcorning to be checked by reſiſtance) he ruſhed with ſuch manlike violence upon the hardie Scots, that the greateſt numbers of them were quickly ſlaine in the field; and *Malcolyne* was not onely compelled to acknowledge his ſubjection, by renewing of his former Oath, but willingly he became a Penſioner to the King.

The Scots ſubjection.

In

In the ſixt yeere of his Reigne his proſperitie was interrupted by the obſtinate Rebellion of *Rees*, the laſt King of the Welchmen: who ſo infeſted him with broken warres, that, for many months together, being urged to fight with Mountaines (to which upon all enforcements they fled) in ſtead of combating with men, he could find no reſt. But ſuch was his reſolution, his valour, and undaunted courage, to withſtand the ſtrongeſt puſh of all extremities, that in the end hee ſlew their King, and, by a glorious Victorie, he better ſecured the ſubjection of the Welchmen, than any of his predeceſſors had done before. ANNO 6. The Welchmen rebell and are ſubdued.

Not long afterwards, *Malcolyne* the King of Scots (being unkindly and diſgracefully denied acceſſe to the Engliſh Court, where he intended a friendly conference upon many matters of great weight and conſequence) returned into Scotland; and being infected with a million of diſcontents, the diſeaſe of his paſſions publiſhed it ſelfe, with much danger to the Northern parts: which he invaded with a ſtrong Armie; ſpoyling, robbing, burning, wounding, and killing, without controlment, in all places, as he liſted: untill he beſieged a ſtrong Caſtle; which for many dayes was valiantly defended by *Robert Mowbray*, then Earle of Northumberland: who at length ſeeming to yeeld to the frowardneſſe of his diſaſterous fortune, and comming out of his Caſtle gate well mounted, with the keyes thereof faſtened unto his Launce, and making low obeyſance to the King in token of his ſubmiſſion, and daſhing his ſpurres into his horſe, he ran upon the King, and with his Launce (in ſtead of tendering him the keyes, he pierced out his eye, and ſlew him on the place. Which having done, he eſcaped, flying like the winde, leaving the diſmaied Scots behind him, to lament their irrecuperable loſſe, and with much ſorrow to returne into Scotland with their breathleſſe King. The Scots rebell againe. The King of Scots ſlaine.

As on the Sea-ſhore one wave ſucceeds another: ſo in humane affaires there is no end of troubles. No ſooner was this buſineſſe concluded, but another did begin. For *Robert* Duke of Normandy (conceiving himſelfe to be much wronged, by a ſuppoſed breach of the Kings former promiſes) reſolved to tranſport a faire Armie into England, for the regaining of his Right: but the King (purpoſing rather to adventure offenſive Warres abroad, than with aſſured loſſe to defend himſelfe at home) gathered a ſtrong power of able and willing men of warre, with which hee ſailed into Normandy. But *Philip* of France ſo friendly backed the Duke in thoſe employments, that the Engliſh forces found themſelves too weake to doe him any harme. So this unexpected reſiſtance compelled the King to caſt his plot into a new mould, and by ſleight and policie to effect that, which by open violence he could not do. Wherefore (not making himſelfe over-much beholding to long deliberation) he ſent many of his chiefeſt Commanders into England; who (with more than ordinarie diligence and ſpeed) in ſhort time waged a ſtrong Armie of twentie thouſand men: who (being ready to be embarked) were unexpectedly greeted with this faire offer, that ſuch of them as would ſeverally give ten ſhillings to the King, towards his levying of new Forces in Normandie, ſhould be diſmiſſed from that journey. This demand (in regard of each particular giver) was not great: but the entire value thereof, when it was collected, amounted A good Policie. The French ſtrengthen *Robert* Duke of Normandie againſt the King. A politicke and a pleaſing Taxe.

to

to a good ſumme; becauſe there were few or none, who by this payment procured not their diſcharge. And the French King (being ſecretly corrupted with the gift of the greater part of this money) made preſent choyce rather to ſhrink from his kind friend, than to aſſiſt him at his need: ſo that the good Duke (being left alone, and yet accompanied with the ſenſible apprehenſion of his owne defects, and making a vertue of his neceſſities) contented himſelfe to ſubſcribe to the command of his adverſe fortune. For making an enforced Peace with his brother, and pawning to him his Duchie of Normandie for ten thouſand pounds; himſelfe in perſon, with other Chriſtian Princes, waged warres in the Holy Land.

Quid non Regina pecunia?

A compoſition.

The Welchmen rebell.

As ſoone as the King was returned into England, the Rebels in Wales ſummoned him to a new warre; which he undertooke with great celeritie, and with much valour. But the craggie mountaines, the ſteepie hils, the thick woods, and the watry mariſhes (unto which the Welchmen uſed continually to flie upon every feare of danger) ſo toiled and tired the Engliſh forces, that the King (to encreaſe his ſtrength, and to furniſh himſelfe with more fitting meanes to ſubdue thoſe Rebels) was compelled without honour to returne.

The Earle of Northumberland rebelleth.

But thoſe his new preparations were interrupted by another rebellion in the North: which was occaſioned and conducted by *Robert Mowbray*, Earle of Northumberland; who madly expreſſed the malecontentedneſſe of his diſordered paſſions, becauſe the King (as he conceived) had not requited his ſervice done upon *Malcolyne*, the King of Scots, with any worthy or condigne reward. But ſuch was the haughtie ſpirit and courage of the King, that thoſe unexpected troubles, which benummed the ſenſes of the vulgar, did ſet an edge upon his valour, making him to ſcorne feare, and to entertaine hope; and animating him with a ſettled reſolution, to dare fortune to doe her worſt. For he no ſooner ſaw his revolted ſubjects of the North, but he loaded them in ſuch ſort with blows and wounds, that ſuch as fled not hee made a prey unto death, or made them miſerable examples to their friends; who might bemoane them, but could not releaſe them, of their loſſe of eares, eyes, hands, noſes, or feet. Thus did the King beat downe their pride, and tooke the Earle as he fled, and ſent him to the Caſtle of Windſor, where he was committed to a ſtrong Priſon.

A couragious King.

The Rebels ſubdued.

The King could not ſubdue the Welchmen in two expeditions.

Then did the King (with new ſtrength) march againe into Wales: but his former miſhaps were prefidents to his latter ſucceſſe. For albeit that furie made him more adventurous than reaſon gave him warrant, in regard that his magnanimous ſpirit could not digeſt the counter-checks of ſuch a ſcattered Rabble: yet (when he had weakened his ſtrength, and impaired his Armie, by the loſſe of many valiant men, upon the vaſte and deſolate Mountaines, which affoorded him nothing but repentance) he was enforced (far againſt his will) the ſecond time to returne, leaving the Welch Rebels uncorrected; and therefore exceedingly emboldned in their ſin. Whoſe inſolencies bred in the King ſuch a ſtrong reſolution to revenge, that foure yeeres after (when they ſuſpected not any approaching danger) hee ſent againſt them the two Earles of Shrewſburie, and of Cheſter, with a ſtrong power: who finding them rioting

in

in the Isle of Angleſey, ſet upon them, ſlew divers, wounded more, ſuffered few to eſcape; and ſuch as were taken priſoners, were either executed with many torments, or diſmembred, with ſuch deprivements, as happened to the rebels in the North.

The Welchmen ſuddenly invaded are overthrowne.

ANNO 10.

Now when the King, by the helpe of the Engliſh Nation, had obtained many memorable victories againſt the Scots, Welchmen, and the Northern rebels; and (by their aſſiſtance) had in ſuch ſort eſtabliſhed his affaires, that all feare of future perils was quite baniſhed; imitating the example of ſome unthankefull Mariners, who (by the goodneſſe of a ſound Ship) having eſcaped the boiſterous rage of an hideous tempeſt, will leave her in the road, ſubject to the furie of the winds, and to the violence of the waters. He not onely forgot his honourable atchievements by their meanes, but unthankfully he requited them, who had freed him from many unſpeakable dangers. For as in former times, ſo now againe he diſheartned them, by many intolerable exactions, new impoſitions, and mercileſſe oppreſſions: turning their longings after libertie into a ſervile Bondage; their expectations for favour into deſpaire; and their plentie into ſuch povertie, that though thoſe times gave them leave ſorrowfully to bewaile their griefes, yet hope adminiſtred to them no comfort for reliefe. Yea, ſuch was his impietie, and ſuch was his covetous deſire, by all unjuſt meanes to enrich himſelfe, that impiouſly he ſold for money the greateſt and the beſt promotions, both in Church, and in Common-weale: and did prohibite *Anſelme*, then Archbiſhop of Canterburie, to aſſemble any Convocations or Synods, for the well ordering of the Clergie, or for the correcting of ſuch as did offend, without his leave and licence: by meanes whereof, he ſecretly filled his coffers with much treaſure.

An ungratefull King.

The Engliſh Nation is miſerably oppreſſed.

Extreme covetouſneſſe in a King.

The Archbiſhop of Canterbury robbed, and rifled.

Theſe indignities, and theſe irreligious practices, were ſharply reprehended by *Anſelme*: yet found hee no reformation of thoſe monſtrous abuſes. Wherefore (being unable any longer to ſupport ſo ponderous a burthen, both to his conſcience, and alſo to his eſtate) hee reſolved to forſake the Realme, and appeale to Pope *Urban* the third, though by the King hee was prohibited ſo to doe. But in the beginning of his journey, as hee paſſed towards Dover; himſelfe, and all his followers (by the Kings uncharitable appointment) were evilly entreated, and robbed of their chiefeſt wealth. Yet went hee forth, and at Rome complained to the Pope: who forthwith would have excommunicated the King, had hee not formerly pronounced that ſentence againſt the Emperour *Henry* the fourth (who was the firſt Chriſtian Prince Soveraigne that ever was excommunicated by any Biſhop of Rome:) and by his Clergie hee was adviſed to ſee the end and effect of that ſentence; and ſhould not heat any more Irons, before hee ſaw how the former would bee quenched.

Appeale to Rome.

The King likely to have been excommunicated.

The Emperour *Henry* the fourth was the firſt excommunicated Chriſtian Prince.

Many letters and ſundrie meſſengers were ſent unto the King, admoniſhing him not to intermeddle any more with the inveſting of Biſhops, by giving to them the Croſſe, Ring, and paſtorall Staffe: nor with the temporalties of any Eccleſiaſticall promotions, either

Commands from Pope *Urban* the third.

when they were vacant, or otherwiſe: Nor ſhould prohibite the aſſembling of any Convocations or Synods touching the Churches affaires and buſineſſe: Nor ſhould prohibite the execution of any Canons, albeit they were not by regall authoritie confirmed.

The King regards not the Pops commands.

But the King little reſpected thoſe commands, and ſtoutly anſwered, That touching them all, he would ſtill doe as he pleaſed, and would not loſe ſo faire a flower belonging unto his Crowne.

The King is reproved, and is the worſe.

But whileſt theſe buſineſſes were thus acted, the King was oftentimes ſharply rebuked by *Ralph*, the Biſhop of Chicheſter, for thoſe unjuſt grievances and wrongs which were offered to the Archbiſhop, and his followers, at the time of their departure towards Rome. But like as a man, the deeper he is wounded, the more impatient he is to be ſoundly ſearched: ſo the King (knowing his offence to be impious and ungodly) refuſed to bee admoniſhed: and in ſtead of reforming of thoſe things which had beene done amiſſe, hee heaped many diſgracefull wrongs upon the good Biſhop, and his Dioceſſe; within which (of his own wilfull obſtinacie, and becauſe hee would proclaime his will to bee a Law) he ſuſpended many Churches, and converted their revenewes to his owne uſe.

The King repenteth.

But his latter meditations better informing him than his former neglect and unadviſed paſſions, hee not onely received the Biſhop into his extraordinary grace and favour, but enriched him and his See with many honourable priviledges and princely gifts. Yet afterwards he baniſhed him out of his kingdome.

Wonderfull courage.

It hapned, that (as hee hunted in the New-Foreſt) hee was informed, that the French-men had compaſſed the Citie of Conſtancia in Normandie with a Siege, which was both ſtrong and dangerous. Whereupon (leaving his ſports, his Nobles, and all his Companie) with great expedition hee poſted towards the Sea: and without any preparations fitting for ſuch a journey, hee leapt into a Barke, and commanded the Mariners to weigh their Anchor, and to hoiſe their Sailes. But ſuch was the furious violence of a boiſterous ſtorme, that (not daring to doe what they were commanded) they refuſed to obey. Whereat the King was much enraged, and did enforce them to yeeld to his reſolved humour, affirming, That they had never heard, that a King was drowned by the diſtemper of any winde. And ſuch was his fortunate paſſage in a time ſo dangerous, and ſo much were the Frenchmen daunted with the unexpected newes of his ſudden landing, that inſtantly they abandoned the Siege; and by their quicke departure prevented the hazzard which they much doubted.

Fortunate ſucceſſe.

ANNO 13. And within two yeeres after his returne into England, and in the thirteenth yeere of his reigne (as he hunted in the ſaid New-Foreſt, which his Father had made, and which himſelfe had enlarged, by depopulating of ſundry Townes, Villages, and Farmes, and with the utter ruine of many Churches, Chappels, and Religious houſes) he was ſlaine with an arrow; which being ſhot unto a Deere, unfortunately glanced upon him, as not long before, his Nephew *Richard*, and ſonne unto Duke *Robert* of Normandie, had been there ſlaine.

The King ſlaine as hee hunted.

And

And thus ended the troubleſome, yet victorious, reigne of King *William*, third ſonne to the Conquerour: who being of a wanton diſpoſition, neglecting marriage, and daily ſolacing himſelfe among his Whores and Concubines, died without any lawfull iſſue of his bodie. Hee was of a comely ſtature, firmly compacted in his limbes, very ſtrong, active, and healthy, exceeding lecherous and covetous, of an high courage, and nobly valorous, conſtant in his reſolutions, ſcorning Fortune, and all troubles. Thus hee lived, and thus hee died; getting much, and ſuddenly leaving all.

second ſon

HENRY *the first, surnamed Beau-clark, King of England and Duke of Normandie: He raigned 35 yeares and 4 monthes died the 2 of December 1185. at the age of 67 yeares. and lieth buried at Reading. 1135.*

R E *sculpsit*

THE HISTORIE OF KING HENRIE THE FIRST.

WHen King *William* the Second died, *Robert* his eldeſt brother (fortunate in all his proceedings, ſaving only in his ſucceſſion to this Crowne) warred victoriouſly (as many other Chriſtian Princes did) in the holy Land: where (in regard of his honourable deeds and heroicall actions) hee refuſed to bee made King of Jeruſalem. ANNO 1100.

By meanes of his abſence, a fit opportunitie was offered unto *Henrie* his youngeſt brother, to ſit as King in his Throne: whereunto (without labour or difficultie) hee aſcended, through the favourable affection of the Nobles and common people: whoſe hearts were the more firmely engaged to his ſervice, becauſe hee was borne in England after his father was crowned King: and alſo, becauſe his ſingular wiſdome, rare learning, milde diſpoſition and princely vertues, were plaine and apparent demonſtrations, that his Government would be accompanied with honourable atchievements; gracefull, ſafe and profitable both to the Church, and alſo to the Common-weale.

No ſooner was he crowned and proclaimed King, but wiſdome did informe him, That it was expedient, that his eſtate ſhould ſtrongly be ſupported againſt the hazzards of future time, and his brothers title. Wherefore (having ſeized upon the plentifull heapes of the laſt Kings Treaſure) he diſperſed them frankly into the hands of ſuch, as upon all occaſions, and in all dangers, were able to afford him their beſt counſell, and the beſt reliefe. Then he dignified ſuch as were great, with the greateſt Offices, and with ample Titles of much Honour: And mitigated the rigour of the former new Lawes, and promiſed reſtitution of the old. His care was great, that in weights and in meaſures there might be no defect; but that all, in all places, ſhould be fewred by ſuch Standards as he had made. He alſo acquitted the people from the taxe of *Dane-gelt*, and from all other unjuſt payments and demands impoſed upon them by the two former Kings. He gave free liberty to the

A true uſe of riches.

1. Good policies worthy of a noble King, and to be noted.

2.

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Flatterers baniſhed the Court.

Nobles and Gentlemen of this Realme (for their pleaſure, and better recreation) to incloſe Parkes for Deere, and free Warrens for their Conies, and ſuch like game. And, as Traitors to his Vertues, State, and Kingly Government, he exiled and baniſhed from his Court and preſence all baſe Flatterers, niceneſſe in behaviour, luxuriouſneſſe in converſation, ſumptuouſneſſe in apparell, and ſuperfluitie in diet. Hee ordained puniſhments by death for all ſuch as violently ſpoiled or robbed in the High-wayes. With indefatigable travell and paine he corrected and reformed the monſtrous pride, intolerable covetouſneſſe, and ſecure negligence and ſloath of the Clergie. Hee recalled from baniſhment *Anſelme*, and reſtored him to his Archbiſhoprick of Canterbury, and gave him full power to aſſemble Convocations and Synods at his pleaſure, for the amendment of ſuch things as were unſufferable in the Church. Hee left unto the Pope his power and authority to inveſt Biſhops, by giving to them the Ring, the Croſſe, and the Paſtorall Staffe. All ſuch Eccleſiaſticall promotions and dignities, as by the lewd advice and counſell of *Reynulph*, Biſhop of Durham, his brother had ſeized into his owne hands, and converted to his owne uſe, he voluntarily and freely conferred upon honeſt, grave, learned, and worthy men: and committed the ſaid Biſhop a priſoner to the Tower of London; from whence hee afterwards eſcaped, and eagerly incited *Robert*, Duke of Normandy, by the Sword to lay his claime to this Kingdome. Who thereupon (to maintaine his demand in that behalfe) raiſed a ſtrong Armie, which he intended, with all convenient expedition, to tranſport into this Realme. But as King *Henrie*, by thoſe precedent proviſions, had endeared himſelfe in the Peoples love: ſo had he the more confirmed it, by taking to wife *Mawlde*, the ſiſter of *Edgar*, King of Scots, and daughter unto *Malcolyne*, by *Margaret* his wife, ſiſter to *Edgar Adeling*, who died without iſſue, and daughter to King *Edward*, the ſonne of *Edmund Ironſide*, the victorious and valiant King of the Saxons.

8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16.

The King leaveth the inveſture of Biſhops to the Pope.

Robert Duke of Normandy invadeth England.

King Henries title made ſtronger by his marriage.

When Duke *Robert*, with his Armie, was arrived in England, the noyſe of Trumpets, the ſound of Drummes, and the ſwarming multitudes of well approved ſouldiers, fit for the Warre, afforded none other thing but a fearefull expectation of much trouble. But as a threatning lowring cloud is ſometimes diſperſed by a faire ſhining Sun, ſo theſe approching conflicts (by the diſcreet mediation and counſell of worthie friends) were ſuddenly prevented, and a friendly peace, betwixt the two brothers, was lovingly concluded, upon ſuch like conditions as formerly had been agreed on in *William Rufus* his daies: whereat the Norman Lords were much diſpleaſed, and returned diſcontented with their Lord.

A peace concluded betwixt the two brethren.

But ſuch were the malignant ſpirits of the envious, or ſuch was the greedy diſpoſition of thoſe who were covetous, or ſo eager was the Kings appetite to enlarge his Dominion, that many great quarrels, for ſmall and trifling cauſes, began upon the ſudden to preſent themſelves unto thoſe two brethren: inſomuch that King *Henrie* paſſed with a ſufficient and a well-ordered Armie into Normandie; where hee was aſſiſted by many of the Dukes diſcontented Nobles. By meanes whereof, the King (in ſundry skirmiſhes and conflicts) ſo prevailed, that with little danger,

The King invadeth, and prevaileth in Normandy.

and

and ſmall reſiſtance, he chaſed the forſaken Duke from place to place; and won from him the Cities of Roan, Cane, Valoys, and many others: and then he returned into England with much honour.

The Duke is forſaken by his Nobles and Gentry.

The Duke perceiving that his Lords and Gentrie refuſed to give him any helpe, and that the Kings eſtate, ſtrength, and riches ſo encreaſed, that no hope of recoverie (by ſtriving and by ſtruggling) was left unto him, ſubmitted himſelfe to his two enemies, time and fortune (the ſcornfull deluders of ſuch as repoſe their confidence upon them) and came ſecretly and privately into England, preſented himſelfe unto the King his brother, and referred to his owne cenſure and will, both himſelfe, his Dutchie, and all debates and controverſies whatſoever. But the King (either becauſe he knew that the Duke was too unconſtant, or for that ſome ſecret whiſperers had prepared him to prejudicate his brothers truth, and honeſt meaning) with an eſtranged countenance, and a diſdainefull eie, departed unkindly from the diſtreſſed and perplexed Duke; coily refuſing to accept of his ſubmiſſion, which in all humilitie by him was proffered.

The Dukes ſubmiſſion is ſcornfully deſpiſed.

The Duke (being pierced to the heart, that his misfortunes ſhould ſo much wrong him) returned with all expedition into his owne countrey; reſolving, That in the open field he would rather die as a valiant man, than thus be trampled on by diſhonour and by diſgrace. And the King (conjecturing rightly what he pretended) followed him with many thouſands of men: and ſo often he encountred the weake Duke with his great ſtrength, that within few daies hee tooke him, and brought him as priſoner into England: where (becauſe he hearkned to natures enticement; which perſwaded him to ſeeke his libertie, and to practiſe his eſcape) both his eies, by the Kings commandement, were plucked out. After which time he lived as a miſerable and as a wretched captive, more than the ſpace of twentie yeeres. At length, being dead, in Gloceſter he was buried.

The Duke returneth, and the King followeth.

The Duke is taken, and his eyes are put out.

About the ſame time *Robert Belaſme* Earle of Shrewsbury, traytereuſly did rebell: but wanting wealth, wit, courage, and ſtrength (the foure Champions of the ſtrongeſt field) hee was enforced to flie into Normandie. Where finding *William* Earle of Mortaigne and of Cornewall, much diſpleaſed with the King, for that (as he ſurmiſed) he kept from him unjuſtly the Earledome of Kent; he ſo much inſinuated himſelfe into his love and counſels, that eaſily he perſwaded him to rebell. So both of them joyning both their forces together, they made a goodly ſhew, as if they would worke wonders. But ſmall oppoſition enforced them to take a plaine view of their raſh errours; and (leaving that which they had) to make hard ſhifts for the ſafegard of themſelves. Wherein their ill ſucceſſe was a juſt reward for their foule offence: for by the Kings power they were taken, and by him held as priſoners whileſt they lived.

A Rebellion by the Earles of Shrewsburie and of Mortaigne.

They are taken and impriſoned.

The King having now caſt anchor, as he was reſolved, in a ſafe harbour; and nothing fearing the blaſts of any fortune which might attempt to ſhake his ſettlement in this Kingdome: and finding that many inconveniences did daily preſſe him with much diſhonor and diſgrace, becauſe he intermedled not with the temporalities of Biſhopricks when they

New troubles betwixt the King and the Archbiſhop of Canterburie about the temporalties of the Clergie and inveſture of Biſhops.

they were vacant; nor with the inveſture of Biſhops, as his Anceſtors had done: and being informed, That thoſe things were inſeparable incidents unto his Crown, and that his neglect to uſe them deprived him not of his right unto them; reſolved, That he would not any longer forbeare to challenge, & to put in practiſe thoſe things which ſo juſtly did belong unto him. Whereat *Anſelme* the Archbiſhop of Canterbury was much diſpleaſed, and did utterly refuſe to conſecrate ſuch new Biſhops as had received their inveſtures from the King. But *Gerald*, then Archbiſhop of York, cheerefully performed that ceremonie, upon the Kings command.

Anſelme goeth to Rome the ſecond time, and complaineth to Pope Paſchal the ſecond.

This new quarrell tranſported *Anſelme* the ſecond time from England unto Rome, where hee complained to Pope *Paſchal* the ſecond of thoſe, and of many other wrongs: all which were controverted and debated with the ſtrongeſt oppoſitions on either partie. But two yeeres after, *Anſelme* (with the licence and favour of the King) returned, and in a Synod of the Clergie, holden by him in London, by the Popes authoritie it was enacted, That from thenceforth no temporall man ſhould give inveſture to any Biſhop by the croſſe and ring.

The Archbiſhop prevaileth.

The King entreth upon the Temporalties of the Archbiſhop of Canterburie.

Within three yeeres after, *Anſelme* died, and the temporalties of that dignitie being ſeized into the Kings hands, were (for the ſpace of five yeeres) taken, received and converted to the Kings uſe. And if at any time (as he was often) he were entreated by the Biſhops to conferre that See upon ſome other; his anſwer was, That he onely kept it for a ſufficient and a worthy man.

The Biſhoprick of Ely founded in Anno 1108.

In the yeere of our Lord God one thouſand one hundred and eight, he erected the Biſhoprick of Ely, and endowed it with large and honourable poſſeſſions: which won him much favour with the Pope, and procured him the love of his own Clergie.

Normandy invaded.

Thus when the King (for a few yeeres) had enjoyed the benefit of an happie peace, and held all Normandie ſubject to his owne command, his tranquilitie and his pleaſure were envied by *Lewis le Groſſe*, then King of France: who firſt of all procured *Fulke*, Earle of Anjou (upon a weake pretence) to ſeize upon the Countrey of Maine, and then animated *Baldwyne*, Earle of Flanders, to declare againſt the King in Armes, for the with-holding of a yeerely penſion of three hundred markes, which the Conquerour gave onely unto *Baldwyne*, the fift Earle of Flanders, during his life. But the ſame had afterwards beene paied to his Sonne, and Nephew, by the courteſie of the ſucceeding Kings, becauſe the Conquerour had beene well aſſiſted in his Warres with England by the ſaid *Baldwyne* the fift. All theſe made ſtrong preparations to invade the Kings Dutchie of Normandie: but the newes thereof rowſed the King from his bed of eaſe, filled him full with princely reſolutions, occaſioned him to paſſe the Sea with an Armie of rough and tough Nobles, Gentry and common Souldiers. And ſhortly after his landing (loſing no time) he ſet upon the Earle of Anjou and his aſſociates: and after hee had beaten him ſoundly on every ſide, he enforced him to ſave himſelfe by a ſhamefull flight.

The King ſaileth into Normandy, and prevaileth.

Another victorie.

And neere unto the towne of Nice, which was ſurprized and holden by the King of France, King *Henrie* encountred the other two.

This

This battell was made famous by the continuance of nine houres, and was on all parts fought with ſuch eager and manlike reſolution, that albeit the King of England won the field, and had the long chaſe of his flying enemies, yet he boldly and truly would confeſſe, that he then fought not for victorie, but for his life.

At length, when the heat of anger was well quenched, and when many lay cold on the floore of death, whoin their life times had blown the coales of contention betweene thoſe foure Princes; they all were reconciled unto peace: and the King married to his eldeſt ſonne *William* the daughter of the ſaid *Fulke*. But in their journey towards England, the ſaid young Princes, *Richard* and *Mary* Counteſſe of Perch, two others of the Kings children, his Neece *Lucie*, with her husband the Earle of Cheſter, and moe than an hundred and foureſcore others, were unfortunately drowned by the careleſſe folly of the drunken Mariners.

A peace is concluded.

A marriage.

A great miſfortune.

Drunkenneſſe.

This unexpected newes, being accompanied with many millions of ſorrowes and of dolefull paſſions, much grieved the King: but made him not heartleſſe, as moſt Princes would have beene in the like caſe. For Wiſedome had ſufficiently inſtructed him, with patience to ſuſtaine and beare thoſe burthens, which could not by any meanes be ſhaken off. And likewiſe the King was at that time afforded but little leiſure to fixe his cogitations on thoſe miſhaps, becauſe the obſtinate rebellion of the Welchmen drew him unwillingly into a new warre. For when hee ſaw and perceived, that though he were a King, yet urgent neceſſitie commanded him to Armes, and that Juſtice did require him (by the ſword) to judge and to execute thoſe lewd and graceleſſe malefactors: hee marched with a ſtrong power into Wales, when the rebels (truſting over-much to their owne valour, which little, or nothing at all, helpeth in treaſonable plots and imployments) reſolved to abide the utmoſt puſh of their fortune: which yeelded to the King a ſpeedy and a ſucceſſefull end of thoſe Warres. For (with little danger, and as ſmall a loſſe) he gave them the overthrow, and permitted the waſtfull devouring ſwords of his aſſociates to ſurfeit upon the carcaſſes of thoſe rebels, whom neither gentle uſage, nor former executions of that nature, could perſwade to performe thoſe duties which good ſubjects doe owe unto their Prince.

The Kings admirable patience.

The Welchmen rebell, and are ſubdued.

Then returned the King, loaden with much honour, and was joyfully received by all his people, eſpecially by *Mauld* his daughter: whom he forthwith ſent to be married unto the Emperour *Henrie* the fifth, her affied husband, with a princely portion of ſilver and of gold, which (in the nature of a taxe) was levied upon the common people of their land, which he tooke for an aide towards her marriage. And the ſame cuſtome, for the marriage of the eldeſt daughter of the Kings of this Realme, hath beene and is continued unto this day.

Mauld the Kings daughter married to the Emperour *Henrie* the fifth.

Aid pur file marrier.

At the ſame time hee deviſed and ordered the manner and faſhion of a Court in Parliament; appointing it to conſiſt of the three eſtates, of which himſelfe was the Head. So that his Lawes, being made by the conſents of all, were not diſliked of any.

Anno 1114. The High Court of Parliament firſt eſtabliſhed at Salisburie in Aprill.

It chanced, that about five yeeres after the death of *Anſelme*, *Ralph*

Biſhop

The King inveſteth the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Biſhop of Rocheſter, was by the King appointed to ſucceed him, and (notwithſtanding all former councels, decrees, commandements, letters, and threatnings from the Pope) hee received his inveſture from the King. Then died the Archbiſhop of Yorke; to which See *Thurſton* the Kings Chaplaine ſhould have beene preferred: but pride having a more large rule and dominion in him than lowlineſſe and humilitie, he refuſed to ſweare obedience to the See of Canterbury; which his predeceſſors had both ſworne and performed. And becauſe the King (diſliking his obſtinacy) would not inveſt him, he appealed, and went to Rome: where (by the favour of ſome Cardinals, who had the Popes cenſure at their command) hee ſo prevailed, that the Pope not onely freed him of his ſaid obedience and ſubjection, but alſo inveſted him, and gave him the Pall: whereat the King was extraordinarily diſpleaſed, and prohibited his returne. But in the end (the Popes threatnings menacing nothing but curſes, ſuſpenſions, excommunications, and ſuch like) hee was permitted to returne, and to enjoy the dignitie of his place.

Pride.

Thurſton inveſted by the Pope.

The King is highly diſpleaſed.

Thurſton prevaileth, and the King yeeldeth.

In the ſeven and twentieth yeere of his reigne died the Emperour *Henrie* the fifth, not having any iſſue by *Mauld* the Kings daughter and heire. At which time ſhe being aged about foure and twenty yeeres, and being much ſued unto by moſt of the greateſt Princes of the Chriſtian world, the King (to ſtrengthen his Realme againſt the Kings of France) married her to *Geoffrey Plantagenet*, the ſonne and heire apparent of *Fulke*, then Earle of Anjou: by whom ſhee had iſſue three ſonnes, *Henry*, who was (after *Stephen*) King, *Geoffrey*, and *William*.

Mauld the Empreſſe married to Geoffrey Plantagenet.

Her iſſue.

This faire off-ſpring enriched the King with the trueſt endowment of good content, for that (as he conceived) he ſaw in them the ſetled continuance of his Line in the Crown of this Realme. And (to make it the more ſure) within the ſpace of five yeeres hee tooke three ſolemne oathes of his Nobilitie, and greateſt Officers of his Kingdome, That with their beſt advice, and with the hazzard of their goods, lands, lives, and fortune, they ſhould ſupport and maintaine the ſucceſſion of his daughter, and of her heires.

An oath to maintaine the ſucceſſion of the Crown in the Kings Line.

Finally, when he had reigned more than five and thirty yeeres, hee ſurfeited on a Lamprey; of which he languiſhed a few dayes, and died, and was honourably buried in the Abbey of Reading, which himſelfe had founded.

The King ſurfeiteth and dieth.

This King was wiſe, learned, mild, valiant, and juſt, beyond moſt of his predeceſſors; more enclined to peace than unto warre: ſo that hee made warre his Champion, ſtoutly to challenge his rights, and to revenge his wrongs. He never levied but two taxes upon his people: the firſt was to maintaine his warres againſt the King of France: and the ſecond was to preferre his daughter in marriage with the Emperour. He waxed rich with his owne, and yet he was very liberall: but he only extended his bountie to ſuch as merited it by their publike ſervice, and he confined his gifts within the limits of thrift and of meaſure. Hee eſtabliſhed Lawes, which were profitable to ſuch as were vertuous, but ſharpe unto malefactors who did tranſgreſſe, againſt whom hee cauſed them to be put in execution with more ſeveritie than mercie: he being perſwaded,

perſwaded, that pitie extended to ſuch as were wicked, hardened them in their ſin, and too much encouraged ſuch, as nothing but correction could either terrifie or reforme. To his friends hee was a ſure pillar, whereunto in all neceſſities they might boldly leane; and to his enemies he was rough and ſtiffe, untill time preſented occaſion of more love; and then he was very flexible, and eaſie to bee reconciled. And, as hee would never forget good ſervice done, nor any good turnes performed for him: ſo would he ſeldome or never take reſt, untill by ſome worthy gift, or correſpondent requitall, hee had ſhewed himſelfe thankfull to ſuch as deſerved well. Hee was too laſcivious in his courſe of life, uſing many concubines, by whom he had twelve known baſtards. He erected the two Biſhoprickes of Ely, and of Carlyle; and founded the Monaſteries of Circeſter, Reading, and Shyrborne, with the Priorie of Dunſtable, and ſome others: all which he beautified with many priviledges and poſſeſſions, anſwerable to their dignities and charge.

Yet did hee not retaine the chiefeſt roome in the Clergies love: becauſe that (after the death of *Anſelme*) he rejected the Popes decrees, to which he had formerly ſubjected himſelfe; and inveſted Biſhops, received Homage of Prelates, ſeized their temporalties, when their Sees were vacant, gave no allowance to any Canons of the Church, except they were ratified and confirmed by the King, compounded with Prieſts for annuall penſions, to keepe their wives, or to take them (though unto them the holy eſtate of matrimonie was forbidden:) which penſions he enforced them to pay, whether they had wives or no.

Thus (in this King) ended the iſſues males of the Conquerour, and the Crowne of this Realme was devolved to his generall Heires.

THE

Stephen a Valiant Prince, ſonne to Stephen Earle of Blois, Charters, and Champaigne: and of Adela daughter to William the Conqueror. Vſurped the Kingdome of England, which caused him to be vexed with continuall warres. He raigned 18 yeares, 11 months, died at the age of 49 yeares, and liеs buried at Feversham, 1154.

THE HISTORIE OF KING STEPHEN.

THe experience of all ages hath made ſufficient proofe, that the eager appetite which moſt men have to gaine wealth and riches hath made them careleſſe to perform thoſe common duties which doe belong to honeſtie and to right. But if a kingdome may be obtained (though with the breach of a moſt ſolemne Oath) no ſcruple is then made. For the deſire of Soveraignty, and to enjoy a Crowne, makes men play faſt and looſe, and to hazzard the loſſe of their ſoules by the wilfull perjurious violating of their faith.

Stephen aſſumpeth.

This proved too true at this time: for albeit that *Stephen* Earle of Boloigne, the ſon and heire apparent of *Stephen* Earle of Bloys, and of *Adela* the Conquerours daughter, was one of the chiefeſt whom King *Henrie* the firſt had obliged by many ſolemne and publike Oathes, to further the ſucceſſion of *Maud* the Empreſſe, being his Daughter, and of her children: yet (when the King was dead) he finding that all the Nobles (though ſworne as himſelfe was) applied themſelves to wait upon his pleaſure, he either utterly forgot, or (at leaſt) he cared not for the vowes of former times, but cauſed himſelfe to be crowned King.

The former Oath is forgotten.

1135.

And ſo well was he inſtructed by the former examples of his Progenitors, that, as they did, ſo did he endeavour (by wiſedome and by Policie) to lay a ſure foundation to his eſtate. And becauſe riches are the ſinewes and the ſtrength of the ſtrongeſt Kings, he therefore (to enrich himſelfe) ſeized upon the treaſure of his Uncle, the laſt deceaſed King: which he cloſed not up in cheſts, or in bags, as idle Archers doe their arrowes in their quivers, when (for their honeſt recreation) they ſhould ſhoot; but with a large and an open hand he bountifully diſpoſed of them among ſuch, as either by armes or by counſell were beſt likely to ſtand him in the greateſt ſtead. He alſo created ſundry Noblemen, and dignified many others with the honourable title of Knighthood, whoſe love by thoſe meanes he procured. And becauſe benefits received doe more pleaſe the vulgar and common ſort of people than right or reaſon can do, he therefore releaſed unto them the Dane-gelt, and all other extraordinary burthens and exactions whatſoever; cauſing a large charter thereof, and of the mitigation of the ſeveritie and penalties of ſundry Lawes to be made, and bound himſelf by a ſolemn Oath to keep and to obſerve the ſame. He alſo renounced the future ſeiſures of all Eccleſiaſticall Dig-

Good Policie.

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The Kings liberalitie.

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Priviledges granted to the Clergie.

nities and Promotions, when they ſhould become vacant. He gave to the Church and Church-men ſuch gracefull and profitable priviledges and immunities as they would demand. And (among other things) he freely exempted them from the authoritie of the Temporall Magiſtrate, for all offences whatſoever, except the Ordinarie ſhould be pleaſed that he ſhould deale therewith. Finally, he endeavoured to doe all things juſtly, and pleaſing unto all. To prevent ſudden eruptions, rebellions, and incurſions, tending to the generall diſturbance of the common peace, by having many ſtrong and fortified places for good defence, himſelfe erected many Forts, Fortreſſes, Bulwarkes, and Caſtles, and licenced his Nobles, and his Gentrie, and Clergie, to doe the like. He gave unto *David* the King of Scots, and Uncle to *Mauld* the Empreſſe (becauſe he ſhould not ſecond her in her demands or warlike attempts) the whole Province of Cumberland, and created his eldeſt ſon *Henrie* Earle of Huntingdon. Yet notwithſtanding, not long after (in her quarrell) he entred into the Northren parts of this kingdome, which he tormented with fire and ſword: but in the end he was encountred by *Thurſton* then Archbiſhop of Yorke, who compelled him (being purſued with unſpeakable dangers) to flie into Scotland, and to leave behind him dead upon the ground, more than ten thouſand men of his Armie.

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Caſtles and Fortreſſes erected.

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The Scots flattered by the King.

The King of Scots overthrown by the Archbiſhop of Yorke.

Mauld the Empreſſe landeth in England.

In the ſixt yeere of his reigne *Mauld* the Empreſſe, being accompanied with her baſe Brother *Robert* Earle of Gloceſter, landed with an Armie in England, and was quickly ſtrengthened and emboldened in her enterpriſe by the plentifull acceſſe of many of the Engliſh, and of *Rainulph* Earle of Cheſter, with a luſtie crew of bold and forward Welchmen. Hereupon the King (impoſing no confidence in delay, but experience inſtructing him, that adviſed expedition is the chiefeſt enabler of good ſucceſſe) levied a ſtrong Armie, and marched with good reſolution againſt the Empreſſe and her forces: who greeted him with ſuch muſick as her warlike troupes did gallantly preſent. So that a cruell and a bloudie battell (with equall hopes) for many houres was fought betweene them. But at length the Kings common ſouldiers (ſtriving faintly, and, as cowards, rather endevouring to ſave themſelves by flight, than manfully to defend their King) did baſely leave the King; who, with his Nobles & Gentry, ſcorning to turne their backs, maintained their part with as much courage as manhood could afford, till (in the end) the King was taken, and committed to the Caſtle of Briſtoll, where he remained a priſoner about the ſpace of three moneths, and was at the laſt delivered to free the Earle of Gloceſter, who had beene taken, and was impriſoned by the Queene.

King Stephen overthrowne.

King Stephen taken priſoner.

King Stephen is ſet at liberty.

After this victorie thus obtained, the Empreſſe (with many honourable triumphs and ſolemnities) was received into the Cities of Circeſter, Oxford, Wincheſter, and London. But the Londoners (deſiring the reſtitution of King *Edwards* Lawes, and not obtaining their requeſt) conſulted to ſurpriſe the Empreſſe, and to deliver her unto the King. By meanes whereof good counſell adviſed her to flie: which ſuddenly ſhee did, and came unto Oxford, where (within few dayes, and unexpectedly) ſhe was invironed with a ſtrong ſiege: ſo that deſpaire of good ſucceſſe diſ-heartning her, and teaching her a ready means for her eſcape, taking the benefit of the ſnow (which at that time lay thicke upon the ground)

The Londoners attempt to ſurpriſe the Empreſſe.

The Empreſſe beſieged in Oxford.

ſhe,

ſhe, with her chiefeſt complices, apparelling themſelves in white linnen, ſecretly iſſued forth, and poſting with all ſpeed towards the Sea, they embarked themſelves, and ſailed into Normandie. A politicke flight.

Many yeeres together, after theſe turmoiles, this Realme enjoyed a bleſſed peace: and in the ſeventeenth yeere of this Kings reigne died the moſt valorous and hardy knight *Rainulph* Earle of Cheſter, and ſo did *Geoffrey Plantagenet*, husband to the Empreſſe: and *Henrie*, ſirnamed *Short-Mantle*, her eldeſt ſonne, tooke to wife *Elianor* the daughter and heire of the Earle of Poytou: which *Elianor* not long before (for neerneſſe in bloud, and after ſhe had borne him two daughters) was divorced from *Lewis* the ſeventh, then King of France. So that Prince *Henrie* was now Duke of Normandie in the right of his mother, Earle of Anjou by deſcent from his father, and Earle of Poytou in the right of his wife; by whom (not long after) he alſo had the Earledome of Tholouſe. Henry Short-Mantle heire apparent to the Empreſſe.

This worthy Prince (by many of his friends and valiant men of war, who longed to have employment in ſo faire a journey) was incited to levie a ſtrong Armie, and to tranſport them into England, and by their help, and the aſſiſtance of other well-willers, to attempt the recoverie of his right: and the rather, for that King *Stephen*, and *Euſtace* his only ſon, did now begin to war upon many of thoſe who held their Caſtles for the Prince his uſe. His ſtrong expectation and hope to be enthroned in this Kingdome, through the favour of divers Lords and Commons of this Realme, eaſily perſwaded him to lend a liſtening eare to their whiſperings: ſo that to give unto them good content, and to forward the attaining of his owne deſires, he raiſed a ſtrong power of willing and able men of war. Which (being bravely conducted by noble Captains, well skilled in thoſe affaires) arrived ſafely in England: where King *Stephen* and his ſon diſdained to be idle; for they had provided with an equall ſtrength to encounter him. Henry Short-Mantle invadeth England.

Both Armies had daily newes the one from the other: they threatned much, did ſomewhat, but it was but little: yet in thoſe expeditions *Euſtace* the Kings ſon by miſadventure was unfortunately drowned, which overcame the King with infinite paſſions of ſorrow & extreme griefe. But it made a quiet end of this quarrell. For now the King (not having any ſon which might ſucceed him) was well pleaſed to lend a liſtening eare to the faire proffer of a friendly peace. And thereupon he adopted Prince *Henrie* for his ſon, proclaimed him to be the heire apparent of his Crowne, gave him many honourable and kingly gifts, and aſſured him of his unchangeable love and friendſhip. Prince Euſtace drowned. The quarrell is compounded and ended.

And by theſe meanes all armes were caſt aſide, and peace triumphed, having gotten a certaine and a ſure victorie with few blowes: and the Prince, with his followers, returned into Normandy, where they were with much honour and incredible joy received.

And the next yeare after King *Stephen* died, when he had reigned almoſt nineteene yeeres; and lieth buried in the Abbey of Feverſham in Kent, which himſelfe had founded. And by the happy ſucceſſion of this *Henrie*, the Saxon bloud was againe reſtored unto the Imperiall Crowne of this Realme. King Stephen dieth. The Saxons bloud reſtored to the Crowne of England. See the deſcent in the reign of King Henry the firſt.

Henry the 2d Surnamed Shortmantle King of England Duke of Normandy, and Aquitaine Earle of Poicteres, and Anjou: Lord of Ireland: His raigned 34 yeares 9 monthes. died the 6th of July 1189 at the age of 61 yeares, and lieth buried at Fonteverard in Normandy.

THE HISTORIE OF KING HENRIE THE SECOND.

WHen *Henrie* was returned into Normandy, the French King (fearing leſt time and his fortunes would make him too puiſſant and too ſtrong for his bordering neighbours, and intending to deale roughly with him before he ſhould be the abſolute Maſter and Commander of his owne ſtrength) very injuriouſly ſeiſed upon divers of his Fortreſſes and Caſtles in Normandy and elſewhere, which (queſtionleſſe) ought to have beene ſubject to his government. But *Henry* (being wiſe, and full of courage and heroicall magnanimity, and foreſeeing that if he ſhould ſhrinke as a coward, and not make himſelfe knowne by his valour to the world, when the wrongs which were done unto him were too apparent) raiſed a faire Army; and (for the regaining of one of thoſe his Caſtles) he girded it round about with a ſtrong ſiege. And whilſt he was thus employed to winne his right, the newes of King *Stephens* death came freſhly unto his eares. And (to prevent ſuch uſurpation, as oftentimes in the abſence of the lawfull Kings, depriveth them of their Crownes) he was by his neereſt and deareſt friends adviſed to abandon the Siege, and, without tarrying, to tranſport himſelfe into England. But his anſwer was full of diſcretion and true valour, to this effect, *The Kingdome of England* (quoth he) *ſhall henceforth be at my command, in deſpight of thoſe who dare to croſſe me moſt; and ſo ſhall theſe intruding Frenchmen ere I goe hence.*

Henry Short-Mantles valour and courage.

He ſaileth ſpeedily into England; but firſt winneth the Caſtle which he had beſieged.

A reſolute ſpeech.

This reſolution redoubled his honour among his friends, and ſo it did among his enemies. For when the beſieged were informed what he had ſaid and determined (fearing the event if obſtinately they ſhould detain him there too long) they ſurrendred the Caſtle, & ſubmitted themſelves to his mercy; who received it and them with a favourable and gracious acceptance. And then giving ſuch directions as both the time and occaſions did require, and being accompanied with many Lords and Gentlemen of the beſt and chiefeſt ranke, he ſailed with a proſperous wind

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1154. into England; where (not long after) he was crowned King.

The King reformeth the Lawes.

The ſingular zeale and love which he bare to the furtherance of juſtice, and to the execution thereof, appeared manifeſtly by two actions of his, performed; the one in the beginning, and the other towards the latter end of his reigne. For firſt, he made an eſpeciall choice of certain men, who were very honeſt, upright, and beſt learned in the lawes of this Realme; by whoſe induſtrious labours and travailes he refined and reformed the common lawes, making them to be more tolerable and profitable unto his people. And towards the end of his dayes he divided his whole kingdome into ſixe ſeverall Circuits, and (for the adminiſtration of juſtice, and for the trialls of cauſes betwixt men and men, for the better eaſe and comfort of his Subjects) he appointed certaine Judges twice in every yeere to ride and to travell through thoſe Circuits: which courſe and order is carefully continued at this day.

England divided into Circuits, into which Judges were ſent to eaſe the people.

Strangers baniſhed, and the cauſe why.

He alſo baniſhed the greateſt part of ſtrangers, who (in thoſe dayes) by multitudes flocked hither, and by their extraordinary ſparing, and painfull induſtry, procured to themſelves much wealth, and beggered ſuch as were natives borne.

Oath-breakers baniſhed.

He alſo exiled many of the Nobles, who, contrary to their publike Oathes, Duties, and Conſciences, had more than ordinarily adhered unto King *Stephen*; being fully reſolved, That the cogitations of their own guiltineſſe, in that behalfe, would never ſuffer them to be hearty and faithfull unto him.

Caſtles politikely razed and overthrowne.

He differed much from the opinion of his laſt Predeceſſor, and affirmed, That ſtrong Forts and Caſtles, erected and maintained in the heart or body of a kingdome, did rather animate great men, upon all diſpleaſures, to revolt, than in any ſort containe them within the bounds and limits of their obedience, and of their duty; wherefore he cauſed them to be razed (for the greater number) to the ground.

He ſeizeth on Crowne-lands formerly given away.

Note.

He alſo ſeized into his owne hands ſuch Territories, Manors, Lordſhips, and Poſſeſſions, as his Predeceſſors had either given or ſold from the Crowne; holding it to be the duty of every Subject to refuſe the gift or purchaſe of ſuch things, as doe ſo immediately concerne the honour and maintenance of the King.

And the like he did in the Northren parts, where many great men, commanding almoſt as they liſted, had wrought themſelves and their poſterities into many Honours, Caſtles, and Manors (without title) which in truth and in deed appertained to the King.

He alſo reſumed into his owne hands the Provinces of Cumberland, and of Northumberland, together with the Earledome of Huntingdon, which *David* the King of Scots, and *Henrie* his ſon, had received as a gift from King *Stephen*, becauſe they ſhould not intermeddle in the furtherance of his mother *Maud* the Empreſſe to her Right and Crowne.

Geoffrey the Kings younger ſon is Duke of Britaine.

In the thirteenth yeere of his reigne he married *Geoffrey* (being one of his younger ſons) unto *Conſtance* the daughter and heire apparent of *Conanus* Duke of Britain: who died not long after, and left unto them that Duchie.

He alſo affied his younger ſon *Richard* unto *Adela* one of the daughters of *Lewis* the King of France, and married his daughter *Maud* unto

Henrie

Henrie Duke of Saxonie. And about the same time the Empresse his mother died.

Mauld the Empresse dieth.

He loved peace (though he were passing valiant) because he found it to be pleasing and profitable: yet he willingly entred at all times into the Lists of warre, when necessity or good reason perswaded him to arme.

Peace preferred before war.

When his estate was most quiet, and freest from wars abroad, or civill disturbances at home, he would now and then, upon the sudden, raise an Army, and transport them either into Normandy, or into Britaine, Anjou, or other places subject to the Dominion of himselfe, or of his sons: and himselfe in person used to goe with them. And in those places he exercised them in fortifications, trainings, and lyings in the field, and with other martiall discipline. By meanes whereof he settled those Countries in peace, and with good government made warlike businesses familiar to his souldiers; and then returned without blowes into England. By these meanes, when troubles hapned, he little feared, because his men were aptly inured to those things which most properly belong unto the wars.

The King exercised his souldiers in warlike negotiations in the time of greatest peace.

The commodity of his so doing.

In the nineteenth yeere of his reigne (because the Irish nation attempted to deprive him of certaine territories in that Iland, which were left unto him by his Predecessors) he sailed thither with a mighty Army, and fought many victorious battels, against five Kings, which at that time reigned there. All which he subdued, and made subject unto himselfe, and became the sole Lord of all that Country, and annexed that title unto the title of his Crowne, and returned honourably into England. Such was the surpassing love of this worthy King to his eldest son *Henrie*, that he caused him, and his wife *Margaret* the daughter of the French King, to be twice solemnly crowned in the presence of his people (himselfe the second time, for that day, leaving the title of a King, and serving as a Sewer at his sons table): whereat his proud son made no wonder, but publikely affirmed, That his father was nothing thereby dishonoured, for that he was onely the son of an Empresse, but he himselfe was the son both of a King, and also of a Queene.

1174. Henry the second conquereth Ireland.

The King and his son twice crowned King in his fathers daies.

A proud and an unthankfull son.

Many jarres and quarrels in his latter dayes arose betwixt King *Henrie* the father and *Lewis* the French King, which at length were decided by sharp and bloudy wars. In all which (most unnaturally) *Henry*, *Geoffrey*, and *John*, the Kings sons; and (most undutifully) *Robert* Earle of Leicester, and *Hugh* Earle of Chester, together with *William* then King of Scots, tooke part with the French against the King. In all which (notwithstanding) King *Henrie* by noble valour and courage did prevaile, and upon submission granted pardon to his sons, and all the rest. Yet were his sons after grievously punished by God: for *Henrie* died before his father, in the prime and flower of his strength; and *John* his son (who was after King) was poysoned by a Monke. Yet these unnaturall rebellions by his owne children, unto whom he had extended (if we may beleeve reports) more than the love and affection of a worthy father, so inwardly perplexed his mind, that, surfeiting upon bitter passions, occasioned by their revolt, he fell into a dangerous Fever, which the more vexed him, because *Richard* his son had then raised another broile against him.

Warre betwixt England and France.

Unnaturall children.

God plagued them.

King Henry, sorrowing for his childrens rebellions, dieth.

him. And within foure dayes after he died in Normandy, when he had reigned almoſt five and twenty yeares, and was buried at Founteverard in France.

King Henries deſcription.

The hiſtory of this Kings reigne approveth him to have beene learned, wiſe, politike, juſt, and valiant: and that (which not a little augmenteth the number of his praiſes) albeit he were oftentimes engaged in many buſineſſes; ſome of them concerning his wars in France, Normandy, Anjou, Ireland, and in other places; and ſome of them reſpecting his politick rule and government at home: yet he never impoſed nor levied upon his ſubjects any extraordinary taxe or paiment whatſoever. Yet left he unto his Succeſſor more than nine hundred thouſand pounds in ſilver and gold, beſides plate, jewels, houſhold-ſtuffe, and proviſion for the war.

A rich King who taxed not his people. 900000. l.

And though in moſt things proſperity made him happy, yet in three things eſpecially he was moſt unfortunate and unhappy. The firſt was the unnaturall diſobedience and rebellious revolts of his owne children. The ſecond was his inordinate favour and unquenchable luſt towards *Roſamond* his unſeparable Concubine; who (being admirably faire, but wantonly conditioned) alienated and eſtranged his beſt affections and love wholly from the Lady *Elianor* his moſt renowned wife, and made his deſires ſubject, nay ſlaviſh unto her will. So that whileſt ſhe lived ſhe was ſeldome from his right hand; and being dead, he cauſed her with great ſolemnity and pomp to be ſumptuouſly buried at Godſtow beſides Oxford, fixing on her Tomb this Epitaph,

His unhappineſſe.

1

2

His incontinency with the faire Roſamond his Concubine.

Hic jacet in Tumba Roſa Mundi, Non Roſa munda.
Non redolet, ſed olet; quæ redolere ſolet.

Roſamonds Epitaph.

3

And the third was the irreconcileable diſſention and ſtrife which hapned betwixt himſelfe and *Thomas Becket* the proud and inſolent Archbiſhop of Canterbury. The which, beginning in the tenth yeere of his reigne, was proſecuted ſeven yeeres after with great aſperity and bitterneſſe on either party, as briefly it ſhall appeare.

The hiſtory of the Kings trouble with Thomas Becket.

Theobald Archbiſhop of Canterburie (for what deſert few did know) in ſuch ſort favoured *Thomas Becket* a Londoner, borne of ordinary parentage, that he made him Archdeacon of his owne Church: and (being able to obtaine any thing of the King which he did reaſonably crave) he procured him to be removed from one dignity to another, untill (at length) he was made Lord Chancellor of the Realme. This high honour ſo puffed up *Thomas Becket* with the wind of pride and vaine-glory, that now he thought few or none exceeded him for his honour, & for his vertues. Yet did he carry himſelfe with ſuch regardfull obſervance and duty to the King, that he augmented his eſtate with the gift of large Territories and Poſſeſſions; which daily made him the more confident of the continuance of his great fortunes.

Thomas Becket made Lord Chancellor.

Thomas Becket is made Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

His unthankfulneſſe.

He is inveſted at Rome.

He is made the Popes Legate.

At length *Theobald* died, and the King preferred *Thomas Becket* to ſucceed him. But he (being moſt unthankfull, and reſolved as it ſeemed to play his prankes) ſecretly, and without leave, travelled unto Rome, and was inveſted by Pope *Innocent* the ſecond, of whom he received his Pall, and was made a Legate: and then he returned into England, and

was

was in great diſ-favour with the King. But he (taking little notice of the Kings diſlike) contrary to the Kings pleaſure, upon the ſudden ſurrendred to the King his Chancellorſhip, and the great Seale. The King enquired diligently for the cauſe why he ſo did; but ſuch was his obſtinate folly and unthankfulneſſe, that he would not reveale it unto any.

He proudly ſurrendreth his Chancellorſhip, and the great Seale.

Theſe jarres betweene the King and the Archbiſhop emboldened the baſer and the worſer ſort of the Clergy to commit many great and horrible ſins and offences, for which they received ſmall puniſhment, becauſe (though their tranſgreſſions were murthers, manſlaughters, theſts, and robberies) yet they being to be tried and adjudged by men of their own profeſſion, were too too much winked at: ſo that, by means of their careleſneſſe, the Common-weale was much wronged. Wherefore the King ſummoned and aſſembled his High Court of Parliament, in which that Law made by K. *Stephen*, which exempted the authority of the Temporall Judge to meddle with any Eccleſiaſticall perſons, for any crime by them committed whatſoever, was aboliſhed; and the ancient Lawes of this Realme, uſed in the times of *Henry* the firſt, and of others the Kings Progenitors, (which were commonly called *Avita Leges*) were reduced to their former validity and force.

The Clergies temporall offences made ſubject to be tried before the Temporall Judge.

Avita Leges.

But in theſe proceedings the King was much croſſed and interrupted by the obſtinate and bold frowardneſſe of *Thomas Becket*, and of ſome few other Biſhops, who unadviſedly made themſelves partakers of his Faction. But after many conferences, diſputes, and conſultations, touching thoſe buſineſſes, all the Biſhops (*Becket* onely excepted) ratified and ſubſcribed thoſe newly revived lawes: but *Becket* would not by any means aſſent thereunto, except he might inſert this clauſe, *Salvo ordine ſuo*: which words would cleerely have annihilated the life and ſubſtance of thoſe Lawes.

Becket would not give way to thoſe lawes. His exception, *Salvo jure ſuo.*

This his folly made the King to bite his lip, and to ſay little: ſo that the other Biſhops, much fearing to what end the Kings extraordinary diſpleaſure and diſcontentment would tend, did privately commune with the Archbiſhop, and prayed him (for the preventing of future miſchiefs) to ſubmit himſelfe: whereunto he gave his free conſent, and (as the reſt had done) ſo did he take a ſolemne Oath, to give allowance to thoſe Lawes. The King forthwith altered the ſtrangeneſſe of his countenance into pleaſing and familiar lookes: he ſpake kindly unto *Becket*, and aſſured him of his former love. And being wiſe and politike, and purpoſing to aſſure the peace of future times whilſt opportunity did ſerve, he cauſed a tripartite Inſtrument to be drawne betwixt himſelfe and the two Archbiſhops, teſtifying this Submiſſion, and this Oath. Two of which parts were forthwith ſubſcribed by the King and by the Archbiſhop of York: but *Thomas Becket* (falling into the relapſe of his former folly) did not only refuſe to do the like, but expreſſed great repentance for the former Oath which he had taken: and (not ſo contented) he ſecretly informed the Pope thereof, & of his inward ſorrow for that ſin. The Pope not only abſolved him of that Oath, and enjoined him to ſome private penance, but he alſo required him, without yeelding, ſtoutly to perſiſt (with a ſtrong reſolution) in his opinion.

Becket is perſwaded, and ſweareth to thoſe lawes.

Becket againe withſtandeth thoſe lawes.

Becket is abſolved by the Pope.

Hereupon the Kings anger towards *Becket* daily encreaſed more and more.

Beckets temporalties ſeized by the King.

more. And when this newes from Rome was divulged, his Majeſty ſeized into his own hands all ſuch Temporall lands and promotions as hee had given in former times unto *Becket*, and required him to render him an account for thirty thouſand Markes, which (to his uſe) he had received when he was Chancellor of this Realme. But boldly he affirmed, That the King had frankly and freely given it unto him, and that therefore he would not enter into any ſuch account. Whereupon the King, to ſatisfie himſelfe, made a ſeizure of ſuch moveable goods as appertained to him.

He is called to an accompt for 30000. marks, and refuſeth to accompt.

His moveables are ſeized.

Becket goeth to Rome.

Thus, whileſt the wheele thus turned, *Thomas Becket*, without the Kings licence, tranſported himſelfe ſecretly unto Rome; and the King (thereby perceiving that *Becket* intended nothing more than to incenſe the Pope againſt him) ſent his Embaſſadours and Letters unto Rome; and by them he ſignified unto the Pope how reaſonable his owne demands were, and how perverſely *Thomas Becket* had refuſed to obey. And therefore he entreated the Pope that he might be deprived of his place and dignity; proteſting, That he would provide for him and his in ſome other kind. But the Pope not onely denied his requeſt, but with thundering termes he threatned to ſend two Legates into England, who ſhould curſe the King, and all his Realme, except, on their demand, he reſtored the Archbiſhop both to his place and dignity, and alſo to all ſuch lands and moveables as by the Kings commandement had bin taken from him. And in the meane time he commended *Becket* to the Abbot of Pontinyack, where he was gently received, and kindly entertained as a Monk:

The Pope denieth the Kings requeſt.

He threatneth the King.

The Kings anger againſt Becket.

But when the King perceived into what corner the wind did blow, and that the Pope had filled *Becket* with the blaſts of pride and vaineglory; he (being more and more exaſperated) ſent unto the ſaid Abbot, and required him to turne *Becket* out of his houſe, or otherwiſe he proteſted he would not leave one Monke of his Order in all France.

The King forbiddeth acceſſe from the Pope into England.

He alſo publiſhed certaine Injunctions againſt the Pope, and all Cardinalls and Legates, which (without his licence) ſhould preſume to enter into his kingdome.

Beckets friends are baniſhed.

He alſo deprived *Thomas Beckets* neereſt and choiceſt friends of all ſuch promotions, lands, and ſubſtance, as they did enjoy; and baniſhed them out of the Realme, becauſe (with counſell and with money) they had joyned with him in his obſtinacy againſt the King.

This round and bitter courſe more troubled *Becket* than all other precedent paſſages whatſoever. And, to encreaſe his griefe, the Abbot of Pontinyack (fearing the event of the Kings diſpleaſure, if he ſubmitted not himſelfe to his command) gently perſwaded *Becket* to leave his houſe. Whereof when *Lewis* the French King heard, (albeit his daughter *Margaret* was married unto *Henrie* the young King, yet) he procured him better entertainement elſewhere, and ſecretly wrote in his behalfe unto the Pope.

The French King underhand animateth the Pope.

The King ſaileth into France.

He conferreth with Becket.

His offer to Becket.

King *Henrie* (deſiring to ſee an end of theſe troubles, if by any means conveniently he might) upon the ſudden ſailed into France: and (in the French Kings preſence) he conferred with *Becket* oftentimes, and made him this offer, That if (at laſt) he would take the ſaid Oath again, and would ſubſcribe the ſaid Inſtrument tripartite (as himſelfe and the Archbiſhop of Yorke had done to the other two) he ſhould then

returne

returne into England, graced with the Kings especiall favour; and that he should enjoy his place and dignity, and be (in ample sort) restored to all things taken from him, and whereof justly he had beene deprived: and that the like bountie should be extended to his exiled friends. But hee proudly answered, That if the King would consent that he might so sweare and subscribe with this exception, *Salvo honore Dei*, he then would yeeld. But this exception displeased the King more than all the rest had done: for then he perceived plainely, that *Becket* intended thereby to expresse, That those Lawes tended to the dishonour of Almighty God; and that therefore he had a purpose no longer to obey them (notwithstanding he would subscribe and sweare) than he should please. But *Becket* told him proudly and plainely, That he feared none but God: and that (sith those his Lawes were derogatorie to the ancient customes and priviledges of the Church, and robbed God of his honour) the King (in seeking to establish them) should not have his owne will whilst he lived.

Salvo honore Dei.

Beckets proud resolution.

The King, failing of his purpose, returned into England; and not long after, two Legates came to him from Rome, to interdict him from comming to the Church, untill he had in all things whatsoever restored *Becket*, according to the Popes commands. High displeasure transported the King into Normandy, where he conferred againe with *Becket*, but found him still the selfe-same man: and being desirous to see an end of those troubles, he gave him way, and consented to his returne, and came againe into England. And not long after *Becket* followed the King. But the King mutteringly repined, that, among all such as he had advanced, there was not one who would endevour to rid him of so dangerous and malapert an enemie.

Two Legates sent to interdict the King.

He saileth into Normandy, but finds no alteration in Becket.

The King is pleased that Becket shall returne into England.

The King would faine have Becket dispatched.

He also received a strange welcome of *Henrie* the young King, who exiled him from his Court, and confined him to his owne house in Canterburie, because (in his absence) the King in his Parliament desiring that his said sonne should be crowned King, the Bishop of London, and three other Bishops (upon the Kings commandement) had performed those ceremoniall solemnities, and were suspended by *Becket*, because they presumed so to doe without his leave; and could not be absolved by *Becket*, although he had been entreated therein by both those Kings.

And within foure dayes after, *Becket* (by foure graceless malefactors) was wickedly murdered in his owne Church: whereof the King was accused by the Pope, but he denied it upon his oath. Yet in regard of his former muttering speeches (which by all conjecture hastned his end) the King submitted himselfe to the Popes censure: who enjoined him to warre three yeeres in person in the Holy Land, which he redeemed by erecting three houses of Religion. He was also enjoined to goe from London to Canterburie bare-footed, to visit *Beckets* Shrine: which he did, and suffered himselfe to be scourged with rods by every Monk there. And thus the King had a bad end of all those troubles.

Thomas Becket murdered.

The King accused.

The Kings penance.

He is whipped.

THE

The right valiant Prince RICHARD surnamed Cœur de lion King of England and Hierusalem Duke of Normandy and Aquitane Earle of Poicters and Anjou Lo. of Ireland &c. He died at the age of 42 yeares An. 1199. after he had raigned 9 yeares 9 months and 22 dayes and lieth buried at Fonteverard in Normandy.

THE HISTORIE OF KING RICHARD THE FIRST.

Richard, the eldeſt ſon living of *Henrie* the Second (being in Normandie when his Father died) ſucceeded in his Throne. And (becauſe thoſe Countries wanted ſettlement, and required a longer time of his preſence) above all other things he was moſt carefull for the enlargement of Queen *Elianor* his Mother, who by her deceaſed Husband was committed to ſtrait impriſonment, becauſe ſhee loathed, and would not endure his laſcivious courſe of living with his wanton *Roſomond*, but ſharply reproved him for the ſame. And becauſe ſhe was every way vertuous, diſcreet, and wiſe, he committed the whole government of this Realm, in his abſence, to her care. And (becauſe her owne experience had informed her, what anguiſh and what ſorrow poore helpleſſe captives did endure) ſhe ſet at libertie all ſuch as were impriſoned for ordinarie offences, or for ſmall debts, which her ſelfe did pay: and adminiſtred the Common-weales affaires with great moderation, integritie, and juſtice, untill her ſon the King came home, and was with all ſolemnitie and ſtrange triumphs annointed and crowned King.

A good ſonne, but an evill husband.

Queene Elianor is made Regent of England.

Non ignara mali, miſeris ſuccurrere diſcit.

This King (imitating the milde diſpoſition of his Mother, and commiſerating the troubles of ſuch as were afflicted) freed out of every Priſon all ſuch as were his debtors, or were enthralled for any tranſgreſſion which concerned himſelfe, and whom, without injuſtice done to others, hee might acquit. And in the whole courſe his government hee ſo provided, that juſtice with mercy ſhould bee extended unto all.

A mercifull King.

Hee heaped many honours and profitable promotions upon his brother *John*, whom hee created Earle of Lancaſter, and gave unto him the Provinces of Nottingham, Devonſhire, and Cornwall, and married him to the ſole and onely daughter and heire of the Earle of Gloceſter, from whom he received the Lordſhip of that Countrey.

Too much honor elateth.

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Too much honor elateth.

Theſe great and kind favours required, that he ſhould be thankfull. But oftentimes it hapneth, that as the addition of too much oyle extinguiſheth the lampe, which otherwiſe would burne and yeeld her light; and as the over-abundance of too much water, falling upon a Wheele, maketh it the leſſe ſerviceable for the uſe to which it is emploied: ſo the conferring of too much Honour, and of too many Titles of Dignitie upon ſuch as are not capable of them all, altereth and changeth their milde and gentle diſpoſitions, and maketh them altogether unthankfull for thoſe benefits which they have received. And oftentimes they are incited and provoked thereby to affect things of higher conſequence and moment than are fitting; and to conjecture, that the greateſt fortunes are moſt agreeable to their eſtates. So that they never ceaſe to attempt great things: which in the end will rather be hurtfull to them, than doe them any good.

An unthankfull brother.

This proved true betwixt the King and his brother *John*. For when the King had powred on him plentifull ſhowres of his bountie and great abundance, and had advanced him in honour and in eſtate above all others, his thoughts mounted above the Moone, and made him unnaturally and unthankfully to affect the Crowne, and to boaſt, that his endowments were ſufficient and fitting for a King. And though hee wanted opportunitie, yet hee reſolved to puſh hard for the Crowne, if time and fortune would preſent it to him.

Cuer de Lyon.

This King (for his invincible valour, and haughtie courage) was eſteemed to bee almoſt matchleſſe in the Chriſtian world: ſo that hee was ſurnamed *Cuer de Lyon*, or the Lyons heart. And (to ſay the truth) hee was ſuch a one, as (upon good advice and counſell) dared to attempt any thing, if it were honourable to bee atchived, and poſſible to be done.

A bountifull King.

His fathers treaſure enriched him exceedingly with great ſtore of ſilver and of gold. And ſuch was his contempt of riches, and ſuch was his bountie to ſuch as either deſerved well, or left in him any impreſſion of noble worth, that hee beſtowed on them great gifts, with ſuch alacritie and cheerefulneſſe, that in ſhort time he unbowelled all his bags and cheſts, little foreſeeing, that future buſineſſes might require the expence of more than the great plentie which was left unto him: and that (when hee wanted) he ſhould be enforced to make hard ſhift to relieve himſelfe.

The King reſolveth to warre in the Holy Land upon the Popes motion.

In the beginning of his reigne, the Pope ſolicited him with ſtrong perſwaſions, and many promiſes of his bleſſings, to wage warre in his owne perſon againſt the Turkes in the Holy-Land, and to attempt the winning of Jeruſalem from the Infidels and unbeleeving men, who maliciouſly oppoſed themſelves againſt the Incarnation, Paſſion, and Aſcenſion of Chriſt Jeſus. Which journey he undertooke, becauſe *Frederick* the Emperour, and *Philip* the Second, ſurnamed *Auguſtus*, King of France, *Leopoldus* then Archduke of Auſtria, and many other Chriſtian Princes, had engaged themſelves (both with men, money, and all other proviſions) to further thoſe attemps. And thereupon hee entred into covenants with the King of France, and the reſt of that Union, That their generall meeting ſhould bee in Sicilia: and that ſuch wealth and

Frederick, Philip, Leopold.

Their covenants and agreements.

bootie

bootie, as God and good fortune ſhould make them owners of, ſhould equally be ſhared and divided among them and theirs.

Theſe things being thus concluded (although the Kings profuſe expences, and great gifts exceeding meaſure, had made him bare and needy) yet would he not burthen his people with any taxe to ſupply his wants. But raiſing great ſummes of money out of his own eſtate, among other things, he ſold his Caſtles of Barwick and of Rokesborough to the King of Scots, for ten thouſand pounds: and the Lordſhip and Earledome of Durham unto *Hugh* then Biſhop of that See, for much money. Hee alſo enriched himſelfe with ſilver and with gold, by the ſale of ſundry Honours, Lordſhips, Manors, Offices, Priviledges, Roialties, and other things, unto ſuch as parſimonie and ſparing had made Owners and Poſſeſſors of great plentie: and did proteſt, That (for the performing of ſo great and honourable a ſervice) he was not unwilling to ſell his Citie of London, if any were of abilitie to buy it, rather than he would be chargeable unto others.

The King in his wants would not taxe his people.

Hee levieth money of his owne eſtate.

His willingneſſe to undertake this voiage.

And thus the King having furniſhed himſelfe with all proviſions fit and neceſſarie for his journey, and having levied a ſtrong Armie, in which were many Lords, Knights and Gentlemen, whoſe reſolutions encreaſed his hopes of good ſucceſſe, he committed the principal government of his kingdome unto *William Longchampe*, then Biſhop of Ely; who (not long after) was made the Popes Legate. And then he ſailed with his whole Armie to the Iſle of Cyprus; which (with brave courage) after many hot and dangerous encounters, he won; and ſold the ſame to the Knights Templars for thirtie thouſand Markes.

William Longchampe made Regent of England.

The King departeth.

He wins Cyprus, and ſels it for 30000. Markes.

And from thence (according to his former appointment) he tranſported his Armie into Sicilia; where he met with *Philip* the French King: and upon their firſt enter-view, they pleaſed each other with many paſſages of familiaritie and of love. But this faire Sun-ſhine was quickly vailed and covered with a cloud of ſcorne and diſcontentment. For when the French King was denied to have any part or ſhare with King *Richard* in his atchievement of the Iſle of Cyprus (both becauſe hee was abſent when it was taken, and alſo becauſe it was affirmed by King *Richard*, That their covenant extended only to ſuch things, as they ſhould win and gaine in the Holy-Land) he waxed angrie, and uſed many high and diſdainfull tearmes, and made publike ſhew of inward diſcontent. All which King *Richard* did ſet at nought, and told him to his face, That doe what he dared, he ſhould not be a partner in that bootie.

A jarre betweene the King and Philip King of France.

King Richard neglected the French Kings anger.

It ſtood not with King *Philips* honour to waxe cold ſo ſoone in this great enterprize, whereon the eies of all the Chriſtian World were fixed, and daſtardly to return home. But howſoever he had diſpoſed of himſelfe, and of ſuch forces as he commanded, yet King *Richard* was reſolved to goe forth: ſo that (neceſſitie enforcing them to ſome agreement) they proceeded in their journey. In which they all, & their confederates, performed many honourable and wonderfull deeds of Armes, terrifying and daily diminiſhing the Turkes numbers and forces with continuall ſlaughters, and giving them but little leiſure or courage to reſiſt.

The Chriſtian Princes doe prevaile.

And (among many other ſtrong Townes, Forts, Caſtles, and Garriſons of great ſtrength and importance, which they conquered) they won

Acon won.

(after a long and a ſharpe Siege) by maine batteries and reſolute aſſaults, the ſtoutly defended Citie of Acon: Upon the wals whereof a forward Knight advanced the banner and the colours of *Leopold* the Archduke of Auſtria. But King *Richard*, ſcorning that too much grace and honour ſhould bee done unto the Duke, and his owne deſerts bee thereby blemiſhed, he having firſt of all entred into the Citie, ran up unto the wall, plucked downe that banner, and thoſe colours, and trampled them with his feet: whereat the French King was much diſpleaſed, and gave his tongue libertie to ſpeake great things. But King *Richard* (neglecting his frownes, and laughing at his diſcontent) affirmed, That in ſo doing he had onely righted himſelfe of thoſe injuries which were done to him: and that if any were diſpoſed to looke ſower thereat, hee was careleſſe of his anger, and in the field would bee ready to maintaine his doings againſt any.

King Richard trampleth on Leopolds colours.

The French King is angry.

King Richards courage.

The French King ſwelling at the heart to ſee King *Richard* thus careleſſe, reſolute, and bold: and ſeeming to diſtruſt leſt by ſome ſecret league, or other compact, betwixt King *Richard* and the Turkes, ſome danger might aſſaile him and his followers, he tooke an unkinde leave, and carrying away with him all ſuch troupes as belonged to the Emperour, to *Leopold*, and to himſelfe, he left the King of England, and returned home.

The forces of the Empire, and of the French King, and of Leopold, do leave King Richard.

This his departure diſcomforted not King *Richard*: but with his own Souldiers, and with the forces of ſome other Chriſtian Princes, who ſubmitted themſelves to his direction and government, he perſiſted in thoſe warres, and proſecuted his attempts with ſuch conſtancie, and heroicall magnanimitie, that he prevailed, and became victorious, when the greateſt dangers aſſaulted him moſt to make him feare. And (among many other things which boldly he attempted) he returned unto the Iſle of Cyprus, and by force hee valiantly won it from the Knights Templers, unto whom he had formerly ſold it, and then exchanged it for the Citie of Jeruſalem, with *Guy* of Leſingham the laſt Chriſtian King, who held and did poſſeſſe it. By meanes whereof, King *Richard* was ſtiled King of Jeruſalem; and ſo were many of his ſucceſſors long after.

He winneth Cyprus againe.

He is ſtiled King of Jeruſalem.

Thus while hee became victorious, and daily triumphed over the Turkes miſeries, his kingdome of England was badly governed at home by the Biſhop of Ely, to whom hee had committed the charge thereof. For he (being the Grand-child of a Ploughman, and the ſon of a Cowheard in the North, and being advanced to that Biſhopricke, and made Lord Chancellor of England, Legate to the Pope, and Protector of all this Realme) tyrannized, as himſelfe lifted, over all ſorts of people, exerciſed on them ſtrange and unuſuall oppreſſions both in the Church, and alſo in the Common-weale, and was ſo infinitely ambitious and ſo proud, that hee would never ride abroad for his paſtime, and for his recreation, except hee were attended and waited on by a thouſand horſe and more; and was ſerved by the ſonnes of the greateſt Nobles in this Land, unto whom hee gave in marriage, with ſome portions, divers of his baſe and ruſticke kin. But at length hee grew to bee ſo contemptible, loathſome and vile in all the peoples eyes, that (fearing

England is badly Governed.

Aſperius nihil eſt humili, quam ſurgere in altum.

A begger on horſe-backe will ride.

The ambitious Biſhops fall.

what

what would be the ſequell of his unlimited inſolencie and pride) hee reſolved to forſake this kingdome. And comming (for that purpoſe) into Dover, diſguiſed in the habit of a woman, and having under his arme a piece of countrey-cloth, which he offered to the ſale, hee was deſcried and diſcovered, and by the common people was furiouſly and ſhamefully dragged and drawne upon the ſands, and was afterward ſent unto London: where the Lords and greateſt Nobles committed him to the Tower; in which he remained untill the Kings returne, and then hee was reſtored both to his libertie and offices. But ſhortly after, as hee travelled towards Rome, hee died, whereat much joy was conceived generally by the Engliſhmen.

He diſguiſeth himſelfe, and is dragged on the ſands.

He is reſtored.

He dieth.

Of theſe affaires, and of his evill government, King *Richard* was informed in the Holy Land: as alſo of the great diſcontentment of his brother *John*, for that the Biſhop of Ely, and not himſelfe, was (in the Kings abſence) made Governour of this kingdome: and how that hee had ſeized many of the Kings Townes, Forts, and Caſtles, into his hands, and onely wanted the peoples favour to make himſelfe a King.

The cauſes which haſtned King Richards returne.

Hee likewiſe was informed, what ſallies, inrodes, and invaſions, the French King (after his returne home) had made in Normandie, thereby to revenge himſelfe of thoſe pretended injuries and wrongs, which hee ſuppoſed hee had received from King *Richard* in the Holy Land.

These tidings thus concurring, and the good deſire which King *Richard* had to prevent the ruine of his owne eſtate, enforced him (when he poſſeſſed the greateſt hopes of conqueſt) to conclude a peace with the Turks for three yeeres. But in his returne, he was (by the violence of a raging ſtorme) compelled after a dangerous ſhipwrack to ſave his life by ſwimming, neere unto Hiſtria; which lieth betweene Aquileia and Venice: and comming to the Territories of *Leopold* in Auſtria, hee was taken priſoner, and by him ſold to the Emperour *Henrie* the Sixt, the ſon of *Frederick*, for threeſcore thouſand Marks; who (taking of him good ſecuritie for his ranſome, aſſeſſed unto one hundred thouſand pounds) did ſet him at libertie: So that with ſpeedy journies hee poaſted untill he came into Normandie, where he raiſed a ſtrong Armie, and marched furiouſly into France, and revenged himſelfe ſoundly of all ſuch injuries and wrongs, as in his abſence were done unto him by the French King. And then he reduced to his ſubjection all ſuch Peeres in Normandie, as by the Frenchmen, in his abſence, had beene taken from him.

King Richard ſaveth his life by ſwimming. He is taken priſoner, and ſold to the Emperour Henrie the Sixt. Hee is ranſomed. He revengeth his injuries upon the French King.

Thus whileſt the King was buſied abroad, his brother *John*, Earle of Lancaſter, repaired to him, and not onely ſubmitted himſelfe to his grace and mercie, but voluntarily ſurrendred to him all ſuch Forts and Caſtles as he had ſeized into his hands: excuſing himſelfe as being provoked and enforced to diſloyaltie by the extraordinarie pride and inſolent behaviour of *William Longchampe* Biſhop of Ely; who unworthily had diſordered the government of the whole Realme. Upon which ſubmiſſion, and his contrition for his offence, he obtained not only the Kings pardon, but alſo his eſpeciall grace and favour.

Duke John ſubmitteth himſelfe to the King his brother, and is pardoned.

He useth unjust meanes to pay his debts and ransome.

Then did they both come into England: where the King (to make paiment of his ransome) unlocked the treasures of divers religious houses, and grievously taxed the people, and summoned his High Court of Parliament, in which he caused himselfe to be againe crowned King. And to augment his owne estate, hee resumed into his hands all such Honors, Lordships, Manors, Castles, Offices, and Priviledges, as hee had formerly sold to his owne subjects for his supplies, and enforced the Buyers to content themselves with such profits therof, as they had taken. Then fourescore thousand pounds of his ransome were paid, but the residue was discharged by *Leopold*, who was accursed by Pope *Innocent* the third, for that he had injuriously made King *Richard* a prisoner, in his returne from his Warres in the Holy Land.

He is crowned anew.

He resumeth the Lands which he sold, and paies nothing for them.

Leopold is accursed, and releaseth part of the Kings ransome.

The King warreth in France.

Then the King raised a new Armie; and transported it into France, and from that time forward he ceased not (with variable successe) to war with the French King: untill at length, taking a private view of the besieged Castle of Chalons, neere to Lymois, hee was descried by a common souldier, who so grievously wounded him with an arrow, that within three daies after he died, when he had reigned almost nine yeeres, and was buried at Fountevrard in France, at his fathers feet.

He is slaine.

After he was wounded, as is before mentioned, he won the Castle by terrible assaults, and caused all such as hee found therein to be slaine, except the malefactor: who being demanded by him how he dared to shoot unto the person of a King, made answer, That in those warres he had lost his father, and his brother, and that hee was exceeding glad that fortune had so assisted him in his revenge. Then when hee expected nothing but a present terrible death, the King gave him his pardon, and caused him to be safely conducted out of his Armie.

Ultio divina.

The King pardoneth him who slew him.

In the beginning of this Kings reigne, certaine Out-lawes, to the number of one hundred and more, being resolved and desperate men (whose chiefest leaders were named *Robin Hood* and *Little John*) robbed and spoiled in divers places of this Land. They neither hurt, nor much wronged any, except they would run themselves into danger by resistance. They attempted against none, but against such, as being rich, gained by usurie; or gave no entertainment by good Hospitalitie to their neighbours, and to the poore. They spared all women, and were bountifull benefactors to such as stood in need. Thus they continued divers months, untill their chiefest leader *Robin Hood*, by meanes of a sharpe sickneſſe (being let blood, and being betraied) bled himselfe to death. And then the whole Rout of this theevish companie was dispersed, and the malefactors secretly repaired home to their owne houses.

Robin Hood and Little John.

Honest Theeves.

THE

IOHN King of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine Earle of Poytou and Anjou, Lord of Ireland: He died at the age of 52 yeeres after he had reigned about 17 yeeres and lieth buried at Worcester 1216

R E Gulmit

THE HISTORIE OF KING *JOHN*.

John Plantagenet (Earle of Lancaster in his own right, and Earle of Gloceſter in the right of his Wife, and being the youngeſt Son of King *Henrie* the Second) ſucceeded, and was crowned King: albeit that *Arthur Plantagenet* his Nephew, and Sonne to *Geoffery* his elder brother, was then living. The whole

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R F. Cælavit

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John Plantagenet (Earle of Lancaſter in his own right, and Earle of Gloceſter in the right of his Wife, and being the youngeſt Son of King *Henrie* the Second) ſucceeded, and was crowned King: albeit that *Arthur Plantagenet* his Nephew, and Sonne to *Geoffery* his elder brother, was then living. The whole

Arthur Plantagenet was lawfull heire.

whole courſe of this Kings government was accompanied with continuall troubles: and his two perſecutors were Pope *Innocent* the Third, and *Philip* the Second, then King of France.

The King's two perſecutors.

The French King feared the greatneſſe of Englands ſtrength, and the proſperitie of this kingdome was hurtfull unto his eyes: and glad he was, if (at any time) the leaſt occaſion would offer him ſome ſervice to further his deſignes againſt King *John*. For proofe hereof, he proteſted a world of love to the ſaid *Arthur*, informed him of his title to the Crowne of England, and of his undoubted right to the Dutchies of Normandie and of Britaine, animated him to raiſe his ſpirits, and to advance his courage to win them all. If hee were deſtitute of friends, which might adviſe and counſell him, hee and his Nobles would ſupply that want: if hee ſtood in need of ſilver and of gold, to feed and to nouriſh the great bodie of that warre, he ſhould be ſupplied with ſufficient ſtore: and if he would have valiant men to fight for him, and for thoſe his rights, he would ſupply him with many thouſands, who ſhould adventure to ſpend their beſt blood in his quarrels.

The French King taketh part with Arthur againſt King John.

Theſe large and friendly proffers (which indeed proceeded rather from a jealouſie which the French King had of himſelfe, by reaſon of King *Johns* greatneſſe, than from any inward affection or heartie love which hee bare unto *Arthur*, the lawfull and the rightfull Heire of this Crowne) and the longing deſire which made this young Gallant hopefull of thoſe great atchievements, perſwaded him very eaſily, not onely to accept of the French Kings friendſhip, but alſo to uſe his aide: ſo that partly by the helpe of the Normans, and partly by the French Kings meanes, he levied a puiſſant Armie, and won divers places both of worth and of ſtrength in Normandie. But the Kings Lievtenant, and his other Agents in that Dutchie, defended themſelves valiantly, perſiſted in their duties, and fought it out divers times, untill King *John* himſelfe came into that countrey with a ſtrong Armie, and fought many cruell battels with his Nephew.

Arthur Plantagenet levieth an Armie.

King John goeth into Normandie with an Army.

But oftentimes it falleth out, that by warre (which is the enemie of peace) peace it ſelfe is procured. For when thoſe two Princes had exchanged ſtore of blowes, and when their Armies had made havocke each of other, and death had drenched her ſelfe in their blood, they entred into certaine capitulations for peace, which for a ſhort time, gave them ſome reſpit of breathing. But the ſame was againe interrupted by *Philip* the French King, who promiſed *Arthur* a doubling of his ſtrength, and fed him with much aſſurance of proſperous ſucceſſe; and made him confident to renew thoſe wars. And hereupon the French King carried a faire Armie into Normandie, with which he ſpoiled, ranſacked, and depopulated many places in that Dutchie.

A peace is concluded.

The peace is broken by the French Kings meanes.

But King *John* (who wanted nothing but money to encounter with ſo perverſe an enemie) was warned by his Lords, Gentlemen, and the inferiour ſort of his common people, That ſhame would wait upon him for his neglect, in ſuffering his Honour to be trampled on, and his Territories in ſuch ſort, without blowes, to bee taken from him. And (to whet the dull edge of his courage, dejected by reaſon of his wants) they voluntarily and freely granted him a large taxe to ſupport his neceſſitie;

The Engliſhmens forwardneſſe to buckle with the French.

and

and every luſtie Lad boldly proffered his ſervice, to buckle ſtrongly with the French.

By theſe meanes King *John* was quickly furniſhed and ſtrengthned both with mony and with men; and with a ſtrong Armie he landed in the Dutchie of Normandie: where his numbers were every day augmented, by the repaire of many thouſands, who were well appointed, and did reſolve with him to expect the ſame lot and the ſame fortune. And not long after, the two Armies met, and fought together with ſuch deſperate boldneſſe, that each of them tooke pleaſure to give blowes, wounds, death. Each of them rejoyced in the ruine of the other; and thoſe ſolemne ſpectacles of ſorrow which would have made others ſad, gave them occaſion of much mirth.

King John paſſeth into Normandie the ſecond time with an Armie.

The two Armies fight.

But things which are violent cannot long endure. This fearefull ſtorme muſt bee changed into a pleaſant calme. And ſo it was. For the Frenchmen were diſcouraged, and fled; and *Arthur*, the Kings Nephew, and the rightfull heire unto his Crowne, was taken priſoner, and ſent to the Caſtle of Roan: where (leaping from the wals with an intent to eſcape) hee was drowned in the Ditch. And thus ended his life, his title, and thoſe warres.

The Frenchmen flie. Arthur is ſent priſoner to Roan. He is drowned.

This Warre ended.

But the next yeere following, the French King himſelfe, pretending title to the ſaid Dutchie of Normandie, raiſed an exceeding great power; and ſo ſuddenly, and with ſuch furie did invade it, that (wanting preſent meanes of reſiſtance) the whole Dutchie (to prevent utter deſolation and ruine) yeelded, and ſubjected it ſelfe to the French King.

The French King ſuddenly winneth all Normandie.

And now began the Kings other enemie, Pope *Innocent* the Third, to play his part, and to vexe him more dangerouſly than *Philip* of France had done. And the occaſion which hee entertained to effect his purpoſe, was this.

The quarrell betwixt the King and the Pope.

Hubert the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, died, and the Monks of Saint *Auguſtines* in that Citie (without the Kings licence, or knowledge, and about midnight) elected *Raynold* (a brother of their owne) to ſucceed him, and tooke of him an oath forthwith to travell unto Rome, and there to procure his inveſture, and to receive his Pall from the Pope.

The King being thereof informed, by manifeſt ſhewes made known his inward diſlike of thoſe their unadviſed doings: ſo that (upon his motion, and to appeaſe his wrath) they newly elected *John Gray*, who was then Biſhop of Norwich: And incontinently, the King (upon his owne charge) ſent letters and Embaſſadours unto the Pope, entreating him to ratifie his laſt choice.

But in the meane time a new ſchiſme or faction did appeare. For the Suffragan (becauſe he was not made acquainted, nor an actor in either of the ſaid two elections) made ſuit to the Pope to diſplace them both. But the Pope (imitating the proud example of his Predeceſſors, who coveted to ſwim againſt the ſtreame, and ſeldome or never granted any Kings requeſt, leſt they ſhould in ſome ſort be thought to be yeelding) neglected the Kings entreatie, and confirmed him that was choſen firſt. The King ſtormed becauſe hee was ſo ſlenderly regarded. And divers of thoſe Monkes (to pleaſe the King) refuſed to receive him that was by the Pope confirmed; conteſting againſt their owne choice, becauſe it

Popes doe ſeldome or never grant to any Kings their reaſonable requeſts.

was

was made in the night, and not in the open day. But the reſt affirmed, That ſuch a choice was not meerely voide, and in it ſelfe a nullitie, but remained good, untill by judiciall proceedings, and by a ſentence, it were pronounced to be voide.

At length, this queſtion and this doubt was controverted and diſputed on in Rome: and thereupon the Pope (making a colourable ſhew to content the King, to pleaſe the Monkes, and to end this Schiſme, but indeed to preferre *Stephen Langton*, the Cardinall of Chriſogone, to that dignitie) adviſed the ſaid Monkes to elect the ſaid *Stephen*.

Stephen Langton is choſen Archbiſhop of Canterburie on the Popes motion, and againſt the commandement of the King.

The King perceiving well what was intended and meant thereby, required the ſaid Monkes not to proceed to the ſaid election, nor to deale any further in that buſineſſe. But very undutifully they neglected to content, or to obey the King; and with them the Papall commandement tooke place: and *Stephen Langton* (a man pliant to the Popes humour) was elected Archbiſhop of Canterburie.

The King forbiddeth appeales to Rome.

This latter choice ſo ſharply exaſperated the King, that by his letters to the Pope he proteſted plainly, That from thenceforth he would take a ſtrict account of all ſuch of his ſubjects whatſoever, as for any matters concerning right or juſtice, ſhould be gadding unto Rome. And did alledge, That he had Biſhops, Prelates, Nobles, and Magiſtrates of his owne, who could and ſhould (according to the Lawes and Cuſtomes of his Kingdome) decide and determine all controverſies and doubts, which ſhould ariſe either in the Church, or in the Common-weale. And that he would rather expoſe himſelfe to a thouſand deaths, than baſely (as he was required) make himſelfe and his kingdome ſervile and ſubject to the Popes inſolent and peremptorie commands.

The Popes proud and peremptorie anſwer.

The Pope (according to his cuſtome and faſhion) not onely anſwered proudly, That the election of the Cardinall ſhould ſtand: but required the King, to give him the quiet poſſeſſion of his See, to recall ſuch Monks from baniſhment as he had exiled, and to reſtore to them their goods, on which he had ſeized by reaſon of their laſt choice: and did authorize foure Biſhops within this Land, to interdict and to curſe the King and his Realme, if he refuſed to doe as by the Pope hee was enjoyned.

Foure Biſhops authorized to interdict the King.

The King (perceiving that thoſe foure Biſhops were much elated by reaſon of their new authoritie, and that they thought the time to be long, ere the King had replied and ſignified his intent and reſolution) ſeized upon their lands and goods; and did proclaime, That he reſolved to take the like courſe with all ſuch as received any Promotions, Inveſtitures, or Eccleſiaſticall degrees from the ſaid Cardinall, or went unto Rome upon any occaſion without his licence, or did appeale for any cauſe thither, or did attempt to put in execution any command from the Pope, within his kingdome.

The King ſeizeth on the foure Biſhops lands and goods.

The Pope (being advertiſed hereof) ſent into England his two Legats, *Pandulphus* and *Durant*, men of proud ſpirits, and prone to put in practice all things as they ſhould be required. Theſe two perſwaded the King to be reconciled to *Stephen Langton*, to the foure Biſhops, and to the Prior and the Monks of his Covent of S. *Auſtins*, and to reſtore to them their Places, Lands, and Goods, that peace and amitie, by meanes of his ſo doing,

The Popes Legats curſe the King and his aiders.

doing, might be renewed betwixt the Pope and him. The King (fearing to be accurſed, and being deſirous to prevent future inconveniences) yeelded, and promiſed to performe all whatſoever was required, except it were to allow the ſaid election of the ſaid Cardinall: and proteſted faithfully, That if another might be choſen, he then would with all ſpeed and expedition, preferre him to ſome other Biſhopricke, or better place of dignitie within his Realme. But the two Legats (in ſtead of gratifying the Kings requeſt) pronounced the Popes curſe, not onely againſt him, but alſo againſt all ſuch as gave him attendance, or things neceſſarie, or kept him company. They likewiſe abſolved all his ſubjects from their oathes, dutie, and ſervice towards him, and required all Chriſtian Princes to make warre upon him, as upon the arch and grand enemie of the Church of God. The Pope alſo pronounced and publiſhed againſt him his ſentence of deprivation, and gave his Crowne and his kingdome to *Philip* the French King, if by any ſecret plot, or open violence and hoſtilitie, he could expell or murther him.

This Kingdome is given to the French King.

Theſe were the fruits of this unholy holy Father, the Popes religion and Government. And this uſurping arrogancie was a badge of his unſufferable pride, in that he preſumed to doe what no earthly creature can doe, nor what a Chriſtian ought to attempt to doe, againſt the annointed of God; and againſt ſuch a one, as the Almightie hath placed in a kingdome to governe and to rule his people. The King was not (as yet) terrified with this thunder, but was in good hope that all thoſe fulminations would quickly flaſh, and as ſoone vaniſh away, as the lightning doth. And being thoroughly reſolved to confront the Pope and his buſie Legates, in contemning them and their greateſt power, he tooke a ſolemne oath of his ſubjects for his defence, and their faithfull ſervice. And then with a ſtrong Armie he entred into Scotland, againſt King *Alexander* the ſecond, becauſe he had received, ſupported, and maintained divers of his Clergie, and others: who (adhering to the Pope, and magnifying his uſurped authoritie within this kingdome) had forſaken the King, and (as Rebels and Out-lawes) fled unto him for ſuccour. But the Scotiſh King (perceiving that fire and ſword gaped greedily to devoure both him and his Countrie) ſubmitted himſelfe (with great humilitie and reverence) to King *John*; and without further trouble, he was reconciled to his grace and favour.

The King confronteth the Pope and his Legates. Hee taketh oath of his people. Hee carrieth an Armie into Scotland.

The Scots ſubmit themſelves.

The French King hoping and endevouring to poſſeſſe himſelfe of the Popes gift (which was not his to give) and gladding his owne heart that now hee had gotten ſome colour to warre in England upon King *John*, provided a great Armie to invade this Realme. But by the wiſedome, valour, and circumſpection of the King, and by Gods aſſiſtance, three hundred of his ſhips (being loaden with Corne, Victuals, and other requiſites, for the warre) were ſurpriſed, and by meanes thereof King *Philip* was at that time robbed of his vaine hope.

The French King prepareth for England.

Three hundred of his Ships are taken.

The Pope notwithſtanding ceaſed not, but ever and anon hee accurſed the King againe and againe: inſomuch that he feared, leſt utter ruine and his overthrow did attend him. Wherefore ſuddenly, without the conſent of his Nobles, or advice of his Councell of Eſtate) upon his knees, before *Pandulphus* the Legate, hee confeſſed his diſobedience to the

King John fainteth. He asketh pardon, and reſigneth his Kingdome to the Pope.

the Pope, craved pardon, and (by a publike inſtrument in writing under his hand and ſeale) he reſigned his Crowne and his Kingdome to the Pope: which *Pandulphus* kept the ſpace of foure daies to the Popes uſe. And then he gave the kingdome and the Crowne againe to King *John*, and to his heires, reſerving a tenure thereof to the Church of Rome, with an yeerely tribute of one thouſand Markes.

The Pope regranteth.

The King is deſpiſed and forſaken.

This baſe ſubmiſſion and ſubjection of his, ſo alienated from him the deare affection of divers of his Nobles, and men beſt skilfull in Chivalrie, that they revolted from his ſervice, and fled unto his enemie the French King, whoſe head was building of Caſtles in the aire, and who made new and large preparations and proviſions, to make *Lewis* his ſonne the ſole King and Monarch of this kingdome. And when all things were in a readineſſe, the young Prince with a ſtrong Army came into England, and was oftentimes encountred with ſharpe blowes; but yet hee did much harme. And the Pope (being by his Legats informed in what caſe King *John* and his Realme ſtood) required the French King, and Prince *Lewis* his ſonne, and all others who adhered to their part, of what eſtate or condition ſoever they were, forthwith to deſiſt and ceaſe from all hoſtilitie and warre; becauſe both King *John* and his kingdome were reconciled to his favour, and to the Church, and the Crowne of his Realme was holden of the See of Rome: So that (by conſcience, and by the Lawes of God and of men) he ought to bee protected & defended by him, and by his authority and power. But the French refuſed to obey, affirming, That no King (without the free conſent of his Nobles, Prelates, and common people) could give unto any other his kingdome, nor the protection of his Subjects, which were committed to him by God: and conſequently, that this kingdome was not holden of the Church of Rome, nor ought to be defended or protected by her. This anſwer ſo ſtartled the Pope (whoſe will may not willingly meet with the leaſt reſiſtance) that incontinently hee ſent *Guallo* the Cardinall of Saint Martins into this Realme: who accurſed *Philip* the French King, and Prince *Lewis* his ſon, and ſuch of the Engliſh Nobility as tooke part with them, and all their complices and adherents.

Prince Lewis of France invadeth.

Contention between the Pope and the French King.

The Pope curſeth.

The effects of the ſaid curſe.

The wiſer ſort among them little reſpected what was done by the ſaid Cardinall: but the common people, and the ordinarie degree of Souldiers (whoſe devotions more depended upon feare, than upon their knowledge) were ſo amazed and daunted with thoſe ſharpe and ſudden curſes, that (leaving their Leaders, and the Field) they returned home to their houſes, and to their ſhips. And the poore natives of this Realme (knowing that divers great Lords were under the cenſure of this curſe) entered into their houſes, fields, and grounds, robbing and ſpoyling, and bearing, and driving away, whatſoever they could find and take, they being ſo farre off from doubting or diſputing with their own conſciences, whether therein they did well or no, that they ſuppoſed their ſo doing tended immedialtly to the glory of Almighty God, and that their ſtealths and robberies were meritorious and pleaſing in his ſight.

Robbery, ſtealth, and oppreſſion.

Popiſh blindneſſe.

By theſe meanes, thoſe Lords and Nobles were much perplexed and pinched with great diſtreſſe, and were likely to bee ſtarved to death, becauſe

The revolted Lords are diſtreſſed.

becauſe they wanted all neceſſaries belonging unto life, and knew not how to relieve their owne wants. Neither durſt any other (by reaſon of thoſe curſes, and of their treaſons) to relieve them: So that at length (when all friends, and when all other remedies did faile) neceſſity (which is the moſt imperious Commander of all thoſe, over whom ſhe tyrannizeth) enforced them to proſtrate themſelves at the Kings feet, to confeſſe their undutifull revolt, and to crave his pardon. They ſubmit themſelves.

The King (who by nature was gracious and full of pitie, and being more willing to forgive than to puniſh ſuch as in the higheſt meaſure had offended him, albeit hee had, by their aſſiſtance given to his enemies, beene oppreſſed with infinite miſeries, and had found more fidelitie and ſervice in ſtrangers borne, than in thoſe his owne ſubjects) in milde and in gentle ſort accepted of their ſubmiſſion, pardoned their tranſgreſſions, and reſtored them to their Honours, and to their Lands. They are pardoned and received into favour.

And by theſe meanes this Realme was disburthened of the French Nation, and a quiet peace began to ſalute the King and his people: who now found ſome leiſure to looke up, and to refreſh themſelves, as fiſhes doe in a faire calme, after they have beene tumbled and toſſed in the waters by an unquiet ſtorme. Peace.

1212. The Pope (intending to make theſe his proceedings with King *John* in England, a preſident unto other Princes) aſſembled a generall Councell at Lateran; wherein hee publiſhed them all at large, together with the ſaid Kings grant of his kingdome to the Pope, and his ſaid regrant, and the tenure thereof to bee of the Church of Rome. And in the ſame Councell, *Otho* the Emperour, *Peter* King of Arragon, and *Raymond* Earle of Tholouſe, and divers other Princes, were excommunicated: and others were interdicted, together with their Kingdomes and their Provinces (for hereſie, as it was pretended.) But the certaine ſcope of this crafty and cunning packing tended to none other end, than onely to make temporall Princes ſubject to the Popes correction; and conſequently to enrich himſelfe and his ſucceſſors with their ſpoyle. In the ſame Councell alſo, Auricular confeſſion and Tranſubſtantiation were eſtabliſhed and decreed: and therein it was enacted, That ſuch as ſpake evill of the Pope ſhould be damned in Hell; and that no man ſhould bee Emperour, untill he had ſworne his homage to the Pope, and had received his Crowne from him. The Councell of Lateran. Princes excommunicated, and their Provinces and Kingdomes interdicted. A Popiſh Policie. Auricular confeſſion. Tranſubſtantiation. Damnation. Emperour.

And thus all theſe troubles (having had from the fourth yeere of Kings *Johns* reigne as long a continuance as the Trojan warres) were at laſt ended. But the Clergie would in no ſort bee heartily reconciled to the King. For ſuch was their ſecret grudge and ſpleene towards him, that (under the colour of much ſervice and duty) as he lay in the Abbey of Swanſteed (not farre from Lincolne) he was poyſoned by a Monke of the Order of Saint *Bernard*: who, to make his match ſure, and to avoide jealouſie and ſuſpition, firſt dranke unto the King, and poyſoned himſelfe for companie. And thus died King *John*, when hee had reigned above ſeventeene yeeres, and lieth buried at Worceſter. Peace after ten yeeres warre. King John is poiſoned. worceſter

1205. In the ſeventh yeere of his reigne hee tranſported a puiſſant Armie

Ireland. of valiant men of armes, and common ſouldiers, into Ireland: and with great reſolution and courage hee reduced that Nation to their former obedience, from which (with inſolent obſtinacy) they had revolted.

1208. A Maior in London. And in the ninth yeere, by a new Charter, hee enabled the Citizens of London to make their annuall choice of a Maior, and of two Sheriffes, for the better Government of that City.

London Bridge. And the yeere following, the Bridge of Stone was there built over the River of Thames.

1209. A deſcription of King John. This King was very wiſe, politike, and wonderfull valiant, not to be ſubdued but by death, nor wearied with any travell, nor would be diſcouraged with more than ordinary dangers. He fought many ſucceſſefull battels both at home and abroad; yet was he not alwaies fortunate. For by meanes of the Popes quarrellings, *Philip* of France won from him the greateſt part, yea almoſt his whole Dutchie of Normandie, & vexed him exceedingly at home in his owne kingdome. He was liberally bountifull and benigne to all ſtrangers, but ſparing in his gifts to his owne ſubjects. And ſome reaſon he had to be the more cloſe-handed towards them, becauſe the moſt of them (better loving France than their owne Countrey, and caring more for the French King, than for him who was their Soveraigne Lord and Maſter) gave him little ſtomack and courage to advance them, as otherwiſe (no doubt) hee would have longed and deſired to have done.

He left behind him foure ſonnes; *viz. Henrie*, who ſucceeded him; *Richard*, who was elected King of the Romans; *William* of Valentia, and *Guido Diſnay*: and three daughters, *viz. Iſabell*, married to *Fredericke* the Emperour; the ſecond, to *William Marſhall* Earle of Worceſter; and the third, to the Earle of Leiceſter.

THE

HENRY *the* III. *King of England, Duke of Aquitaine, Earle of Poictiers and Anjou, Lord of Ireland. He died at the age of 65 yeares, after he had raigned 56 yeares, and lieth intombed at Westminster.*

THE HISTORIE OF KING *HENRIE* THE THIRD.

AFter the death of King *John*, *Henrie* his sonne (being of the age of nine yeeres) was crowned King; and the protection of him, and of this Realme, was committed to the Earle of Glocester, who having married one of the Kings Aunts, and being well learned, politicke, and wise, stoutest, and valiant, ad-

1216. A Protector.

Ireland. of valiant men of armes, and common ſouldiers, into Ireland: and with great reſolution and courage hee reduced that Nation to their former obedience, from which (with inſolent obſtinacy) they had revolted.

1208. A Maior in London. And in the ninth yeere, by a new Charter, hee enabled the Citizens of London to make their annuall choice of a Maior, and of two Sheriffes, for the better Government of that City.

London Bridge. And the yeere following, the Bridge of Stone was there built over the River of Thames.

1209. A deſcription of King John. This King was very wiſe, politike, and wonderfull valiant, not to be ſubdued but by death, nor wearied with any travell, nor would be diſcouraged with more than ordinary dangers. He fought many ſucceſſefull battels both at home and abroad; yet was he not alwaies fortunate. For by meanes of the Popes quarrellings, *Philip* of France won from him the greateſt part, yea almoſt his whole Dutchie of Normandie, & vexed him exceedingly at home in his owne kingdome. He was liberally bountifull and benigne to all ſtrangers, but ſparing in his gifts to his owne ſubjects. And ſome reaſon he had to be the more cloſe-handed towards them, becauſe the moſt of them (better loving France than their owne Countrey, and caring more for the French King, than for him who was their Soveraigne Lord and Maſter) gave him little ſtomack and courage to advance them, as otherwiſe (no doubt) hee would have longed and deſired to have done.

He left behind him foure ſonnes; *viz. Henrie*, who ſucceeded him; *Richard*, who was elected King of the Romans; *William* of Valentia, and *Guido Diſnay*: and three daughters, *viz. Iſabell*, married to *Fredericke* the Emperour; the ſecond, to *William Marſhall* Earle of Worceſter; and the third, to the Earle of Leiceſter.

THE

HENRY *the* III. *King of England: Duke of Aquitane. Earle of Poictiers and Anjou. Lord of Ireland. He died at the age of 65 yeares, after he had raigned 56 yeares and lieth intombed at Westminster.* 1272.

THE HISTORIE OF KING *HENRIE* THE THIRD.

AFter the death of King *John*, *Henrie* his sonne (being of the age of nine yeeres) was crowned King; and the protection of him, and of this Realme, was committed to the Earle of Glocester: who having married one of the Kings Aunts, and being well learned, politicke, and wise, temperate, and valiant, ad- 1261. A Protector.

administred the Lawes and Justice uprightly to the people.

The French King againe invadeth England.

So deep an impreſſion had confidence made in the hearts of *Philip* of France, and of Prince *Lewis* his eldeſt ſonne, that the Kings minority, traiterous friends, and their owne good fortune, would make them the Soveraigne Lords of this Kingdome; that no former commandements, or curſes from the Pope prevailed to make them utterly to abandon and to forſake this kingdome. For their hopes fed them with this conceit, that their new repaire hither, and the daily diſturbance and trouble which by their meanes ſhould unjoynt the peace, and the good government of this Common-weale, would, and (in the end) ſhould ſhake it with a continuall feaver, and make it hopeleſſe of all recovery or reliefe, ſaving onely by their meanes. And upon this project they landed freſh forces within this Land.

But the new Protector was not idle in his charge. For his preparations were expedited with great celerity and judgement: and (with ſuch forces as he had levied) he manfully oppoſed himſelfe againſt all encounters of the French, and of the Welch, which obſtinately adhered to the French part.

The VVelchmen take part with the French.

But the beſt ſucceſſe by warres (in a diſtempered and in a mutinous eſtate) gives little cauſe of boaſting to either part. For the ſlaughter of many friends and kinsfolke (affording the Victory) cannot chuſe but bring with it a ſorrowfull remembrance of their untimely end, and beget many wiſhes, that (their undutifull errors having been reformed) they were alive againe.

The Pope curſeth againe.

Honorius the Pope being truly informed how obſtinately the French and the Welch Nations (being aſſiſted with ſome Engliſh) daily warred and ſpoiled within this Realme, not onely confirmed the authoritie of *Guallo* the Legate, but by him hee thundred more ſharpe and terrible curſes againſt them all, than formerly he or his predeceſſors had done. Whereunto he added new excommunications, deprivations, and other bitter cenſures of the Church of Rome.

His curſes are not cared for.

Hereupon Prince *Lewis*, with his confederates, ſeemed to be peacefull for a while, and made an outward ſhew, as if he onely waited for a fit opportunitie to depart. Yet in the meane time, King *Philip* his father (with great care and coſt) prepared new forces for his aide, and ſhipped them for this Realme. But *Hugh de Burgh* (being a man provident, and truly valiant, and being chiefe Maſter of the five Ports) having fitted a ſtrong Fleet of good Ships, and furniſhed them to the prooſe with choice Mariners, and expert men of Warre, encountred them bravely upon the Sea: and with ſuch hardie blowes ſo fiercely did aſſaile them, that (being altogether unable to reſiſt him) they ſubmitted themſelves, and all their Ships, unto his mercie.

Hugh de Burgh prevaileth on the Sea.

The French are abſolved, and ſo returne.

This noble exploit (being thus attended by Victorie) forthwith drew Prince *Lewis* to a milde entreatie of peace: ſo that (being abſolved by *Guallo*, and receiving good ſummes of money for his farther his returne) hee ſurrendred all ſuch Forts, Caſtles, and Townes as hee had taken, and with his companies ſailed into France, leaving his Engliſh friends (who had ſupported his eſtate, and partin all theſe Warres) to the cenſure of the Lawes, and to end their miſerable

ſerable dayes with ſundrie executions and ſtrange deaths.

The Common-weale being now ſuffered to breathe, and having found ſome leaſure to provide fitting medicines to cure ſuch maladies as diſtempered her eſtate, required that a Parliament might be ſummoned, which was granted: and in it the ancient Lawes of King *Edward* were reduced and reſtored to their former vigour and ſtrength. And the Grand Charter (in thoſe dayes called *Magna Charta*, compriſing ſundry lawes, which were both eaſefull and commodious to the common people) was ratified and confirmed. And whereas the Wardſhip of the heires of ſuch of the Kings Tenants as died ſeized of any lands by them holden in Knights ſervice, was granted to King *Edgar* during their minorities; and their marriages were afterwards granted to King *Edward* the Confeſſor; thoſe lawes (which a long time had lien aſleep) were now revived and awaked, and were reſtored to their former uſe. In the ſame Parliament alſo, a voluntary taxe was frankely given to the King: partly to diſcharge ſuch debts as former warres had occaſioned, and partly to levie new forces, to be conducted by *Richard* the Kings brother, for the recovering of Poyters and of Gaſcoyne, which of late yeeres (moſt injuriouſly, and with too much violence) had beene uſurped and taken from King *Henries* predeceſſors, by the French King.

A parliament.

King Edwards lawes reſtored.

Magna Charta.

Wardſhips and Marriages. Ann. 962. Ann. 1056.

A voluntarie taxe.

The Parliament being ended, the ſaid taxe with great celeritie, and without contradiction by any, was ſoone levied: ſo that the Kings Coffers were repleniſhed with ſilver, and with gold, and all requiſites were carefully provided, and a gallant Army of courageous men of warre were aſſembled, and ſafely tranſported. With which *Richard* the Kings brother did (almoſt) wonders, ſubduing where hee found reſiſtance, and ſeizing upon Lordſhips, Townes, Forts, Caſtles, and other defenced places, quietly and without blowes, where no head was made againſt him. So that within few months (ſuch was his valour and good fortune) he recovered both thoſe Provinces wholly for the King, and returned with much honour into England.

An Armie tranſported into Gaſcoyne, &c.

Richard recovereth Poyters and Gaſcoine.

But the Kings abſence from thoſe places miniſtred opportunity to the French King to be unfriendly, and daily to make warres, roads, incurſions, and invaſions into thoſe Provinces, which (without colour of right) he endevoured to ſubdue. So that he (refuſing no advantage, which might in any ſort further his deſires) ſuddenly led a new Armie into Poyters, and quickly made himſelfe the Lord thereof. And then hee marched into Perigot and Alverne, and other places in Guyan; where he did the like. But King *Henrie* ſent thither another Armie, with which his brother *Richard* Earle of Cornwall fought many cruell and ſharpe battels, and in the moſt of them fortune aſſiſted him with good ſucceſſe, and all things afforded him great hopes that he ſhould recover whatſoever (in his abſence) had beene loſt. But in the height of all theſe broyles, a friendly peace was concluded betwixt the two Kings, and *Richard* returned ſafely into England.

The French King winneth Poyters, Perigot, &c.

A new Armie tranſported.

A peace is concluded.

Theſe troubles being thus ended, and peace gladding the hearts of all ſuch as had beene tired with thoſe warres, unkind jealouſies began to breed much heart-burning betwixt the King and his owne Barons, for that (as they conceived) the King repoſed little confidence in their

The cauſes of diſlike betwixt the King and his Barons.

faith, neglected their ſervice and ſocietie, and applied himſelfe and his favours wholly unto ſtrangers; whom neither alliance nor Country bound to performe any dutie towards him, nor would be found truſty when the hand of his bounty and liberality was cloſed up. And the King (perceiving their diſcontent) entred into the ſecret cloſet of his owne breaſt, and tooke a ſtrict examination of his owne dealings: and finding them to be ſuch as juſtly might diſpleaſe, he reformed his error, removed the cauſes of thoſe diſlikes, and lovingly reconciled himſelfe to his Nobles.

The King reconcileth himſelfe to his Barons.

John Scot Earle of Cheſter dieth.

About this time, *John Scot* Earle of Cheſter died, without iſſue male, having foure daughters and heirs. From them the King returned into his owne hands that Earldome, and all the Territories belonging thereunto: which hee augmented with large additions of yeerely revennues, and many regall priviledges, liberties, and honours. And for a recompence and by way of exchange, hee gave unto thoſe Ladies many Honours, Lordſhips, Caſtles, and Mannors, which exceeded their owne in true value. And having married Prince *Edward* his ſonne, to *Elianor* ſiſter unto the King of Spaine; hegave unto him the Province of Guyan, the Lordſhip of all Ireland, and created him Earle of Cheſter, and Prince of Wales: which two latter dignities he then annexed to the eldeſt ſons of the Kings of this Realme.

Cheſter and Wales annexed to the Kings eldeſt ſonnes.

The murdering of the King is attempted.

And not long after, a Clerk dwelling in Oxford (counterfeiting a kind of madneſſe) attempted to murther the King: for which purpoſe in the depth of the night, hee crept in at the window of the Kings chamber, in which moſt commonly he lodged. But (failing of his purpoſe, becauſe the King lay not then there) he was taken, examined, confeſſed his villanie; and by the courſe of law being condemned, he was put to a cruell death.

The French King breaks the league.

We have heard before, that a peace was concluded between the Kings of England and of France, but the French Kings were alwaies ſecretly or openly malicious to the Kings of this Realme, becauſe they had certaine Territories and Provinces in France which bordered on their Countries. And this malice made them little reſpective of the ſanctitie of ſuch ſolemn oathes and honeſt promiſes, as (more ſtrongly than bonds of Iron) ſhould bind Kings. For no ſooner was any gap open, into which they might thruſt a foot, nor any opportunitie (were it never ſo little) was offered, but that they threw behind their backes the remembrance of all truces, leagues, and conventions of peace whatſoever, and made all things to be lawfull, which either by ſleight, or by violence, they could enterpriſe or doe. And, as common experience oftentimes made it manifeſt; ſo did it now. For about the foure and twentieth yeere of King *Henries* reigne, *Lewis* the ninth, with a devouring Armie, entred into Guyan, and ſpoyled and waſted that Country in all places where hee came. And King *Henrie* (intending their quicke reliefe, and purpoſing, if hee might, to regaine all Normandie, and ſuch other Provinces as the Kings of France unjuſtly had detained from him) ſailed thither with a puiſſant Armie, and oftentimes bickered with his enemies: againſt whom ſometimes he prevailed, and at other times had the worſer hand. Yet his haughtie courage abandoned all feare, and no perils

Lewis the ninth invadeth Guyan.

King Henrie carrieth an Armie thither.

what-

whatſoever could make him ſhrinke: for in all thoſe ſkirmiſhes he performed ſtout reſolution, and the noble valour of a worthy King.

But fortune no further favouring thoſe his endevours, than only enabling him to ſtop the French Kings proceedings, hee returned into England. But ſhortly before his departure, the French King married his brother *Alphonſus* unto the daughter of the Earle of Tholouſe, and gave to him the Earledome of Poytiers, and all King *Henries* Territories in Alverne: and plotted cuningly to have procured the Earle of March to doe him homage for ſuch Lands as he affirmed he held of the ſaid Earledome of Poytiers. But hee ſtoutly refuſed to yeeld unto him any ſuch dutie or ſervice. And this his deniall ſo enraged the French King, that he entred with an Armie into the Earledome of March, and daily ſpoiled it without ſparing.

He ſtoppeth the French Kings courſes, but beats him not backe.

The Earledome of March is invaded by the French.

But King *Henrie* having carefully emploied his labours to withſtand this violence, and having raiſed a faire Armie, which himſelfe conducted, tranſported it unto Burdeaux. And not farre from thence (due preparations on all parts being made) both the Armies met; in which the blood of the moſt valiant men of Warre was freely ſold, and dearely paied for. But in the end, fortune extending more favour to the French than to King *Henrie*, hee was enforced (with the loſſe and ſlaughter of his beſt men) to leave the field.

King Henrie leaves the field.

And the Earle of March grieving at this miſhap, and being loth that King *Henrie* ſhould be engaged in a greater danger, ſubmitted himſelfe, and obtained peace on faire conditions with the French King. And then King *Henrie* returned into England, and married one of his ſiſters unto *Alexander* then King of Scots, becauſe hee would the better aſſure himſelfe of his friendſhip in time of need.

The Earle of March ſubmits himſelf.

1256. And now began thoſe miſchievous broiles and turmoiles within this Realme, which (untill the Kings death) daily, yea almoſt hourely, vexed and moleſted him and his whole Kingdome. For the King (of later yeeres) lending too pleaſing an eare to many lewd and evill Officers (whom above all others, he beſt loved and favoured, and by whoſe counſell and advice both himſelfe and his whole eſtate was guided and directed) made little account and reckoning of the beſt of his ſubjects love: and tooke from them (in divers things) ſuch libertie and freedome, as by the Lawes and Ordinances of this kingdome they juſtly claimed, and ought to have enjoyed. He alſo pinched his people with many unneceſſary impoſitions and grievous taxes, which (by thoſe lewd and bold Officers) were with much rigor and ſharpeneſſe levied, to their great diſlike.

The Barons Warres.

The cauſes thereof.

And the King following their humours, aſſembled his High Court of Parliament in Oxford: in which his deſignes were altogether croſſed, and the proſecution of buſineſſes was ſo unfortunate to the whole eſtate of this Realme, that (*ab eventu*) it was ever after named *Inſanum Parliamentum*, or the mad Parliament. For when multitudes of ſuch as were grieved, ſwarmed thither, and complained of many injuries and wrongs which daily did oppreſſe them, the Lords and the Commons (endevouring to redreſſe what was amiſſe) eſtabliſhed many things, profitable (as they intended them) for the Com-

Inſanum Parliamentum.

The Kings Prerogative crossed.

Common-weale, but highly derogating from the Prerogative of the King. And to the end that those things which they had so contrived and concluded should be inviolably kept and observed, choice was there made of twelve of the gravest and most worthy persons of this Kingdome (whereof the Earles of Leicester and of Gloceſter were the chiefest) and they were stiled with the title of *Les douze Piers*, or the twelve Peeres, to whom compleat and absolute authoritie and power was largely given to support and to maintaine those Lawes. For which cause they publikely received their Patent, and a solemne oath; all which was sealed and ratified by the King himselfe, although unwillingly he did it. So that (the Parliament being ended) the said Commissioners began (by strict execution) to give life unto those Ordinances and Lawes. For which purpose, they first of all dismissed, and did clearely thrust from their Places, Offices, and Attendance, many of the Kings meniall servants, and appointed others in their stead.

Les douze Piers.

The King ratifieth their Commission.

The Commissioners displace the Kings Officers and Attendants.

And this their doing was (above all other things) most distasted and grudged at. For the King perceiving that such as waited on his person should rather be trusted by others than by himselfe; and that he himselfe should be furtheſt off from chusing such as should bee neereſt unto him, waxed infinitely melancholy and sad. And hoping, that upon further advice and counsell hee should receive better contentment, and be more kindly used, he assembled another Parliament: in which (with great griefe, and extraordinarie passion) hee complained of the hard measure which was offered to his owne person by the twelve Peeres: So that much labour was taken by his neereſt friends, not only to abolish their authoritie and power, but also to cancell and to make voide those new Ordinances and Lawes.

1258. Another Parliament.

The King complaineth.

But such was the determinate resolution of the Lords in generall, and of the Commons of that Assembly, that in stead of pleasing the King with reformation answerable to his desires, they ratified and confirmed whatsoever was formerly concluded on: and by the Archbishop of Canterburie, and nine other Bishops of this kingdome, a solemne curse was publikely denounced against all such as either by direction, or by Armes, or otherwise, withstood or hindred the execution of those Lawes, or the Authoritie of the twelve Peeres.

The former Lawes and Ordinances are confirmed.

A Curse.

These new proceedings so much augmented the Kings furie, and implacable discontent, that even those things which by his naturall disposition hee chiefely delighted in, were by him loathed and detested most. And to the end that hee might procure and purchase more contentment and joy abroad than hee could finde at home, hee sayled into France to visite King *Lewis* the ninth: by whom hee was with all gentlenesse and courtesie received, and lodged in his owne Palace: where hee was feasted as a friend, and honoured with all accomplements appertaining to a great King. And at the same time he concluded a marriage betwixt *John* Duke of Britaine, and one of his owne daughters.

The King is full of indignation.

He saileth into France.

The French King also held a Grand Parliament of Estate; in which he protested publikely, That his conscience was much grieved, for that (unjustly, and without title) he detained from King *Henrie* his Dutchie

of

of Normandie, and ſuch other Territories in France, as in right he ought to enjoy. And on the other ſide, King *Henrie* (intending to conclude an inviolable peace with ſo deare a friend, and to remove from him all future ſcruples of his conſcience in that behalfe) frankly and freely ſurrendred to him the ſaid Dutchie, together with the Lordſhips of Anjou, Poytiers, and Mayne. And in the ſame Parliament, with great ſolemnitie and honour, he received againe to himſelfe and to his heires, the ſaid three Lordſhips, with the ſtile of the Duke of Guyan; for which hee did his homage in that Aſſembly.

Normandie ſurrendred to the Kings of France by King Henrie.

King Henrie is made Duke of Guyan.

Whileſt theſe things thus proceeded in France, a publike quarrell (upon ſome ſecret diſpleaſure conceived by reaſon of the execution of thoſe curbing Lawes) began to breake forth betwixt *Edward* the young Prince, and the Duke of Gloceſter; which by the Barons was ſtoutly ſuppreſſed, untill the Kings returne; by whom they were not long after reconciled and made friends.

Diſcord betweene the Prince and the Duke of Gloceſter.

The King being vexed at the heart, becauſe his regall authoritie was diminiſhed by the twelve Peeres: and not finding any redreſſe thereof at home, endevoured to procure ſome remedie thereof by his friends abroad. And for that purpoſe (with the great expence of much Coyne, and with rich and coſtly gifts) he ſecretly obtained two Buls from Pope *Alexander* the third: by both which the King himſelfe, and all others who had formerly ſworne to obſerve and to maintaine thoſe new Ordinances and Lawes, and to ſupport the proceedings and the authoritie of the twelve Peeres, were freely abſolved from their oathes.

The King procureth two Buls from Rome.

Yet the twelve Peeres, not having any notice of thoſe Buls, ruled all: and were ſo buſily emploied about their charge, that the King had little or nothing at all to doe. They had but ſmall leiſure to recreate themſelves with any ſports, but the King had time enough to play: for hee was a King in Name, but not in Authority, nor in Power.

Among others, Sir *Hugh le Spencer*, being then Lord chiefe Juſtice of England, and an eſpeciall favourite with the King, adminiſtred the Lawes of this Realme, not according to equitie and right, but after his owne fancie and will: and ſuch was his indiſcreet carriage of moſt things which belonged unto his Office and to his place, that the twelve Peeres (farre againſt the Kings minde) removed him, and ſupplied his roome by Sir *Philip Baſſet* (a man well learned, wiſe, vertuous, and diſcreet.)

The Lord chiefe Juſtice diſplaced.

They alſo diminiſſed ſuch Sheriffes and Juſtices errants, as the King had made, and beſtowed thoſe Offices upon others; ſo that the King (being unable any longer to endure thoſe indignities, and deeply repining to be every houre diſgraced and croſſed by his owne ſubjects) reſolved preſently to make uſe of the Popes Buls: for which purpoſe, he cauſed them with great ſolemnitie and reverence to be proclaimed in ſundry eminent places in England, Ireland, and in Wales; and therewithall he commanded ſtraightly, That all ſuch (of what eſtate, condition, and degree ſoever they were) as did from thenceforth by word or by deed, ſupport and maintaine the ſaid Ordinances and Lawes, or the authoritie of the ſaid twelve Peeres, ſhould be committed to ſtrong priſons, and

Juſtices errants and Sheriffes diſplaced.

The Popes Buls are publiſhed by the King.

Hee countermandeth the authoritie of the Twelve Peeres.

ſhould

The Londoners are ſworn to obey and to aide him.

ſhould not bee enlarged but by his eſpeciall notice and conſent. He alſo tooke a ſolemne oath in the Citie of London, of all ſuch as were twelve yeeres old or more, to be true, faithfull, and aiding to him and to his heires, and did perſwade himſelfe, that by this meanes he ſhould from thenceforth have his owne will. But he was much deceived therein; for ſuch was the reſolution of his Barons to the contrary, that they proteſted they would rather die than ceaſe to uphold all thoſe things which in ſo honourable an aſſembly they had ſolemnly ſworne to maintaine. And ſome of them (conjecturing, and peradventure not without good cauſe, that the King in private contrived ſome deſperate plot, to ſet himſelfe at libertie by their ruine) repaired to the Marches of Wales, where they raiſed a ſtrong Armie, and furniſhed it with all things needfull and convenient for the warre.

The reſolution of the Barons.

The Barons raiſe an armie.

Their letter to the King.

And ſtanding thus upon their Guard, yet reſolved to abſtaine from all violence, except neceſſitie (which obeyeth no King nor lawes) ſhould urgently compell them to take a ſharper courſe; they addreſſed their letters (in moſt ſubmiſſive and humble ſort) and ſent them to the King, proteſting with many oathes their dutie and their ſervice to his Grace, and entreating his Highneſſe, for the honour of Almightie God, for his owne ſoules health, and for the welfare and happineſſe of his people and kingdome, utterly to defie (except his Queen and Children) all ſuch as either counſelled him, or did themſelves intend to ſuppreſſe the ordinances and lawes which were eſtabliſhed at Oxford, or the authoritie and the power which (for the Common-weales proſperitie) was granted to the twelve Peeres.

The King makes them no anſwer.

The Barons march towards London.

The King (having read thoſe letters) was much diſpleaſed, and returned not any anſwer to the Barons; wherefore they maintained a ſtout march towards London, under a Banner richly and beautifully flouriſhed with the Kings Armes. And as they paſſed by the houſes and poſſeſſions of ſuch as favoured the Popes Buls, they robbed, ſpoiled, waſted, burnt and conſumed them with fire, holding them for undoubted enemies to the King and to his Crowne. And when they approached neere to the Citie of London, by their letters they importuned the anſwer of the Maior and Citizens thereof, whether they reſolved to ſupport the ſaid ordinances and lawes, and the authoritie of the twelve Peeres, or no? proteſting before God, and aſſuring them that they themſelves meant not, nor intended any other thing. And that if any matters of ſubſtance contained in them were defective, or could juſtly be condemned, it ſhould receive found reformation with all convenient ſpeed.

Their letter to the Citie of London.

That letter was ſent by the Citie to the King.

The Cities anſwer to the King, and alſo to the Barons.

They are joyfully received into London.

Theſe letters (being thus received) were poſtingly ſent unto the King, who demanded of the ſaid Maior and Citizens, whether they would ſupport thoſe lawes and the twelve Peeres, or no? who ſtoutly anſwered, that they would, in regard that by the Kings conſent they had taken their oathes to that purpoſe. The King unmeaſurably ſtormed at this anſwer, but none other could hee get: and the ſame anſwer was by them ſent unto the Barons, who thereupon proceeded in their march, and were with much joy and kindneſſe received into the Citie.

The

The King (plotting to defeat those Lords, and to dissolve their companies by a sleight) proclaimed that himselfe and the greater number of the Barons were agreed; and did require, that (in regard thereof) all Armes might be laid aside, that his peace might be preserved, and no further feare or terror might amaze his people. But (this notwithstanding) the Barons marched with their whole Armie unto the Kings Castle of Windsor, where they found many Aliens, whom the Prince had placed there in severall offices and roomes: those they rifled of their goods, and removed them from thence, whereat the King was much displeased. And the Lords of his Councell (labouring to content him) ordered that those goods should be restored to those Aliens, and that from thenceforth none, but the King himselfe, should presume to place, or to displace any of his meniall servants. But the Barons utterly refused to obey their order: yet upon the Kings motion they gave consent, that all those debates, controversies, and sharpe displeasures should be referred to the censure and judgement of the French King, *Lewis* the ninth.

The Kings device faileth him.

Officers removed.

The Councels order disobeyed.

The controversie is referred to the French Kings censure.

This conclusion sheathed all swords, appeased (for the present time) all those jarres, and gave good contentment to either part; and as time gave leave, those businesses were controverted before the said King, and reasons were urged to the proofe on either side, untill (at length) it was by him decreed, that all the said Ordinances and Lawes should be annihilated and made voide, and that from thenceforth no authoritie or power should be left in the twelve Peeres. This sentence was so displeasing to the Barons, that they publikely accused the French King of grosse partialitie, and smoothing with King *Henrie*; and so absolutely did they refuse to obey his order, and so strongly were they bent to maintaine whatsoever had beene in Parliament established, that they repaired againe to the Marches of Wales, and levied a new Armie, and (in their passage toward London) they robbed, spoyled, and burnt the houses, Lordships, and goods of Sir *Roger Mortimer*, who (above all others counselled the King to withstand them) and the Prince (whose lustie youth was furnished with much valour) levied another Armie, with which he marched towards the Barons: and each of them so fitted and disposed their journies, that those two Armies greeted each other with warlike salutations, and fought together without remorse or pitie, so that in the end, divers of the Princes most potent friends and best souldiers being slaine, and his part discomfited, they all were enforced to flight to save their lives, and to leave the Barons masters of the field.

The French Kings decree.

The French King is accused of partialitie.

His decree is rejected.

The Barons levie a new Armie.

The Prince doth the like.

The Prince is overthrowne.

After this victorie they marched forth and came to London, where they were received with as great kindnesse as before: but some of the under sort of the inhabitants of the City (despising government, and intending under the colour of these broiles to doe some mischiefe) elected two brain-sicke Captaines, and called them the Constables of the City, and did agree that (at the tolling of the great Bell in *Paules* Church) as many as would partake with them, should bee in a readinesse to put into execution whatsoever those Constables should command, and (though much paine and labour was taken to dissuade them from their wicked purpose

The Barons are received into London.

A mad tumult.

The two Captains called the two Constables of London.

Richard King of the Romans, being groſſely wronged, is thereby made the Barons enemie.

purpoſe and intent) yet their longing deſires after ſpoiles, and their reſolution to be lawleſſe, upon the tolling of the ſaid Bell tranſported them furiouſly eight miles Weſtward from London, to the houſe and poſſeſſions of the Kings brother *Richard* King of the Romans, which they ruinated, and carried away with them all his moveable goods there found whatſoever.

This inſolent outrage thus wickedly committed by the headleſſe multitude, furthered the ſucceeding warres. For whereas before that time the vertuous and milde King *Richard*, King of the Romanes, and brother to King *Henry* (in regard of his neere alliance with *Gilbert Clare* Earle of Gloceſter) had (with all his powers and beſt endevours) mediated a peace betwixt the Barons and the King: now was he ſo exaſperated and rowſed from his peacefull humour, that hee became a profeſſed enemy both to the Barons, and alſo to the City of London. And King *Henry* having intelligence that Sir *Peter Mountford* had raiſed a ſtrong Armie at Northampton on the Barons behalfe; and being reſolved to make ſome triall of his fortunes, in regard of the apparent injuries and wrongs which daily were practiſed to his diſgrace; levied a ſtrong Armie, and marched thither, and by maine aſſaults he tooke the Towne, ſurprized Sir *Peter Mountfort*, and *Simon* the eldeſt ſonne of the Earle of Lieceſter, and many others; and ſent them all to ſundry priſons, to be diſpoſed of as he ſhould pleaſe.

The King obtaineth a victorie.

And on the other ſide, the Barons (who being exceeding ſtrong, and nothing at all diſcouraged with this pranke of uncertaine fortune; but preferring the dutie of worthy ſubjects to their Soveraign, before their hopes which expected fortunate ſucceſſe) wrote their letters to the King; and with all humilitie and ſubmiſſive proteſtations confirmed their fidelities, and aſſured him, That they intended nothing but the performance of their Oathes, by ſupporting thoſe Ordinances and thoſe Lawes which in Parliament had beene eſtabliſhed at Oxford, for his Highneſſe good, and for the welfare and profit of the Common-weale.

The Barons letter to the King.

But the King, his brother King *Richard*, and *Edward* the young Prince, beleeving nothing what was written, and deeply diſdaining, that Subjects ſhould rule and correct their Soveraigne Lord and Maſter, and determining to revenge thoſe diſgraces, which their ſtomacks no longer could endure, proclaimed an utter defiance to the Barons; and with their Armie met them in Suſſex, neere to the Town called Lewys: where (betwixt them) was fought ſo fierce and ſo cruell a battell, that the father ſpared not the ſon, nor the ſon the father. All kindred and alliance was there forgotten. The common ſouldier held himſelfe to bee as good a man as the greateſt Lord. Honour was there ſet at nought; and manhood (being oppreſſed with multitude) could make no ſhew. He who was moſt valiant, was ſooneſt made breathleſſe, and the coward found no opportunity to run away. He who could ſtrike deepeſt, wound many, and kill moſt, obtained the chiefeſt praiſe. Pitie and compaſſion were ſcorned and laughed at, and all remorſe was utterly exiled from them. None mediated betwixt them but their ſwords, and their beſt reconciler was death. Lamentable were the

The battell of Lewys.

1262.

ſighes

ſighes and groanes, the plunges, and the pangs of ſuch as (bleeding) breathed forth their lives: and every man fought with ſuch an obſtinate reſolution, as if but one onely man at the laſt ſhould be left alive. At length the two Kings, Prince *Edward*, and many Knights and Gentlemen of choice account, and of the beſt worth, were taken priſoners, and more than twentie thouſand men were ſlaine in this battell.

The two Kings and the Prince, with many others, are taken priſoners.

And thus furie (triumphing in blood) was contented at length to hearken unto reaſon; and they who could ſcarcely ſet their feet upon the ground, by reaſon of the multitude of dead carcaſſes, which as thicke as ſtones lay before them, were now pleaſed to take breath, and to conferre upon conditions of peace. And in the end it was agreed, That the King ſhould (by new Articles, and by the renewing of his oath) confirme the authoritie granted to the twelve Peeres, and all the ſaid Ordinances and Lawes: with this caution notwithſtanding, That two Lords of the Spiritualtie, and two Lords of the Temporaltie, ſhould take a ſtrait examination and view of them: and if in their judgements it were needfull that any of them ſhould be reformed, full power to them was given to alter and to change what they thought fit. And if they diſſented in their opinions, it was then further ordered, that the Duke of Britaine (as Umpier) ſhould have power to arbitrate and to end the doubt. This being on both parts conſented to and concluded, the two Kings left both their eldeſt ſonnes for hoſtages with the Barons: who ſent them to the Caſtle of Dover, where they remained about nine moneths.

10000. men are ſlaine.

A new concluſion for peace.

The two Kings are ſet at libertie. Hoſtages given, and the Prince was one.

Then did the King with all convenient expedition ſummon his High Court of Parliament: in which ſo ſtrongly was the continuance of the ſaid Lawes and Ordinances made at Oxford urged, that they were then againe ratified and confirmed: and the King (though much againſt his will) tooke an oath to maintaine them and the authoritie of the twelve Peeres, untill (according to the ſaid former referment) they ſhould be reformed, if any thing in them were found to be amiſſe. And all ſuch as in thoſe warres, or otherwiſe, had in any ſort maintained them, received their pardon from the King. And hereupon the two young Princes were enlarged. But not long after, ſo great a variance touching thoſe Ordinances grew betwixt the two Earles of Leiceſter and of Gloceſter (the two Generals of the Barons faction) that nothing but mortall warre had decided their controverſie, if the King had not interpoſed his authoritie and mediation to make them friends.

A Parliament.

The former Lawes and Ordinances are againe confirmed.

The Hoſtages are enlarged.

Diſcord betweene the Earles of Leiceſter and of Gloceſter.

But the young Prince *Edward* (taking much advantage by reaſon of this jarre) departed ſecretly from the Kings Court, conſorted to his companie the Earles of Gloceſter and Warreyne, Sir *Roger Mortimer*, and many other renowned men for the warre: and all theſe raiſed a new Armie in Wales. And the Earle of Leiceſter conceiving that his ſurpriſall and ruine was conſpired (to prevent his owne danger and misfortune) did the like. And not long after, the two Armies met neere to Eversham in Worceſterſhire, and fought together ſo maliciouſly, and with ſuch bloodie reſolutions, that in ſhort time many thouſands among them were ſlaine. For death (taking part with both) ſpared neither, but ſtriving to make her gaine by their loſſe, inſulted proudly in the Armie, and bragged moſt, when ſhe did moſt harme. But in the end the Barons

A faire opportunitie well watched and taken.

The Prince raiſeth an Armie.

ANNO 48. 1263.

The Barons doe the like.

The battell of Eversham.

The Barons are overthrowne.

were diſcomfited, and *Simon* Earle of Leiceſter, with his eldeſt ſon, and Sir *Hughle Spencer*, and many others of great account, were ſlaine, and the reſt fled. The common Souldiers that prevailed, deſpightfully mangled the dead carcaſſe of the Earle, cutting off both hands and feet, and ſending them into divers Shires to their friends, as Trophies of their victorie. And others among them (being more inhumane and barbarous) cut off his head, and his privie members, and placed them on either ſide of his noſe.

This overthrow did utterly defeat the Barons, and deprived them of all their hopes; and it ſo revived the melancholy King, that now he began againe to be ſenſible of his owne ſtrength, and reſolved with all ſpeed poſſible to breake thoſe chaines with which ſo lately he was ſo ſtrongly bound. And for the effecting thereof he aſſembled his High Court of Parliament; in which no man dared to ſpeake otherwiſe than as the King ſpake. So that thoſe former Ordinances and Lawes which were made at Oxford in the Mad Parliament, and the authority of the Twelve Peers, and all Patents, Commiſſions, and Inſtruments whatſoever, which tended to the eſtabliſhing or ratifying of thoſe affaires, were by the Kings expreſſe commandement brought forth, and were publikely damned, cancelled, and made void. And thus King *Henrie* regained his former libertie and power, to ſay and to doe in all things as he pleaſed.

A Parliament.

The former Decrees are all made void.

When this Parliament was ended, the King (perhaps by the inſtigation of his brother *Richard* King of the *Romans*, who was cruelly wronged by the baſer ſort of the Inhabitants of London without any cauſe by him given, as before it is mentioned) reſolved utterly to waſte and to conſume with fire his City of London, becauſe (as he alledged) the Rulers and the Inhabitants thereof had alwaies deſpiſed him, and taken part againſt him with the Barons in their Wars. Whereupon ſuch of the Nobilitie, and others as were neere in favour, and next about the perſon of the King, beſought him inſtantly to abſtaine from ſo foule a deed, which would not onely much weaken his eſtate and kingdome, but alſo make him infamous through the world, and unto all ſucceeding Ages. Their ſuit was earneſt, and their reaſons to perſwade were unanſwerable; yet the King proteſted, that his determination ſhould be unchangeable, and that his juſtice upon ſuch rebellious Caitives ſhould be a preſident to terrifie all perverſe and obſtinate Traitors and Rebels in future times. And this his reſolution juſtly occaſioned the Citizens of London to quake at the indignation of their angry King: ſo that they (perceiving that his rage and furie could not be mitigated) cauſed an Inſtrument in writing to be made, and ratified it with their common Seale, by which they confeſſed their rebellion, humbly craved pardon, and without any reſtraint or exception wholly ſubmitted their lands, their goods, and their lives, together with the whole City, to the Kings grace and mercie.

The King reſolveth to burne the City of London.

No interceſſion can prevaile.

The ſubmiſſion of the Londoners.

This Inſtrument they ſent unto Windſor by divers of the chiefeſt and richeſt Inhabitants of the Citie, who were prepared with all humility to have preſented it upon their knees. But ſo fierce was the Kings wrath towards them, and ſo implacable was his anger, that he reputed none of thoſe to be his friends, who interpoſed themſelves as Mediators in their behalfes:

The Citizens committed to priſon, and given away by the King.

behalfes. Neither would he vouchsafe to admit any one of them to come into his presence, but caused them forthwith to be cast into prison, and five of the chiefest of them, together with all their lands and their goods, he gave unto the Prince; and all the others he gave to other of his attendants, who burthened them with heavie servitude and much miserie, and tooke from them what they pleased, leaving to them the least part of their owne.

Thus when the King had a little avenged himselfe, and time had cooled the heat of his passionate humour, he hearkened to the importunate intercession of the Prince, and received the Citie and all the Inhabitants thereof into favour, and only took of them a fine of one thousand marks, and restored them to all their liberties and customes which for their transgression were seized into his hands. The Prince procureth the Kings pardon and favour.

The King also, upon the Princes intreatie, pardoned the Inhabitants of the five Ports; who finding justice to be fast asleep, whilest the Barons wars outragiously disturbed the whole estate and kingdome, robbed, rifled, and spoyled on the Seas both their owne neighbours and Countrymen, and also all Nations whom they met, without any difference or respect. The five Ports are pardoned.

And lest the King should be too much troubled with the frequent complaints of such as had beene wronged by them, or his Courts of justice pestred with the multitude of such suitors, the King commanded that none of the offenders should be impleaded elsewhere, but onely in the Courts of those Ports: by meanes whereof there were but few that complained, because none of them had any hope to have recompence or redresse there. And now, though those intestine troubles and civill wars (which like an outragious fire, dispersed in the heart and midst of a well compacted City, endangered the whole estate of this kingdome & Commonweale) were thus appeased; and although *Gilbert Clare* Earle of Gloceſter by his revolt from the Barons, and by his adhering to the Prince and to his complices, had greatly furthered the good successe which had made the King to enjoy a blessed peace; yet was the said Earle so little trusted, that he neither found favour nor reward, but the little respect which was had of him, and his cold entertainment at the Court, made him desperate of all good fortunes, and inflamed his heart to work revenge. The Earle of Gloceſter being unrewarded thinketh on mischiefe.

This furie carried him headlong unto the Citie of London, where no sooner was his discontented humour made knowne, but the rascall and the baser sort (forgetting the great calamitie which that famous City did endure, and the great favours which so lately they had received from the King) flocked in troupes about him, and boldly committed many grievous outrages within the Citie. And then they went unto the Kings Palace at Westminster, which they rifled, spoyled, and ransacked without meane or measure. This rude beginning prognosticated the sudden accesse of another civill warre; which might have bred as much danger as any of the former had done: but the Prince againe interposed himselfe an earnest mediatour betwixt the King and all the said offendors, and procured a large and a free pardon for the Earle. The rascallity of London doe flock unto him. They doe mischiefe. The Prince procureth a large pardon.

Thus this dangerous fire was soone quenched, and good prevention in due time did wisely cut off all occasions of future warre: and at the

ſame time, and by the like meanes, the King pardoned many decayed and out-lawed Gentlemen, who (in the heat of thoſe broiles) had committed many robberies and ſpoiles in divers places of this kingdome.

The Earle of Gloceſters requeſt.

And not long after, the Earle of Gloceſter (deſpairing of all inward grace and favour from the King, and being deſirous, as it ſeemed, by deeds of Chivalrie to make himſelfe famous among the enemies of Chriſt, requeſted that hee might be ſent with an Armie to make warre in the Holy Land. This motion, though it tended to much expence and great charge, yet it pleaſed the King exceedingly, becauſe he knew that the Earles buſie head and turbulent ſpirit would ſtill be plotting and deviſing of new broiles and hurliburlies at home: wherefore he cauſed a faire Army to be raiſed, and furniſhed it with all neceſſaries fit and requiſite for ſo long and for ſo dangerous a journey.

An Army raiſed to be conducted into the Holy Land by the Earle of Gloceſter.

But when all things were in a readineſſe, the Earle fained many excuſes which tended to over-much delay, which cauſed him to be leſſe regarded by the King, and to be in great diſlike with all others.

The Earle is diſmiſſed worthily from that charge.

The Prince undertaketh it, and doth performe it.

But Prince *Edward* (being full of youth and courage, and longing greedily to hoiſt his Sailes in the Sea of Honour, and by adventerous deeds of Knighthood, to equall his name with thoſe who were accounted moſt valiant in the world) by his earneſt ſuit and travell obtained the conducting of that Armie, and tranſported it into the Holy Land, where his ſword wrought wonders, and his Armie bred ſuch terrour and admiration among the Turkes, that they would ſeldome or never adventure themſelves againſt the Chriſtians in that quarter where the Prince ſerved. And to ſave themſelves from his fury upon his comming thither, they raiſed their ſiege from the Citie of Acon, which for a long time they had continued with more than an hundred thouſand men. And ſeeing that his death could not be haſtned by force and violence in the open field, they attempted it by poiſonings and other ſecret villanies, which tooke no effect: but at length a dogged Sarazen grievouſly wounded him with an envenomed knife, yet (after much paine and great danger) he eſcaped death. But in his abſence his father King *Henrie* died, and was buried at Weſtminſter, when he had reigned more than fiftie and ſixe yeeres; whereof the Prince was quickly informed, and therefore by great journies hee ſafely returned with great honour into England.

Their happy ſucceſſe.

The ſiege of Acon raiſed.

The Prince was villanouſly wounded.

The King dieth.

THE

The noble and victorious Prince EDWARD *the first (surnamed Long-shanks) King of England, Duke of Aquitaine, Earle of Poictiers, and Anjou, Lo: of Ireland &c. He Conquered Scotland, and brought from thence the Marble Chaire. He subdued and overcame Llewelyn Prince of Wales, and made his sonne Edward Prince thereof. he died at the age of 68 yeares, wer after he had raigned 34 yeares 8 monthes. & buried at Westminster.*

THE HISTORIE OF KING EDWARD THE FIRST.

WHen *Edward*, surnamed *Longshankes*, was informed of his fathers death, he made quicke preparations for his returne from the Holy Land, and by great journies travelled untill he came into England, where (with the generall applause, both of his Nobles and common people) hee was crowned King, when hee was of the age of five and thirtie yeeres. The new King returneth from the Holy Land.

We have heard how, when, and where *Symon de Mountford* Earle of

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We have heard how, when, and where *Symon de Mountford* Earle of

The French Kings practice againſt King Edward.

Leiceſter, *Henrie* his eldeſt ſonne, and ſundry other Barons were ſlaine in the laſt battell betweene them and the laſt King. And it is true, that after his overthrow the Ladie *Elianor* his daughter, with many others of his allies and kinsfolkes, were ſentenced to exile, and departed into France, where they were courteouſly received by the French King *Philip* the third, ſurnamed the *Hardie*, whoſe kind entertaining of them proceeded not ſo much from his owne bounties and naturall diſpoſition to liberalitie, as it did from an opinion which hee conceived, that in ſo doing hee ſhould gaine the love and good liking of many Engliſh Lords; who (being diſcontented with the laſt Kings government) were not well pleaſed with his ſonne, who had croſſed them in moſt of thoſe affaires. And moreover, he knew the noble valour and courage of King *Edward* to be ſo eminent, that it was now high time to crave counſell of wiſdome and of policie, how and by what meanes hee might prevent him from making himſelfe more great. And becauſe reaſon and common experience taught him, That hee whoſe owne houſe is on fire, will rather employ his endevours to quench that flame, than to ſet his enemies houſe on fire alſo: he therefore practiſed ſecretly with *Lluellen* (the moſt valiant and greateſt in dignitie among the Welchmen) that he with thoſe Inhabitants, would rebell, if at any time any warres were but likely to be attempted againſt the French Nation by King *Edward*. And this his plot was much furthered by the exile of the aforeſaid Ladie *Elianor*, who being (by reaſon of her misfortunes) in the diſpoſing and power of the French King, was (with great importunitie) deſired in marriage by the ſaid *Lluellen*: to whom (upon thoſe concluſions and agreements eſpecially) ſhe was ſent with honourable attendance and rich gifts. But King *Edward* (being ſecretly enformed both of the ſaid purpoſe, and of her paſſage towards Wales) wiſely prevented his owne danger, and intercepted her on the Sea, and detained her as his priſoner. By meanes whereof *Lluellen* (whoſe beſt Rhetoricke to perſwade, was by open warre and rebellion) entred into the field with many thouſands, who were more readie to robbe and to ſteale, than to reclaime themſelves, and to be mindfull of their dutie to their Prince.

Lluellen of Wales ſueth to the French King to have in marriage Elianor the exiled daughter of the late Earle of Leiceſter.
She is ſent towards Wales.
She is taken at Sea.
Lluellen rebelleth.

The King likewiſe on his part (purpoſing to make his firſt voyage terrible to the Welchmen, for examples ſake to that ſickly Nation) levied ſo ſtrong an Armie, that by all conjectures the Welchmen were altogether unable to reſiſt him. And it ſeemed they thought ſo too; for their chiefeſt Captaine and Leader (partly for the love which he bare to his longed-for Ladie, & partly to prevent thoſe fatall dangers which knocked at his doore) unexpectedly ſubmitted himſelfe to the Kings grace, and yeelded himſelfe to be diſpoſed of wholly and onely at the Kings pleaſure, and vowed and proteſted with many great and ſolemne Oathes, that his obedience ſhould be conſtant, and his ſword alwaies ready to ſerve the King, both againſt France and againſt all others in future time, if he might be made happie with the Kings favour, and have the enjoyment of his Ladie.

The King raiſeth an Armie.

Lluellen voluntarily ſubmitteth himſelfe.

Lluellen voweth and ſweareth loyalty.

The King, whoſe heart was ever enclined to mercie, and more deſired by affabilitie to win an enemie, than to conquer him by blowes, and ſuppoſing that his love to his Miſtreſſe would bee a ſtronger bond to ſtrengthen

Lluellen is pardoned, favoured, and wived.

ſtrengthen his allegeance, than any other thing, freely granted him his pardon, his favour, and his wife. And thus thoſe warres (which menaced the death of many thouſands) were quietly ended, without the effuſion of any blood.

Lluellen rebelleth.

But within few yeeres after, *Lluellen*, by the wicked perſwaſions and enticement of his brother *David* (a man more contentious than provident, and leſſe valiant than mutinous; and yet one whom the King did extraordinarily love and favour) rebelled againſt the King, and fought with Sir *Roger Mortimer* many ſharpe and advantageous battels. But at length (Gods judgements haſtening Traytors to a ſhamefull end) both of them were taken, and their heads (as Trophies of the victory) were ſent unto the King; who cauſed them to be ſet upon the Tower of London, for a terror unto others, and there they remained long after.

Lluellen and his brother are taken and beheaded.

But (notwithſtanding all this) yet the naturall diſpoſition of the Welchmen ſo ſtrongly prevailed, and ſo blind they were, and unable to foreſee their owne ruine, that within few moneths after they rebelled twice, and by many ſlaughters and ſtrange executions they were ſubdued, and compelled to obey. And becauſe their warres were rather maintained and cheriſhed by ſhiftings and by ſtartings into the huge and vaſt Woods (which made thoſe Rebels more diſordered, and confident to ſave themſelves when greateſt danger did approach) the King cauſed thoſe Woods to be hewn downe, and to bee conſumed with fire: by meanes whereof, they were reduced to a more civill kind of life, and began to practice divers commendable Occupations, Arts, and Sciences, and tooke ſome pleaſure (from thenceforth) to live like honeſt men.

The Welchmen rebell againe and againe.

They are ſubdued.

Their woods are burned.

They become more civill.

In the eighteenth yeere of King *Edwards* reigne, *Alexander* the King of Scots (not having any iſſue of his body) fell with his horſe, and unfortunately brake his necke. Hee had three ſiſters, the eldeſt of which was married unto *John Baylyoll*, Lord of Galloway; the ſecond unto *Robert le Bruſe*, Lord of Valley-Androw; and the third was married into England to *John Haſtings*, Lord of Abergavennie. Betwixt theſe three (each of them being backed with the beſt ſupport of their moſt able friends) ſharpe bickerings and civill wars occaſioned the deaths of many worthy and valiant men, together with the ruine and deſtruction of ſome of their houſes and beſt fortunes; and the Commonweale of that kingdome received many deſperate wounds and ſtrange miſ-adventures, becauſe each of them (in the right of his wife) attempted and hoped to be a King. Whereupon King *Edward* (with great expedition) went into Scotland as the Soveraigne Lord, and endevoured to compoſe this ſtrife; but ſuch was their mutuall deſire to reigne, that no perſwaſions prevailed to make any one of them to yeeld. But in the end, more ſounder advice tooke place, ſo that they all (by a publike writing under their hands and ſeales) conſented to referre themſelves and their titles to the cenſure and judgement of King *Edward*. And by the ſame inſtrument they freely ſurrendred all Scotland, and that Crowne, into the Kings hands, to the end that thereby they might enable him abſolutely to poſſeſſe ſuch a one of them in that kingdome, as (in his judgement) ought to have the ſame. He alſo received from them in writing their ſeverall demands, & each mans proofes, reaſons, and arguments to maintaine his claime. And thereupon King

The King of Scots breaketh his neck.

Contention about the Crowne of Scotland.

The title is referred to the cenſure of King Edward, as to the ſoveraigne Lord thereof.

Scotland is ſurrendred to King Edward.

Edward

A wiſe and a diſcreet King.

Edward elected and made choice of twentie of the moſt diſcreet, wiſe, and worthy men of his kingdome of England, and of twentie more of the kingdome of Scotland: and by their advice and counſell he informed himſelfe truely of that buſineſſe, and at length pronounced his ſentence for *John Baylyoll*, who had married the eldeſt of thoſe three ſiſters: who received from him that Crown and Countrey, and for it performed and did his homage to King *Edward*.

John Baylyol is made King of the Scots. He doth homage for it to the King.

The King, although he were earneſtly emploied in theſe and in other affaires at home, yet was hee more troubled with greater buſineſſes abroad, by reaſon that the French King daily wronged him in Gaſcoyne, Guyan, and elſewhere. And to maintaine thoſe wars, the King (by the advice and counſell of *William Marchyan* his chiefeſt Treaſurer) ſeized into his hands the Plate, Jewels, and Treaſure of the Churches, and of the religious houſes within this kingdome, and compelled the Clergie to give unto him the one halfe of one yeeres value of all their Eccleſiaſticall dignities and promotions. This unaccuſtomed ſacriledge made the King hatefull in Church-mens eies. But yet he ſeemed in ſome ſort to content them with faire promiſes of reſtitution, when his treaſure ſhould by other meanes be encreaſed. But they little relying upon that promiſe, and (by common experience in other things) being reſolved, that the Kings Coffers would not be emptied to fill theirs (and yet feeding themſelves with a vaine hope, that ſome other recompence might bee made them) became humble ſuitors to the King, that he would be pleaſed to revoke and to annihilate the Statute which in the fourth yeere of his reigne was made againſt *Mortmaine*; which prohibited the giving and the conveying of any lands & tenements to any corporation whatſoever, without the Kings leave. But as he never meant to gratifie them in any ſort whatſoever, ſo he made them anſwer, that it lay not in him, without the conſent of a Parliament, to revoke and to fruſtrate any Law. The Clergie (to their great griefe and ſorrow) perceived, that their Treaſure was ſwept away, together with all hope of reſtitution or amends: and though it vexed them inwardly, yet durſt they not to expreſſe any outward tokens of diſlike.

The French King wrongeth King Edward.

Evill counſell.

The King ſtrippeth the Church.

He is hated by Churchmen.

Mortmayne.

The Clergies ſuite denied.

Thus when the King had augmented his ſtore by the Clergies plentie: he (by the directions of his ſaid Treaſurer) impoſed a taxe or ſubſidie upon everie Sacke of Wools, and upon all Fells and Hydes which were to be tranſported out of this kingdome; and alſo required the tenth part of every mans moveable goods and ſubſtance to maintaine his wars: which being granted, he cauſed it to be levied by many paiments within the ſpace of three yeeres. Hee alſo compelled the Clergie to bring into his Coffers all ſuch ſummes of mony as they had promiſed to pay unto the Pope, towards the maintenance of the Chriſtian warre with the Turkes in the Holy Land. He alſo tooke up one hundred thouſand Quarters of the beſt wheat, and ſent it to his Armies in Gaſcoyne and in Guyan: where they fought with much courage and valour, but with doubtfull ſucceſſe, ſometimes gaining what was loſt, and ſometimes loſing what they had won.

A new taxe.

In the five and twentieth yeere of King *Edwards* reigne, *John Baylyol* the King of Scots (partly by the ſecret procurement of the French

25. 1296.

King,

King, and partly by the lewd advice and counſell of factious and wicked perſons) ſent a defiance (with a proud renunciation of his fealty and homage) to the King, and with an Army of brain-ſick Rebels entred into the Northerne parts of this kingdome, where with fire and ſword they oppreſſed ſuch as could make no reſiſtance, and without pity and compaſſion ſlew ſuch as were armed in the defence of their Countrey, and to ſave themſelves. Whereupon King *Edward*, recounting his manifold favours and great love to the ſaid revolted King, and the high honour wherewith not many yeeres before he had graced him; and being reſolved to correct his unthankfulneſſe with ſharp revenge, levied a puiſſant Army, and marched in full ſtrength towards the Northerne parts, and found his fortune to be ſo favourable, that with much eaſe he won the ſtrong Caſtle of Barwick, with the ſlaughter of five and twenty thouſand Scots. He alſo won the well defended Caſtle of Don-Barre; and piercing into the ſides of Scotland, he tooke Edenburgh, and all other places of the beſt defence. And the King of Scots perceiving the dangerous eſtate wherein he ſtood, and repoſing his laſt hopes in the Kings grace, by the advice of all his Nobles repaired in perſon to the Kings preſence, humbly ſubmitted himſelfe, craved pardon, and ſolemnly ſurrendred his whole kingdome into King *Edwards* hands: who forthwith ſent the ſaid Scottiſh King with a ſtrong guard to the Tower of London, but gave him large allowance both of liberty, and of attendance, and of his diet. And then he committed the government of that kingdome unto *John Warraine* Earle of Suſſex and of Surrey, and made Sir *Hugh Creſſingham* his High Treaſurer, and *William Earnſley* his chiefe Juſtice of that kingdome. And having confined ſome of the rebellious Peeres of Scotland within the Marches of England, he returned triumphantly and with great honour.

John Baylyol invadeth England.

The King with an Army marcheth againſt the Scots.

Barwick won.

The Scots are overthrowne. 25000. Scots are ſlaine.

The King of Scots yeeldeth himſelfe, and ſurrendreth his Kingdome.

He is ſent to the Tower of London.

The King placeth a Governour over Scotland.

And then King *Edward*, uſing great expedition and much policie for the refreſhing and for the renewing of his Army, tranſported it into the Territories of *Guy* then Earle of Flanders, againſt whom *Robert* Earle of Arthois (by the procurement, and with the aſſiſtance of the French King) made ſharp warre. And the French King, intending to haſten King *Edwards* returne into England, to ſave himſelfe and his owne Countrey, animated the Scots to rebell againe: and they (becauſe they were factious, and ready to doe unto France all ſervice upon all commands, though with the hazzard of their lives, and of their lands) without any feare or fore-caſt of their future miſeries, did put themſelves in armes.

King Edward ſaileth into Flanders, and aſſiſteth the Earle thereof.

The Scots rebell.

But King *Edward*, purpoſing to greet the French King and his forces with a Souldiers welcome, appointed *Henry Percie* Earle of Northumberland, and many other Lords and Gentlemen of the beſt ranke, for the repreſſion of that rebellion; who ſo manfully banged the Scots, that they enforced them to flie out of the field, and purſued them with a mercileſſe ſlaughter, and reduced the reſt to their former duty and obedience.

The Scots are ſubdued.

The French King, perceiving that his practice with the Scots wanted his hoped ſucceſſe, was not deſirous to trie his ſtrength with King *Edward* in the open field, but repoſing more confidence in his wit than in his valour, he propoſed very honourable conditions of amity and love, which by King *Edward* were accepted: and then a generall Peace was proclaimed betwixt them all. And thus thoſe warrs (by King *Edwards* meanes

The French King dared not to fight with King Edward.

A Peace is concluded.

and

and aſſiſtance) received a ſhort end, which made a ſhew of long continuance, with the expence of much bloud.

London is reſtored to her liberties.

After the Kings returne into England he reſtored to the Citizens of London their liberties, which for many undutifull miſdemeanours had remained forfeited in his hands for the ſpace of twelve yeeres. And forthwith he led all his Forces into Scotland, where a new Rebellion madly raged, and could not be ſuppreſſed without much ſtrength. And being more willing that the execution of juſtice upon few (for examples ſake) ſhould rather reclaime the multitude, than that the ſword ſhould waſtfully conſume them, he required the delivery of their Leaders, and offered his free pardon to the reſt.

The Scots rebell againe.

A mercifull King.

27
1298.

But their froward diſpoſitions (preparing them to much more miſery than as yet they had endured) animated them obſtinately to arme themſelves, and in warlike faſhion to bid battell to the King: inſomuch, that his Highneſſe finding his favours to be neglected, and perceiving that all extremity was to be uſed, ſet upon them with ſuch fury and violence, that with the loſſe of eight and twenty of his followers, and with the ſlaughter of two and thirty thouſand of the Scots, he enforced the reſt to yeeld: and taking a new Oath for their Fealty and Homage, he appeaſed that Countrey, and (to the great joy of all his people) he returned againe into England; where (upon the earneſt entreaty and requeſt of Pope *Boniface* the eight) he enlarged *John Baylyol*, who travelled into France to take a view of his Lordſhips there, which (according to his owne name) were called *Baylyols* Lands.

The battell of Fannike.
The Scots are overthrowne.
28. Engliſh men ſlaine.
32000. Scots are ſlaine.

John Baylyol ſet at libertie.

The Scots doe rebell againe.
The King leadeth an Army into Scotland.

King *Edward* had no ſooner finiſhed theſe troubles, but the Scots were in Armes againe: ſo that the third time he entred with a great power into that Countrey, where none were ſo daring, or ſo hardy, as to endure his preſence. But the greater number of the Earles, Barons, and chiefeſt Gentlemen of that kingdome, had withdrawne themſelves into the ſtrong Caſtle of Eſtrivelyne, which was by them ſo ſtrengthened, that in their judgements it was impregnable. This Caſtle was long beſieged by the King, but to little purpoſe; and he much doubted leſt his continuance in that ſervice would afford him but little honour in the end. Wherefore (to make a triall how farre his invention would take place) he cauſed two paire of Gallowes to be ſet up in the Caſtles view, and with the ſound of a trumpet did proclaime his free Pardon, if the beſieged did yeeld themſelves within three daies; but denounced death unto them all, by hanging, without reſpect of honour, or of perſon, if obſtinately they enforced him to continue a longer ſiege. And hereupon the beſieged, although they were ſo ſtrongly immured that they might boldly have truſted upon their ſtrong defence; yet becauſe they diſtruſted to be relieved, they repoſed their confidence in the Kings word, and ſubmitted both the Caſtle and themſelves to his grace and mercy, whereof they had good proofe: for (taking new oathes for the performance of their obedience and dutie in future times) he ſet them free and at liberty: and the like oathes he tooke of all Juſtices, Maiors, and other Officers of Townes, Cities, Caſtles, and Forts; and having diſpoſed all things in a comely and in a peaceable order, for the good government of that Kingdome, he returned into England, and brought with him (for a memoriall of

Eſtrivelyne is beſieged, in which the Nobles are.
The Kings policie.
A Proclamation.

Eſtrivelyne is yeelded.

The Scots doe ſweare their obedience to King Edward.

his

his great victory) a Chaire of ſtone, in which the Kings of Scotland by common cuſtome received their Enſtalment and their Crowne: which Chaire remaineth in the Kings Chappell at Weſtminſter, among the faire Monuments of our famous Kings of this Realme. The Scottiſh Chaire.

Aſſoone as King *Edward* was returned from his journey, he cauſed a generall enquiry (which was termed *Troile-Baſton*) to be made throughout his Kingdome, of the miſdeamenours and oppreſſions of his Officers of all ſorts; ſo that the number of the tranſgreſſours was ſuch, and ſo great were their offences, and their fines ſo heavie, that with their mony the King filled his empty Coffers to the brim, diſcharged his old ſcores, which were very great by reaſon of his wars in Wales, Scotland, the Low-Countries, Gaſcoine, Guyan, and elſewhere, and then he diſplaced thoſe corrupted Officers, and placed better in their ſteads. *Troile-Baſton.* A memorable deed done by a worthy King.

About the ſame time Doctor *Langton*, then Biſhop of Cheſter, complained grievouſly to the King upon *Edward* the young Prince, who (by the lewd advice and inſtigation of *Pierce Gaveſton* his looſe and graceleſſe companion) brake forcibly into his Park, and made havock of his game; for which the Prince was committed to priſon, and *Gaveſton* was baniſhed the Land, and required not to return on pain of death. And the next yeer after *Edmund* Earle of Cornwall, ſon to *Richard* King of the Romans, died without iſſue; ſo that that Earledome reverted to the Crown, which (together with the Principality of Wales) the King gave unto Prince *Edward* his eldeſt ſon, and heire apparent to his Crowne. The Prince is committed to priſon, and Pierce Gaveſton is baniſhed. 29 1300. Cornwall and Wales given to the Prince.

In the three and thirtieth yeere of King *Edwards* reign a generall peace was proclaimed between England and Scotland, and *Robert le Bruſe*, and many other Knights, Lords, and Earles of that Country, came into England, and voluntarily ſwore their fealty and their homage to the King: yet before one yeer was fully expired, the ſaid Lord *Bruſe*, and many others, ſecretly procured from the Pope an inſtrument in writing, by which the Pope made claime to the kingdome of Scotland, as holden of his Church of Rome; and the King was thereby peremptorily required to ſurceaſe from all demands of Tenure, and of Soveraignty over it. But the King (by the advice of his Nobles) ſignified by his Embaſſadors to the Pope, that the Signiory and Lordſhip of the ſaid kingdome of Scotland did only belong to the Kings of England, and not unto the See of Rome, nor unto any other: and therefore he prayed him to revoke his ſaid Inſtrument and unjuſt claime, for that both he and his Nobles were reſolved to maintaine his right and lawfull inheritance therein with the utmoſt expence of their goods, lands, and lives. But whilſt thoſe things were thus handling, *Robert le Bruſe* (by the Popes conſent) cauſed himſelfe to be crowned King of that Realme; which occaſioned King *Edward* the fourth time to enter into Scotland with a puiſſant Army; where he ſo largely extended his valour, and with his ſword ſo fiercely devoured the Inhabitants which joyned with their uſurping King, that they were compelled (with extraordinarie tokens of ſubjection and humility) to yeeld themſelves to the Kings mercy: and *Robert le Bruſe* (finding no meanes to make good his falſe title to that Crown) ſecretly withdrew himſelfe, and fled into Norway, where he remained untill King *Edwards* death, which hapned ſoone after, when he had reigned victoriouſly almoſt thirty five yeeres. Peace betwixt England and Scotland. The Scots doe ſweare obedience. The Popes claime to be high Lord of Scotland, and his command to King Edward. The Kings meſſage to the Pope. Robert le Bruſe doth uſurp in Scotland. The King in his own perſon the fourth time ſubdueth the Scots. The uſurper flieth into Norway. The King dieth.

THE

Edward the 2. King of England Duke of Aquitaine Earle of Pictou, Anjou, and Pontieu, Lord of Ireland He raigned 19 yeares, 7 mo: and was deposed the 25th of Ianuary 1327 and shortly committed to prison in Barkley Castle, and there cruelly murdered at the age of 43 yeares buried at Glocester.

THE HISTORIÆ OF KING EDVVARD THE SECOND.

AFter the Kings death his ſon Edward ſucceeded, and was crowned King.

His tall and comely perſonage, graced with outward Majeſty, ſeemed to promiſe many bleſſings to enſue: but his maners (being groſſely corrupted by lewd and graceleſſe companions) were ſo laſcivious and unbefitting the condition of a King, that he became burthenſome to his Nobility, and (almoſt) a ſcorne to his inferiour ſubjects. For he neglected the ſociety and the counſell of ſuch as were wiſe and grave, and conſorted himſelfe with his owne Minions: by meanes whereof he put in practiſe every loathed thing, wherein hee could either take pleaſure, or expreſſe his folly. So that his evill government made his kingdome to be unfortunate, and himſelfe a preſident of wretchednesſe to ſucceeding ages, as in the diſcourſe of his hiſtory it will more particularly appeare.

An evill King.

No ſooner was his head adorned with his Imperiall Crowne, but his heart longed for *Pierce Gaveſton*, the wicked corrupter of his youth, and the profeſſed enemy of all honeſty and vertue. For albeit that he was exiled by the laſt King, who tooke an oath of this his Succeſſor, never to permit him (unpuniſhed) to come back againe into England: yet the remembrance of his villanies (conſorting with the Kings bad nature, and evill diſpoſition) was a quicke meſſenger for his returne. And his arriyall ſo abundantly repleniſhed the Kings conceits with extraordinarie joy, that nothing elſe (in compariſon of it) gave him any contentment: neither could any man (beſides him) looke for any gracefull entertainement from the King.

Pierce Gaveſton. The King breakes his Oath to recall Gaveſton.

Pierce Gaveſton is all in all.

The Noblemen (who perfectly knew how wickedly this *Gaveſton* was inclined) perceiving that the King doted on him, and that his affections towards him were unlimited, being perplexed with inward griefe, and fearing the ruine which (through his inſolencie) threatned the ſubverſion of the whole Realme, emboldened themſelves to put the King in mind of his oath. But as his conſcience troubled him not for the breach thereof, ſo their diſliking encreaſed his deſires towards *Gaveſton*,

The Nobles tell the King of his Oath.

Edward the 2. King of England Duke of Aquitaine Earle of Poictou, Anjou, and Pontieu, Lord of Ireland. He raigned 19 yeares. 7 mo: and was deposed the 25th of Ianuary 1327. and shortly committed to prison in Berkley Castle, and there cruelly murdered at the age of 43 yeares. buried at Glocester.

THE HISTORIE OF KING EDVVARD THE SECOND.

AFter the Kings death his ſon Edward ſucceeded, and was crowned King.

His tall and comely perſonage, graced with outward Majeſty, ſeemed to promiſe many bleſſings to enſue: but his maners (being groſſely corrupted by lewd and graceleſſe companions) were ſo laſcivious and unbefitting the condition of a King, that he became burthenſome to his Nobility, and (almoſt) a ſcorne to his inferiour ſubjects. For he neglected the ſociety and the counſell of ſuch as were wiſe and grave, and conſorted himſelfe with his owne Minions: by meanes whereof he put in practiſe every loathed thing, wherein hee could either take pleaſure, or expreſſe his folly. So that his evill government made his kingdome to be unfortunate, and himſelfe a preſident of wretchedneſſe to ſucceeding ages, as in the diſcourſe of his hiſtory it will more particularly appeare.

An evill King.

No ſooner was his head adorned with his Imperiall Crowne, but his heart longed for *Pierce Gaveſton*, the wicked corrupter of his youth, and the profeſſed enemy of all honeſty and vertue. For albeit that he was exiled by the laſt King, who tooke an oath of this his Succeſſor, never to permit him (unpuniſhed) to come back againe into England: yet the remembrance of his villanies (conſorting with the Kings bad nature, and evill diſpoſition) was a quicke meſſenger for his returne. And his arrivall ſo abundantly repleniſhed the Kings conceits with extraordinarie joy, that nothing elſe (in compariſon of it) gave him any contentment: neither could any man (beſides him) looke for any gracefull entertainement from the King.

Pierce Gaveſton.

The King breakes his Oath to recall Gaveſton.

Pierce Gaveſton is all in all.

The Noblemen (who perfectly knew how wickedly this *Gaveſton* was inclined) perceiving that the King doted on him, and that his affections towards him were unlimited, being perplexed with inward griefe, and fearing the ruine which (through his inſolencie) threatned the ſubverſion of the whole Realme, emboldened themſelves to put the King in mind of his oath. But as his conſcience troubled him not for the breach thereof, ſo their diſliking encreaſed his deſires towards *Gaveſton*,

The Nobles tell the King of his Oath.

and to make him great. For *Gaveſton* alone, and none but *Gaveſton*, was likely to doe all in all: and (frowne he that frowne would) the King cared not who was diſpleaſed; he was reſolved that *Gaveſton* ſhould be great. And therefore he firſt Lorded him with the Baronie of Wallingford, and ſoone after he created him Earle of Cornewall, and made him the ſole and only Commander over his jewels, and his treaſure. In which office, ſo abſolute was his power, and ſo cunning was his crafty head, to provide in the time of his proſperity for adverſe fortune which might enſue, that ſecretly he conveyed beyond the ſea a faire Table and Treſſels, all made of beaten gold, and many rich and precious ornaments and jewels, to the great hurt and prejudice of the King, and of this Realme.

Gaveſton is advanced.

He conveyes the Kings jewells out of the Realme.

The King liveth looſely and lewdly.

He alſo took much pleaſure to feed the Kings fancies with great varietie of new delights; and by his example he inured him to banquet, drinke, and to carouſe beyond meaſure: and his diſhoneſt perſwaſions and enticements made him careleſſe of the bed and of the ſociety and fellowſhip of *Iſabel* his religious and vertuous Queene, the daughter of the French King *Philip* the faire, and ſiſter to his Succeſſor *Charles* the fourth, and trained him to the adulterous conſortſhip of wanton Curtizans, and ſhameleſſe Whores.

The Queene in vaine ſeeketh to reclaim the King.

The Queene (who ſorrowed hereat beyond meaſure) repoſed all meanes for redreſſe of thoſe her unſufferable wrongs in her prayers unto God, and in her modeſt wooings for her Kings love. But all her endevours proved nothing at all: for the beames of her excellent vertues could not pierce the thicke clouds of his vanities; neither could her teares or her groanes mollifie his hard heart, which ſurfetted upon too much plenty of lothſome ſins.

The people talke of the Kings evill life.

The common people gave large libertie to their tongues, to ſpeake and to talke reproachfully, and to the Kings diſgrace. He knew it well, he heard it, and cared not for it, but was reſolved to perſevere in thoſe ungodly courſes, which by *Pierce Gaveſton* were contrived and propoſed unto him.

The Noblemen, and ſuch as by reaſon of their offices and places were of the Kings Councell, did (in their particulars) adventure many times ſecretly to informe him of the lewdneſſe of *Pierce Gaveſton*, and that both ſtrangers, and alſo his owne people, did ſtrangely ſpeake of him and of his government, which was altogether eclipſed by the foule interpoſition of his vices betwixt himſelfe and it. But their labour was quite loſt, and their fidelity was requited with unthankfull frownes; rather teſtifying his determination to continue ſubject (though he were a King) to his follies, than in any ſort to amend any thing which was amiſſe.

The King cares not for good counſell.

When nothing could prevaile, either to reforme the King, or to make him careleſſe of *Pierce Gaveſton*, the Lords and Barons of this kingdome began ſeriouſly to conſult and to take another courſe: for they preferred their generall petition to the King, wherein they plainely diſcovered the foulneſſe of his faults, and the ſorrow of his beſt affected ſubjects, for that his Majeſty (more than was fitting or comely) was guided and governed by *Pierce Gaveſton*; and earneſtly entreated him to be pleaſed (for the preventing of ſuch miſchiefes as were otherwiſe likely to enſue) to baniſh that lewd companion both from his Court and Kingdome.

A petition for Gaveſtons baniſhment.

The

The King perceiving that his Nobles were reſolved to urge his conſent unto *Pierce Gaveſtons* exile, agreed (though unwillingly) thereunto: yea, in ſuch a diſpleaſed humour granted he their requeſt, that thereby they might well underſtand that his heart ſubſcribed not to their deſires. But away he was ſent into Ireland: where he was no ſooner arrived, but by meſſengers ſent to him by the King he was required to be jocund and cheerefull in his baniſhment, for that his abſence ſhould in the end be recompenced with greater honours, and more gracefull favours than he had formerly received: and for a pledge thereof, the King appointed him to be the chiefe Governour and higheſt Commander in that Countrey, and ſent him ſuch ſtore of plate, jewells, and coine, both of ſilver and of gold, that he might well think that his baniſhment was but an honourable Embaſſade, and an occaſion thereby preſented by good fortune to the King, to make him the more potent, and more rich.

Gaveſton is baniſhed into Ireland.
The King ſends comfortable meſſages unto Gaveſton.
Gaveſton is made Governour of Ireland.
The King ſends him jewels and money.

And beſides all this, the Kings diſcontented paſſions ſo ſwayed in him, and *Gaveſtons* abſence ſo much perplexed him, that his Nobles (being in hope of future amendment of all things which had been done amiſſe, and to pleaſe the K.) freely, and of their own accords, moved the King for his return. But when he came back again, ſo ſtrongly and ſo ſtrangely was he ſupported by the publike favours & unremovable love of the King, that, with greater inſolencie and pride than before, he practiſed many more notorious villanies than ever he had done. So that (by means of the inceſſant importunitie of the Nobles) he was again baniſhed into Flanders: where he remained not long, but the King called him backe againe.

The Nobles doe ſue for his returne.
Gaveſton is recalled.
Gaveſton is wicked and inſolent.
Gaveſton is baniſhed again.
He is recalled.

Thoſe his exiles (thus procured by the Lords and Barons of this kingdome, and their conſents to call him home againe) might have reclaimed him from his foule and groſſe errours, if wiſedome and vertue had in any ſort beene entertained by him. But in ſtead of changing his bad nature into good qualities, he took an extraordinarie delight to glory in his own ſin, and to boaſt how he miſ-led the King. He alſo ſcornfully deſpiſed the greateſt Nobles of this Land, and abuſed them to their faces; and by untrue informations (which privately and behind their backs he gave unto the King) he cauſed them to be frowned on; and did all things in ſuch a diſordered faſhion, without controlment, that the Barons with one conſent (being hopeleſſe of redreſſe, and being unable any longer to ſupport ſuch a deſpiſed burthen) beſieged him being in a ſtrong Caſtle, which they won: and to redeeme the Kings honour, and to procure their owne liberties, and the welfare of the Commonweale, they cauſed his head to be ſmitten off. But ſo highly was the King diſpleaſed thereat, that alwaies from thence forth he endevoured nothing more, than by cruelty and by tyrannie to revenge his death.

Gaveſton boaſteth of his wicked courſes.
He ſcornes the Nobles.
The Barons ſtrike off Gaveſtons head.
The King is impatient for Gaveſtons death.

And then (to anger his Nobility) he entertained into his neereſt familiarity and counſells the two *Spencers*, Sir *Hugh* the father, and Sir *Hugh* the ſon, men as graceleſſe and as odious to the Lords and common people, as the other was. Their advice enclined the King to proſecute his lewd and wanton courſe of life among laſcivious and wanton Whores and Concubines, and to ſet at naught the ſweet company of his modeſt and vertuous Queen, which made him a ſcorne to forrain Princes, and hatefull in the ſight of all honeſt men. Yet the King, in deſpight of his greateſt

The King favoureth the two Spencers.
The Spencers are as bad as was Gaveſton.

The fruits of evill government.
The King and his Nobles are at variance.

Lords, ſupported the two *Spencers* in all things which they ſhould take in hand.

But his evill government, both of himſelfe and of his kingdome, revived new diſcords betweene the King and his Barons; and by meanes thereof the affaires and buſineſſes of the Commonweale were ill managed, and ſuch as lay in wait to advance their eſtates by reaſon of this diſſention, had now gotten fit opportunity to put in practice what they pleaſed. Among which *Robert le Bruſe* (returning from Norway into Scotland) was joyfully received there, and was the ſecond time crowned King of that Kingdome: and then he levied a ſtrong Army, with which he entred into the Marches of England foure or five dayes journey, and with fire and ſword miſerably waſted and deſolated thoſe Countries, untill he was encountred by the King, and compelled to retire.

Robert le Bruſe being recrowned invadeth England.

7 1313.
The Battell of Eſtrevcline.
The King receiveth a great overthrow.
The King flieth.

But King *Edward*, fighting a battell with the Scottiſh power within the borders of their owne Countrey, received the overthrow; and having ſeene the ſlaughter of many thouſands of his Army (among which were *Gilbert de Clare* Earle of Gloceſter, and two and forty other Lords, and more than threeſcore Knights and Baronets, beſides two and twentie men of name, who were taken priſoners) he was compelled (for his own ſafety) ſhamefully to flie, and with diſhonourable ſucceſſe to returne againe into England. Where he was (eftſoones) perplexed and put to much trouble by the untrue and deſperate attempt of one *John Poydras* a Tanners ſon dwelling in Exeter, who boldly affirmed himſelfe to be the truely begotten ſon of the laſt King, and ſaid, That he was changed in his cradle by his Nurſe for a Carters child, and offered divers colourable proofes for the ſame: and among the reſt, he ſtrongly inſtanced upon the unworthy and baſe conditions of the King, ſorting to none ſo fitly, as unto one of obſcure and of common birth.

John Poydras diſcovered and executed.

This his claime, and bold aſſertions, quickly abuſed the eares and the hearts of the vulgar, and drew many of them (for want of wiſedome and obedience) to flocke unto him, as to their King. But at length he was apprehended, and having confeſſed his Treaſon and his folly, and being arraigned, convicted, and condemned, he was executed according to his deſerts.

Barwicke betrayed to the Scots.
A famine.

At the ſame time alſo the ſtrong and almoſt impregnable Caſtle of Barwicke was treacherouſly betrayed into the hands of *Robert le Bruſe* the uſurping King of Scots: and ſuch a generall ſcarcity of all ſorts of victualls, and ſuch a murren of all kinds of Cattell ſo puniſhed the people, that the like before among them was never ſeene. And divers notorious and bold Theeves, to the number of two hundred at the leaſt (being cloathed in Friers weeds of gray) without reſpect of perſon or of ſexe, robbed and ſpoiled the Inhabitants of the North. But (in the end) they were taken, and according to their deſerts were put to death. The Scots alſo raiſed a new Army, and with great violence and fury they entred England, where (beſides the great afflictions occaſioned by that war) the Inhabitants of thoſe countries were ſo pinched and plagued with famine, that in many places thoſe who lived ſcarcely ſufficed to interre their dead, and the reſt (to preſerve their lives) were compelled to ſuſtain themſelves in the great extremity of their hunger, by eating of rats, mice, cats, dogs, horſes, and ſuch like.

Theeves beare great ſway.

The Scots invade England.

The famine grievouſly increaſeth.

The

The King (intending to ſuppreſſe the Scots, and to correct them for their inſolencie and folly) encountred them with his whole Armie, but received a notorious overthrow; and (being ſcornfully checked and diſgraced by his bold and ſawcie enemies) he returned home againe with great ignominie and ſhame, leaving his poore ſubjects in the North ſo miſerably diſtreſſed and unrelieved, as ever any people were, forſaken by an unworthy and a careleſſe King.

The King is overthrowne the ſecond time by the Scots.

A miſerably diſtreſſed people.

Of theſe diſgraces, and of theſe troubles, we make this profitable uſe: That as the heroicall vertues of excellent Princes are crowned with many bleſſings from above, ſo for the iniquitie and hainous tranſgreſſions of wicked and ungodly Kings, both themſelves and their people likewiſe are ſeverely puniſhed by God, before whom Princes muſt fall as well as the common ſubjects, except their true and hearty repentance (being joyned with the amendment of their lives) doe (in ſeaſon) procure his mercy and his favour.

The uſe of this Hiſtorie.

The Peeres and the Nobles of this Kingdome (perceiving that the diſeaſes of the Commonweale did daily encreaſe and grow more dangerous) determined (like good Phyſicians) narrowly to ſearch out the cauſes of theſe maladies, and to find ſome remedie to cure them before it were too late. The miſerable examples of all kinds of wickedneſſe which preſented themſelves unto their view, emboldened them to informe the King, That the two *Spencers*, and their miſ-guiding of the State (by whom only, and by none other, the King was counſelled and directed) were the immediate occaſioners of all thoſe miſchiefes and calamities which miſerably afflicted and tormented the whole Kingdome. They plainly told him, That ſuch was their intereſt in the Kings perſon, and in his government of his people, that they were bound (in honour, and for conſcience ſake) to informe his Highneſſe of all ſuch miſdemeanours committed by any of his ſubjects, as tended to the ſubverſion of the State, and the diſturbing of the common peace thereof: and then they became importunate ſutors to his Majeſty, That he would be pleaſed to put from him the two *Spencers*, who corrupted him with monſtrous vices, and made him altogether careleſſe of thoſe duties which by Almighty God were required at his hands. They told him likewiſe, That as ſubjection belonged to the people, ſo the King was bound to protect them, and that (unconſcionably, and moſt diſhonourably) he had left his Commons in the North to the rage and rigour of the Scots, and to all extremities of hunger and of other wants; and that if he pleaſed not (upon their humble entreaty and requeſt) to caſhiere thoſe two graceleſſe Counſellors of their places, and from his ſervice, they then muſt and would preſume to do it, though it were with the hazzard and perill of their owne lives.

The Nobles endevour reformation.

They complaine on the two Spencers.

The reſolution of the Nobles touching the two Spencers.

The King could not chooſe but hearken to this grievous and true report. For as it was founded and grounded upon conſcience and on duty; ſo was it maintained with a conſtant reſolution to reforme that which was amiſſe. He bit his lip thereat, and his countenance proclaimed his diſcontentment. Inwardly he meditated and deviſed how he might ſurpriſe thoſe Noblemen, who (moſt of all) ſtomacked the two *Spencers*, whom ſo immoderately he did love, yet outwardly his tongue gave the Barons a pleaſing anſwer; ſo that hee forthwith ſummoned his High Court

The King frowneth on his Nobles.

A Parliament.

of Parliament: and pretending a reformation of all things that were conceived to be amiſſe, he gladded the hearts of his Nobles and Commons exceedingly. But the Lords and Barons (although they rejoyced much that the time would ſhortly come in which theſe matters ſhould be ſubſtantially debated on) yet were they jealous, and ſuſpected leſt the King intended their ſurprizall in that ſolemne meeting. Wherefore the greater numbers of them repaired unto London, being ſtrongly guarded with a brave Armie of ſufficient and gallant men, which were all cloathed in a like liverie; whereat the King was highly diſpleaſed: but moſt of all it grieved him, that he knew the Barons would have their owne will, by taking and ſeparating from him the two *Spencers* (who were more dear to him than his Queen and children, and all his friends beſide) and in the end (among many other things) it was (by the whole Parliament) enacted, That they ſhould be exiled during their lives, and never be licenſed by the King to returne againe into England.

The Nobles do ſtand upon their guard.

How the King loved the two Spencers.

The two Spencers are baniſhed for ever.

This being thus concluded, the Barons (who longed to ſee the two *Spencers* under ſaile) cauſed certaine ſhips to be prepared, in which they were embarked and ſent away. So that now all men were well pleaſed, except the King, whom their abſence vexed at the heart: and in all things he endevoured plainely to expreſſe his hatred and his anger towards the Barons, who had enforced him to conſent unto their baniſhment. And, to expreſſe the ſame more fully, he was informed that the younger *Spencer* had ſtrengthened himſelfe with a few good ſhips, and that he lay (as a grand Pyrate) coaſting upon the narrow Seas, robbing, ranſacking, and ſpoiling the Merchants, and all Nations who paſſed by them, but eſpecially and chiefly ſuch as were of this Kingdome. And although great ſuit was made unto the King, that a convenient Fleet might be prepared for his ſurprizall, and that he might be produced unto judgement, and receive ſuch puniſhment as the lawes of this kingdome appointed for the cutting off of ſuch a notorious theefe; yet the King ſmiled, and was inwardly glad to heare this newes, and turned a deafe eare to their requeſt, and was ſo far off from providing to fetch him in, that (pardoning all his offences, and to deſpight his Barons) he recalled them both from their Baniſhment, and honoured them with more Dignities, Offices, and Authoritie, than ever he had done before.

The King hateth his Barons.

The younger Spencer becomes a Pyrate.

The grieved Lords complaine, but the King laughs.

The Spencers are recalled, and honoured.

ANNO 13.

This thing being thus ſtrangely performed by the King, and the daily unſufferable injuries and inſolencie of the two *Spencers* (who ſcorned and derided the Nobles, as being unable to controll them, or doe them any harm) were ſufficient warnings to the Barons to look unto themſelves, and to provide for their owne ſafety, before it were too late. Wherefore, ſeeing that neither entreaty nor law could right their wrongs, they raiſed a ſtrong Armie, and boldly marched into the field: and the King, with the two *Spencers*, and ſome others of the Nobles, did the like. And after many ſharp bickerings and encounters both their Armies met, and fought on either part with ſuch obſtinate deſire to revenge, that he was ſuppoſed to be the moſt valiant man among them, who could and did drench his ſword deepeſt in the moſt bloud. The Noblemen now forgat that undutifully they fought againſt their Soveraigne Lord, and the King would not by any meanes know that his tyrannie had compelled them to take Armes.

The Spencers doe ſcorne and deride the Nobles.

The Barons doe raiſe a ſtrong Armie.

The King doth the like.

A cruell battell.

Armes. Kindred, alliance, countrey, religion, neighbourhood, nor any other reſpect now prevailed to winfavour: but fury made them truſt to their weapons, and death ſtickled the controverſie betwixt them. In the end, when many of the Barons, and thouſands of their adherents were ſlain, they fled, and were purſued by the King, who (obtaining the victorie) never ceaſed the purſuit untill he had taken the Earles of Lancaſter, Hereford, and many other Lords, of which he cauſed two and twentie to loſe their heads in ſundry places of this Realme, to the great aſtoniſhment of the reſt, and to the terrour of the vulgar ſort.

The Barons are overthrowne.

Twentie and two Lords beheaded.

Thus when this havocke was made of the Nobilitie, and when this victorie had puffed up the two *Spencers* with intolerable inſolencie and pride, they made no good uſe of their good fortune, for the amendment of their lives, or better counſelling of the King, but (as tyrants) they now did all in all as they themſelves liſted, and their will was the beſt law. And then (preſuming that all things ſhould be ordered as they liſted) they procured the King to hold his High Court of Parliament at Yorke; in which he created *Edward* his eldeſt ſon Prince of Wales, and Duke of Aquitaine: he alſo created Sir *Hugh Spencer* the father, Earle of Winchester, and Sir *Andrew Harkley* (whoſe extraordinary ſervice was a principall meanes of the Barons late overthrow) Earle of Care-Liele. He alſo exacted the ſixt penny of all Temporall mens goods and moveables inhabiting in England, Wales, and Ireland, to defray and to ſupport his intended wars againſt the Scots: but the levying thereof enforced the common people to grudge and to murmure, affirming, That they were altogether impoveriſhed by dearth and famine, and almoſt undone by reaſon of the diſordered government of the King.

The two Spencers waxe more inſolent and proud.

The Prince of Wales created.

Sir Hugh Spencer the elder made an Earle.

A great taxe.

The people do murmure.

ANNO 15.

The Scots (being ſecretly informed that King *Edward* was reſolved to invade their Countrey, and to revenge thoſe indignities, and thoſe wrongs, which by the incurſions and invaſions of *Robert le Bruſe* their uſurping King, he had received) endevoured to divert his purpoſe another way, ſo that they entred Ireland with a copious Armie. But the King (who was not ignorant of their determination) made ſuch proviſion againſt their landing there, that the greater number of theſe aſſailants were ſlaine, and the reſt (being utterly overthrown) were compelled to flie unto their ſhips, and ſhamefully to returne into their owne Countrey.

The Scots doe invade Ireland.

The Scots are overthrowne.

The King was now perſwaded that ſcarcely any ſtrength could withſtand ſo great a power as he had levied, and that the Scots ſhould now be called to a ſtrict account for all their inrodes, incurſions, invaſions, murthers, robberies, and ſpoiles. And for the effecting thereof, he conducted his Armie into Scotland, where the Nobles and the other Inhabitants of that land (being armed well, and being in number many thouſands) for many dayes, by continuall preparations, made a ſhew to give battell to King *Edward*, when as (indeed) they meant nothing leſſe. For when King *Edward* approached neere unto them, they craftily, yet ſtoutly and ſtrongly, retired many miles, and at length withdrew themſelves into the woods, forreſts, and mountains: where they ſoon cloyed, wearied, & waſted the Engliſh forces, partly with the uneaſineſſe of thoſe paſſages, and partly with ſuch ſtorms, tempeſts, raine, haile, ſnow, froſts, and other diſtempered weather, as uſually in thoſe places were too bitter & too ſharp.

The King entreth into Scotland with an Armie.

The Scots doe retire into the Woods and Mountaines.

The Engliſh Armie is tired out.

And

The Kings Armie is afflicted.

The King is purſued, and flieth.

The King loſeth his treaſure and proviſions.

Sir Andrew Harkley Earle of Carlile beheaded.

The Queene flieth into France, and carrieth the Prince with her.

She is kindly entertained by her brother the King.

The Barons doe offer her their ſervice.

The Spencers doe bribe the French King with the Kings money and jewels.

The French King checketh the Queene his ſiſter.

The Pope and his Cardinalls are bribed.

Sir Robert Earle of Arthois a friend to the Queen.

The Queene and Prince flie into the Empire.

They are kindly entertained by the Earle of Henault.

And beſides all this, the want of victualls and other neceſſaries ſo grievouſly afflicted the Kings Army with mortalitie and death, that (not having performed any thing worthy a Kings care and travell) he began to retire: which when the Scots perceived, they purſued and hunted him with much crueltie and violence: ſo that (finding his forces to be broken, and his Armie ſcattered) the Scots gave a bold on-ſet upon the King himſelfe, and enforced him to ſave his life by an ignominious flight, and to leave behind him his Treaſure, Ordnance, and his beſt proviſions, whereat they made great jollitie and mirth.

This laſt diſaſter, and this laſt danger (which King *Edward* by a ſhamefull flight eſcaped) was principally occaſioned by Sir *Andrew Harkley*, whom the King had created Earle of Carlile, for his great ſervice in his behalfe againſt his Barons in their late overthrow: for he (having ſecretly received from the Scots a great ſumme of money for a bribe) practiſed to betray the King: for which offence he loſt his head.

The Queene (knowing that the two *Spencers* envied her deeply at the heart, and that by their perſwaſions the King refuſed to keepe her companie, and ſolaced himſelfe too too wantonly with lewd and laſcivious ſtrumpets; and pitying the late ſlaughter and bloudie executions of very many of the Nobilitie, and perceiving that the affaires and buſineſſe of the Commonweale were made ſlaviſh and ſervile to all miſ-fortunes) taking with her the young Prince *Edward* her ſon, fled into France to her brother King *Charles*: by whom ſhe was received lovingly, and was recomforted by earneſt promiſes and oathes, That by his aſſiſtance, and at his coſts, her wrongs, and this whole Kingdomes ruines, ſhould be repaired. And not long after, the Barons (by their letters) offered their beſt ſervice to her, and to the Prince her ſon; and did proteſt, That if ſhe could returne ſtrengthened only with the help of one thouſand valiant men at armes, they would thereto adde ſo great a ſtrength, as ſhould ſuffice to make the two *Spencers* feele the ſmart of their unſufferable follies.

This proffer exceedingly rejoiced the Queene, and daily fed her conceits with freſh hopes of fortunate ſucceſſe at the laſt. But the two *Spencers* (greatly fearing the event of her returne, if the French King ſhould take her part, and making the Kings coine and his treaſure their beſt Advocates to plead their caſe) ſo corrupted King *Charles* and his Councell of Eſtate, with invaluable preſents of gold, of ſilver, and of rich jewels, that not only all aid and ſuccour was denied to her by her owne brother, but in very ſharp and in quick maner ſhe was by him reproved and blamed, as being fooliſhly affraid of her owne ſhadow, and as having unwiſely and undutifully forſaken the company of her Lord and kind Huſband. The Pope likewiſe, and many of his chiefeſt Cardinalls (being by like rewards engaged by the two *Spencers*) required the French King (upon the penaltie of Curſing) to ſend the Queene and the young Prince her ſon to King *Edward*. And doubtleſſe ſhe had unnaturally beene betrayed by her owne brother, if ſecretly and ſpeedily her ſelfe and her young ſon had not been conveyed into the Empire by Sir *Robert* of *Arthois*, her neere and kind couſin and friend; where they were with unexpected and extraordinarie joy received and welcommed by the Earle of Henault, and by Sir *John* of Henault, Lord *Beaumont*, his brother; who

(being

(being accompanied with three hundred Knights and ſelected men of armes) went with her and with her ſon into England.

Upon the firſt intelligence given of their landing, the Lords and Barons, with gladded hearts and luſtie troupes of reſolved gallants (who were ſoundly and at all points armed) repaired every day to the Queene and Prince, and hourely their forces were encreaſed: ſo that the King, having notice of theſe new troubles, left the government of the Citie of London to his chiefeſt Treaſurer *Walter Stapleton* then Biſhop of Exeter (who was an inward friend to the two *Spencers*, and a profeſſed enemie to the Queene, and hated generally by the inhabitants of that Citie) and the King haſted unto the Marches of Wales for the preſent levying of an Armie. But he was no ſooner on his journy, but the Londoners (ſcorning the government of their proud and inſolent Commander) apprehended him, and without any lawfull proceedings, or judiciall ſentence, cauſed his head to be ſmitten off at the Standard in Cheap; and then they ſuddenly, and with great violence, ruſhed into the Tower of London, where they ſlew all ſuch as they found there, and kept both it and that Citie to the uſe of the Queene and of the young Prince her ſon.

The Queene and Prince doe land in England.

ANNO 19.

1325.

The Nobles and Commons doe repaire to the Queen and Prince.

The Biſhop of Exeter beheaded by the Londoners.

The King goeth toward Wales.

The Londoners take the Tower.

As ſoone as King *Edward* was reſolved and informed of this revolt, he deſiſted from his intended purpoſe, and poſted unto Briſtoll, and fortified it in the ſtrongeſt maner that he was able, and committed the defence thereof to the Earle of Arundell, and to Sir *Hugh Spencer* the father; and himſelfe (with Sir *Hugh* the ſon) entred into the Caſtle there, and were determined to defend it with all their ſtrength. But within few daies after, the ſaid Citie was beſieged, aſſaulted, and won by the Queene and by the Barons, who (committing the two Earles, and divers others of the chiefeſt note, unto ſafe keeping) beſieged the Caſtle in ſuch ſort, that the King and his Minion (diſtruſting the event) ſtole away ſecretly in the night, and put themſelves into a little fiſher-boat. Yet ſuch was the will and pleaſure of God (to make them to know him by their future miſeries) that every day, for a weeke and more, the ſame boat (by reaſon of a contrary wind) was driven backe, neere to the ſaid Caſtle: which being at length perceived and obſerved by the Lord *Beaumont*, he chaſed the fiſher-boat with a ſmall veſſell, and boorded her, and found in her the King and Sir *Hugh Spencer* the ſon, whom they ſo much deſired, and brought them to the Queene, who preſented them before the Caſtles view: and upon the ſight of them the beſieged yeelded the poſſeſſion of their Fort into the Queenes hands. Then were the heads of Sir *Hugh Spencer* the father, Earle of Winchester, and of *John* Earle of Arundell (whoſe daughter was married to the younger *Spencer*) ſmitten off. And the King being committed unto honourable and ſafe keeping, the Queen, with the young Prince her ſon, being accompanied with the Barons and a ſtrong Armie, marched towards London, carrying with them Sir *Hugh Spencer* the ſon as a ſlave; before whom certaine unworthy and baſe Fidlers (upon pipes which they had made of reeds) ſcornfully played, skipped, and ſung, in every town which they paſſed through. And being come to the Citie of London, he was faſt bound upon the top of an high ladder, and (his privie members and his heart being ſevered from his body and burned) his head was forthwith cut off and ſet upon London Bridge.

The King changeth his purpoſe.

The King fortifieth Briſtoll.

The Queene winneth Briſtoll.

The King is beſieged in the Caſtle.

Eſt inevitabile fatum.

A ſtrange matter.

The King and Sir Hugh Spencer the younger are taken.

The Caſtle of Briſtoll yeeldeth.

Sir Hugh Spencer the father and the Earle of Arundell are beheaded.

The Queene and Prince doe march toward London.

The younger Spencer is publikely derided.

He is cruelly executed.

Thus

A juſt reward for their wickedneſſe.

Thus Gods judgements purſued thoſe two ungodly and ambitious caitives, by whoſe lewd advice and evill counſell the King forſook the bed and companie of the Queen his wife, lived wickedly, made havock of his Nobilitie, neglected his common people, permitted his enemies (to his diſgrace) to triumph and to inſult over him, and governed more like a Tyrant than a King.

Sir John of Henault and his companie are feaſted and rewarded.

And thus thoſe times of trouble being now againe bleſſed with a happy peace, the Queene bountifully feaſted and rewarded Sir *John* of Henault, Lord *Beaumont*, and all his aſſociates: who, taking leave, departed, and were received into their Countrey with much joy and great honour.

A Parliament.

And then the Queene and the young Prince (to reforme ſuch things as were amiſſe, and to ſettle a better courſe of government within this Land) aſſembled an High Court of Parliament at Weſtminſter: in which the King, by a generall conſent, was depoſed; and (being very honourably reſpected and attended) he was committed to the Caſtle of Killingworth, and Prince *Edward* was crowned King. And not long after, the King, being removed to the Caſtle of Corff, was wickedly aſſailed by his Keepers, who through a Horne which they did put into his fundament, pierced his guts with a burning ſpit, and murdred him when he had reigned almoſt nineteene yeeres.

The King is depoſed. Prince Edward crowned King. The old King is murdered.

THE

The true pourtraicture of EDWARD III. borne at Windsore, of the age of 15 yeres was crowned at Westminster the 2. of Februarie 1326. he tooke the tittle of King of France as dew vnto him both by Ciuill Lawe and order of succession: being the Nephew and next heir male of K: Charles IIII. his mothers brother: in regard whereof he quartred the armes of France with Englands. He raigned 50. yeres. 5. mo: He died at the manor of Shene in Surrey. Ano 1377. buried in Westminster.

R.E. sculpsit

THE HISTORIE OF KING EDWARD THE THIRD.

EDward the Third, being of the age of fifteene yeeres, and crowned King whileſt his depoſed father lived, was chiefly directed in his younger yeeres by the advice and counſell of Queene *Iſabel* his mother, and of his vncle *Edmund* of Woodſtocke Earle of Kent, and of Sir *Roger Mortimer*; which Knight (to intereſſe himſelfe more eſpecially in the Queenes love) traiterouſly conſpired 1 1316.

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1 1316.

Sir Roger Mortimer wickedly procured the murder of the old King.

conſpired and procured the murther of the laſt King by the monſtrous villanie and barbarous cruelty before mentioned.

King Edward invadeth Scotland.

In the ſecond yeere of this Kings reigne, *Robert le Bruſe* (the buſie uſurping King of the Scots) denounced warres againſt him and his kingdome: which occaſioned the levying of a ſtrong Armie, which conſiſted of foure and fiftie thouſand men, with which the King himſelfe (being accompanied with Sir *John* of Henault, Lord Beaumont, and five hundred Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen ſtrangers his aſſociates) marched into Scotland; where he hunted and chaſed his enemies from mariſh to mariſh, from wood to wood, from hill to hill, and from mountaine to mountaine, for the ſpace of one moneth and more: yet (by reaſon of the Scots cowardiſe, which made them to skulk and run from place to place, tiring out the Engliſh Armie) the King with his whole companie (not having performed any memorable ſervice) returned home, and ſhortly after tooke to wife the Ladie *Philip*, youngeſt daughter to *William* Earle of Henault, his couſin german in the third degree; and aſſembled his High Court of Parliament at Northampton, in which (among other paſſages) the two deceaſed *Spencers*, and *Walter Stapleton* the late Biſhop of Exeter, were attainted of high treaſon. And then the King (by the directions of his mother, and of Sir *Roger Mortimer*) concluded a diſhonourable peace with the Scots, and releaſed to them their homage, fealtie, and ſervices to him due for that kingdome, and delivered up to them the Grand-inſtrument or Charter called *Ragman*, which under the hands and ſeales of their late King, and of the Nobilitie of Scotland, teſtified their tenure and ſubjection to the Kings of this Realme; and then hee married his ſiſter *Jane* unto *David* the ſon and heire apparent of *Robert le Bruſe* the uſurping Scottiſh King, and created Sir *Roger Mortimer* Earle of March, whereat his Nobles were exceedingly diſcontent. And ſuch was this new Earles inward malice and hatred unto the Kings uncle the Earle of Kent, and ſo powerfull was he with the King, by reaſon of his too much familiaritie with his mother Queene *Iſabell*, that he never deſiſted from his wicked and ungodly plottings, untill he had bereaved him of his head. But God permitted not this wretched man to ſway long in his ungodly courſes: for within few moneths after he was accuſed by the State for theſe horrible and hainous crimes:

The Scots flie into the woods and mountaines.

The King returneth.

The King marrieth Philip daughter to the Earle of Henault.

A Parliament.

Perſons attainted.

A diſhonourable peace with Scotland.

Their tenure is releaſed.

The Charter called *Ragman* delivered up.

A marriage with Scotland.

Sir Roger Mortimer created Earle of March.

He is too familiar with Queen Iſabell.

He procureth the Kings uncle to be beheaded.

Articles againſt Sir Roger Mortimer.

1. *Imprimis, For that he had wickedly plotted and procured the murther of the Kings father.*
2. *Item, For that (by his falſe accuſations and ſiniſter counſell) he had cauſed the King to cut off the head of his ſaid uncle, who was truely noble, religious, valiant, honeſt, and a ſtrong pillar to the Common-weale.*
3. *Item, For that too too familiarly he converſed with Queene Iſabell the Kings mother, to her juſt reproach, and the diſhonour of the King.*
4. *Item, For that he received of the Scots a bribe of twenty thouſand pounds, for which he procured the Kings retreat out of*

Scotland,

Scotland, and the releaſement of his Signiory, and Homage due for that Kingdome.

5. *And laſtly, becauſe he had deceitfully couſened and beguiled the King of his Wards and Treaſure, converting all to his own uſe.*

For theſe his wicked treaſons and horrible tranſgreſſions he was condemned to die in the ſame maner which he had deviſed for the execution of Sir *Hugh Spencer* the younger: and Queene *Iſabell* (being moſt honourably provided for and attended on) was ſequeſtred into a ſtrong Caſtle, where ſhee lived more than thirty yeeres after, and then died.

Sir Roger Mortimer attainted and executed.
Queen Iſabell ſequeſtred.

In the fifth yeere of King *Edwards* reigne his perſonall appearance (in kind and friendly ſort) was required by *Philip de Valoys* King of France, and uncle to the young Queene, that is to ſay, brother to *Jane* Counteſſe of Henalt, who was mother to King *Edwards* wife; together with his Homage and Fealty for his Dutchy of Guyan. For the performance wherof he departed hence, and was with much triumph and magnificence received, entertained, and feaſted in France: but his Homage and his Fealty he would and did only confeſſe by words, and would not doe them in ſuch ſolemne and ſubmiſſive faſhion as they were demanded. Whereat the French King was ſo inwardly moved, that King *Edward* (at his departure from the French Court) might well perceive that his welcome was more reſpected and honoured than his going from thence.

The Kings Homage for Guyan required.

The King would not doe Homage in ſuch ſort as it was required.
The French King is angry.

As ſoone as the King came home, by new Embaſſadours his Homage was again required to be performed with all ſolemnity & due rites. And thereupon (to give ſome contentment to the French King) it was ſent unto him in an inſtrument in writing under the great Seale. Whereat the Lords and Peeres repined much, affirming, That the Crowne of France, in the right of Queene *Iſabell* his mother, did belong to him, and that therefore he might juſtly have refuſed to have done unto him any Homage at all.

The Kings Homage againe required.
It is ſent under the great Seale.
The Nobles are offended.
The Kings title to France firſt broached.

Not long after theſe buſineſſes thus ended, King *Edward* by his Embaſſadours required *David* the young King of Scots, being his brother-in-law, to reſtore unto him his Caſtle of Barwicke, and to doe him Homage for his kingdome. But *David* ſtoutly returned anſwer, that his father by conqueſt and by his ſword won that Caſtle, and that he had received it by deſcent from him, and therefore would hold and keepe it as his own. And touching the Kings demand of his Homage for the kingdome of Scotland, his anſwer was, that his father never acknowledged any ſuch ſervice, and that King *Edward* had releaſed it, if any had been due. And that therefore he would not confeſſe any tenure of King *Edwards* Crown.

The King requireth the Caſtle of Barwicke to be reſtored.
It is denied by the King of Scots, and his Homage denied alſo.

The high ſpirit of the King would not ſuffer him thus to be ſlighted and ſhaken off, for he reſolved to make himſelfe the Lord of both. For which cauſe he marched with a ſtrong Army into Scotland, and quickly ſubdued the better and the greater part of that kingdome with ſmall reſiſtance. And having fortified for his owne uſe the Caſtles and Townes of beſt defence, he returned, and came to Barwicke, where the Towne (after a ſtrong ſiege) was by compoſition ſurrendred into his hands. And then he crowned Sir *Edward Baylyol* King of Scotland, and committed the

The King warreth in Scotland.
The King prevaileth.

Barwick is recovered.
Edward Baylyol crowned King of Scotland.

the government of the Towne of Barwicke unto his charge, and returned into England with much honour.

The King in perſon ſettleth the government of Scotland.

But before two yeers more were expired, he paſſed againe with an Army into Scotland, placed his new King in his throne, and received his homage, and re-inveſted divers Engliſh Lords and Gentlemen of ſuch Lordſhips and Territories as by reaſon of the Kings diſhonourable peace with the Scots (when he firſt began to reigne) had beene taken from them.

Theſe diſaſters and adverſe fortunes, which inſeparably accompanied *David* the depoſed King, compelled him to flie into France, where (after two yeeres continuance) his heart was cheered with faire promiſes, and his neceſſities were relieved plentifully with large and ample ſupplies of all things needfull and convenient: he alſo obtained an Army, with which he ſailed into Scotland, his hopes fairly promiſing that ere long he ſhould be a King againe. But he was much deceived. For King *Edward*, having certaine intelligence of his and of the French Kings endevours, provided effectually for the encounter, and marched into Scotland with a ſtrong Army, where he fought often with fortunate ſucceſſe againſt *David* and the French Kings forces, and at length by battell obtained an honourable victory; and ſecuring the government of that kingdome (according to the rules of wiſedome and of policie) he returned joyfully into England.

David is overthrowne by King Edward.

In the tenth yeere of this Kings reigne *Philip de Valoys*, then King of France, ſentenced the Earledome of Arthois from *Robert de Arthois* unto *Maud* Counteſs of Burgundy, and Aunt to the ſaid *Robert*; which cenſure ſo incenſed the ſaid Earle, that in his heat he uttered theſe words, *By me was he made a King, and by me he ſhall be againe depoſed.* For which offence he was throughout all France proclaimed to be a traitor to the Crown, ſo that to preſerve his life he was compelled to flie into England, where (in regard of his fidelity and honourable ſervice performed to Queen *Iſabel* and to the King himſelfe when they were both in France) he was with all complements of kindneſſe & hearty love received, and entertained by King *Edward*; who (knowing him to be right valiant, hardy, and wiſe, and not forgetting to requite favours extended to him in his diſtreſſe) created him Earle of Richmond, and ſo entirely loved him, that whilſt he lived he never attempted any great and important matter without his counſell and advice.

This noble Knight ceaſed not to informe the King of his Title to the Crowne of France by Queene *Iſabel* his mother, who was the daughter of *Philip the Faire*: which appeared to ſtand thus;

King Edwards title to the Crowne of France.

Philip the Hardie had iſſue two ſons, *Philip the Faire*, and *Charles de Valoys*. *Philip the Faire* had iſſue three ſons (all which ſucceſſively were Kings, and died without iſſue Male) that is to ſay, *Lewis* the tenth, *Philip* the fifth, ſirnamed the *Long*, and *Charles* the fourth. He had alſo one daughter which was named *Iſabel*, Queen of England, and married to the Kings father named *Edward* the ſecond.

And *Charles de Valoys*, the ſecond ſon of *Philip the Hardie*, was father unto *Philip de Valoys* who reigned then in France; and of this *Charles* it is noted, that he was the ſon of a King, the brother of a King, the uncle of a King, and the father of a King, and that himſelfe was no King.

According to the lawes of France, the Crowne was to deſcend to the

iſſue

issue Male, and no woman could inherit the Crowne: but King *Edward* (in regard that he was a Male, though the descent of the Males was interrupted by a Female, *viz.* by Queene *Isabel* his mother) pretended, that in right the Crown of France was his, and he could not be deprived thereof by humane lawes. The state of this question standing thus, Sir *Robert de Arthois*, Earle of Richmond, daily whispered it into the Kings eare, and with such forcible reasons and perswasions so urged the same, that now the King began to think on nothing more, than how to attaine to the Crowne of France.

This businesse, as it was of extraordinary weight and importance, so it required the best secrecie untill it were plotted well. For which purpose King *Edward* by private messengers and letters, craved the advice and counsell of the Earle of Henalt, his wives father, and brother-in-law to the French King, and of Sir *John* of Henalt, Lord *Beaumont*, his brother, and of sundry other great States and Princes of the Empire; who not only counselled him by his sword to prosecute his right, but made him offers of their assistance by their best means. They also procured King *Edward* by a solemn instrument in writing to be created the Vicar Generall of the Empire, by reason whereof he had the power to command the Nobles and the common people of those Countries, to further his purpose and his doings.

Secrecie is the best furtherer of great negotiations.

The counsell of the Earle of Henalt is craved.

Aide promised to the King.

The King is made Vicar Generall of the Empire.

Whilst these things were thus contriving in England, and whilst King *Philip de Valois* little thought that his Kingdome and Crowne were aimed at, or that his strength should be tried with English wars, he (by the importunity of Pope *Benedict* the eleventh) prepared such an Army to have made wars in the Holy Land, as never before was conducted by any Christian Prince. He also committed the government of his kingdome unto his eldest son *John* Duke of Normandy; to whom (by reason of his youth) he added (for assistance) a discreet, wise, and a grave Councell. And when he had thus provided and settled all things needfull for his huge Army, and for the maintenance thereof for three yeeres space, the reports of King *Edwards* claime and purpose began as a sudden storme to breake forth, and to be knowne: whereupon King *Philip*, assuring himselfe that in his absence the English Army would very little regard such forces as should be left behind, and that his departure would encourage many, who hunted after novelties and change, rather to make offers of their service to his enemies, than to performe that duty which by subjects was due unto their King: and knowing that it would be a ridiculous thing by dangerous attempts to win honour abroad, and to neglect the safety of his owne kingdome and estate at home, he desisted on the sudden from prosecuting his journey into the Holy Land, and prepared strongly to defend himselfe against King *Edward* and his claime. And on the other side, King *Edward* (to the end that nothing might be wanting when time should serve) by many politike devices levied such inestimable summes of money, that for want of coine among the common people, a fat Oxe was sold for a noble, a fat Sheep for six pence, six Pigeons for a penny, and a quarter of wheat for two shillings.

ANNO 11.

The French King maketh incredible provision to warre in the Holy Land.

The French King altereth his purpose.

He prepareth against England.

King Edward fils his coffers.

Want of mony in England.

When he had thus done, he (with Queene *Philip* his wife) sailed into Flanders, where they remained all that winter; and (at Antwerp) the

The King and Queene doe saile into Flanders.

He enleagueth himſelfe with the Germans and Belgicks.

King oftentimes conferred, and at length concluded with the Princes and States of Germany, and of thoſe Provinces, upon all things touching his ſaid intended warre: ſo that, after his returne, he levied a ſtrong Army, which (with his aſſiſting friends) conſiſted of ſeven and twenty thouſand choſen fighting men: with which ſtrength he landed in France, when the Summer was almoſt ſpent.

King Edwards Army.

King Edward landeth in France.

The French King taketh the field.

The French King, having an Army which conſiſted of threeſcore thouſand ſouldiers, and being accompanied with the three Kings of Behayne, Navarre, and of Scotland, with five Dukes, ſix and twenty Earles, and more than foure thouſand Lords and Knights, bravely entred into the field, where he found King *Edward* ſufficiently provided to ſhew himſelfe a valiant man. But whileſt each Army gazed on the other, and expected many houres which part ſhould give the firſt ſtroke of the battel, behold and wonder, and a ſtrange wonder! for betwixt both thoſe Kings (upon the motion & through the mediation of the Lady *Jane* Counteſſe of Henalt, ſiſter to King *Philip*, and mother to King *Edwards* wife) not a blow was given, but on a ſudden both the Armies were diſſolved, and King *Edward* with his friends and Nobles returned into England.

A woman parteth a great affray.

Anno 14. 1339.

In the foureteenth yeere of King *Edwards* reigne he ſailed into Flanders, where at Bruſels he met with the greater number of the Princes of Germany, who of their owne accords, with hearty love and forwardneſſe, incorporated themſelves with King *Edward* in thoſe his wars againſt France.

The Germans incorporate themſelves with King Edward in his wars.

And (at the inſtance of the King) the ſaid Princes entreated the Flemmings to joyne with them in that enterprize and ſervice; whereunto they ſeemed willing to condeſcend, if King *Edward* would entitle himſelfe King of France, and would quarter the Armes of France with the Armes of England, and would (as King of France) releaſe unto them a bond of two millions of Florenes, wherein they ſtood obliged not to wage any warre againſt the King of France. Whereunto the King yeelded, and did performe all things according to their deſires. And thus he conforted to his part the Germans and Flemmings in thoſe affaires, by promiſes, oathes, and by a ſolemne Inſtrument in writing under their hands and ſeales.

Upon what conditions the Flemmings joined with King Edward.

He quarters the Armes of France.

The French doe burne in England.

Whilſt King *Edward* was thus buſied abroad, the French Kings Navie landed many thouſand men at South-hampton, who ranſacked the Towne, and conſumed it with fire: and the like outrage and cruelty they exerciſed in the Countries thereunto adjoyning.

A Parliament.

The King immediately upon his returne out of Flanders ſummoned his High Court of Parliament, in which, that nothing needfull might be wanting to furniſh and to maintain his wars with France, a Subſidy of the fifth part of all his ſubjects moveable goods was granted to him, and the ninth part of their corn, together with a large cuſtome upon woolls, to be paid two yeers beforehand. The levying of which taxe turned the prayers of the people into curſes, becauſe they were altogether unwilling to pay the ſame. He alſo (by way of loane) borrowed huge ſummes of mony of his richeſt Subjects, and the City of London diſburſed for him twenty thouſand markes.

A great taxe.

The King borroweth mony.

The King alſo coined great ſtore of ſilver and of gold, on which he quartered

quartered with his owne the Armes of France in the firſt place, and inſtamped him thereon King of England and of France. He alſo prepared a fleet of two hundred ſaile of Ships, and throughly appointed them to the proofe; and then he levied an Army of ten thouſand ſelected men of warre: all which he embarked; and paſſing with them towards Sluce, he fortunately met with the French fleet, which (conſiſting of Frenchmen, Picards, Genowayes, and other Nations) amounted to the number of forty thouſand men; among which were they who not only had robbed and rifled many Engliſh Merchants on the narrow Seas, but alſo had burned South-hampton and the countries thereabout (as lately you have heard.) The King being full of magnanimity and valour, reſolute in his purpoſes, and reckoning of the French as of his ſubjects and inferiours in Armes, eſpecially upon the Seas, and hoping by his good ſucceſſe, not only to win honour among the Princes and States of his confederacy; and purpoſing, if he might, to ſtrike a terror in the French Nation concerning thoſe wars, ſet upon their whole Navie with ſuch an incomparable courage and bold ſpirit, that after a long, a fierce, and a bloudy fight, very few or none of the French ſhips eſcaped, but were by him either taken or ſunke into the Sea.

New coine with the French Armes quartered.
King Edwards Fleet and Army.
The battell of Sluce.
The Kings victorie at Sea.

The King on his part having received but little loſſe, his priſoners he ſent into England, but himſelfe the next day landed at Sluce, where he was triumphantly received by the Inhabitants and Countrey, who (with great joy and infinite commendations) congratulated his happy and victorious ſucceſſe.

King Edward landeth at Sluce.

And from thence he rode to Gaunt, where his Queene lay. And about the ſpace of one moneth after, being accompanied with ſeven Earles, eight Biſhops, eight and twenty Baronets, two hundred Knights, foure thouſand men of Armes, and nine thouſand Archers of his own Nation; and with the Duke of Brabant, who commanded twenty thouſand of his followers; and with *Jaques Dartuell* the famous Flemming, who conducted threeſcore thouſand men of thoſe Provinces; and with the Duke of Guelders, the Marqueſſe of Muſe, the Earles of Jullers, Mouns, Saviens, and of Henalt, the Lord *Falquemont*, and many thouſand Almains, he ſtrongly beſieged the City Tourney, which was with great reſolution and valour manfully defended for the ſpace of ten weekes; in all which time the French King appeared not for their defence. But by the importunate mediation of the aforenamed *Jane de Valois*, mother to the Queen of England, and to the Dutches of Jullers, and to the then Earle of Henault, and ſiſter to the French King, a Truce was concluded for one yeer, which was afterwards renewed for one yeere more. Thus was the ſiege broken up, and every one returned to his owne home.

He rides to Gaunt.
A huge Army.
Jaques Dartuell a famous Flemming.
Tourney beſieged.
A huge Army was diſſolved upon the motion of a woman.

Now whilſt the King had thus employed himſelfe in the Low-Countries, and in the Empire, and in France, the Scots (diſliking *Edward Baylyol* their King, becauſe he would not in any ſort oppoſe himſelfe againſt the King of England, who ſo highly had advanced him; & leaving to him only the name, but no honour due to a King) rebelled againſt King *Edward*, and gained into their poſſeſſions almoſt all things whatſoever, which he in his former warres had won from them. But King *Edward*, ſcorning to be checked by the lawleſſe diſobedience and inſolencie of the Scots,

The Scots revolt from their King, and from King Edward.

The King leadeth a huge Army into Scotland. A Truce.

levied an Army of ſix thouſand horſemen, and forty thouſand on foot, with which he marched into Scotland: and thoſe Inhabitants (having intelligence of theſe unreſiſtable preparations, and being apprehenſive of their owne weakeneſſe) craved and obtained a Truce for foure Moneths, upon condition to ſurrender to King *Edward* whatſoever in his abſence they had taken from him; and alſo to ſubmit themſelves, if within that time *David* their depoſed King returned not out of France for their defence. But before the time of Truce was expired, *David* returned ſecretly; and being ſafely landed in Scotland, he raiſed an Army of more than threeſcore thouſand men, with which he entred into Northumberland, ſpoiling, robbing, waſting, burning, and killing (without compaſſion) in all places whereon he ſet his foot, untill he came to New-Caſtle upon Tyne, which he girded about with a ſtrong ſiege. But in the depth of the night two hundred reſolved gallants iſſued forth, and (upon the ſudden) entred into the Earle of Murrayes Tent, which they ranſacked, ſlew many, and carried the ſaid Earle away with them, to the great amazement and terrour of the Scottiſh Camp.

The Scots invade England.

New-Caſtle is beſieged. A bold bravado.

The day appearing was their true informer of all things which in the night had hapned. And *David* (purpoſing a bloudy revenge for this diſhonour done unto him) cauſed the Caſtle to be continually aſſaulted. But the Scots were manfully repulſed by the defendants, whoſe undaunted ſpirits had baniſhed all feare: in ſo much that *David* (being unwilling to ſpend there too much time in vaine) raiſed his ſiege, and marched to the City of Durham, which he tooke, ranſacked, and burnt, and ſlew all the men, women, and children, which did inhabit and were found there.

The ſiege is raiſed. Durham taken and burnt.

From thence the Scottiſh Army marched forth, and paſſed by the ſtrong Caſtle of Rosborough, which then belonged to the Earle of Salisbury, who was a priſoner in France. In this Caſtle was his faire and admirably beautifull Lady, and it was kept by Sir *William Montague*, his brother, who for his wiſedome, and for his valour, was a moſt renowned Knight. When he had narrowly viewed the Scottiſh march, he expected their utmoſt fury in their returne, and therefore he determined to give them a preſent taſt of his manhood: ſo that he iſſued forth with forty horſemen well appointed, and fell upon their rereward, and ſlew of them more than two hundred, and tooke from them one hundred and twenty horſes, which were loaden with the richeſt of thoſe booties which they had taken at Durham, and ſafely returned, and carried them into the Caſtle.

A valiant exploit by Sir William Montague.

The Caſtle of Rosborough is beſieged.

David (diſdaining thus to be beaten by ſo ſmall a number) forthwith retired, and with continuall aſſault ſo ſharply oppreſſed the beſieged for many dayes, that he ſcarcely gave them leiſure to take breath. By means whereof they were almoſt tired, and ſo worne out, that ſmall hope of long reſiſtance was left unto them, except they were in due time reſcued and relieved by the King. To give his Highneſſe intelligence whereof, it was reſolved, that one of them (in the depth of the night) muſt give a deſperate adventure through the Scottiſh Camp. This project ſeemed ſo full of imminent perill and danger, that every one of the inferiours refuſed the attempt: ſo that the brave Knight himſelfe (conſidering adviſedly in what caſe the Caſtle ſtood, and pitying the diſtreſſed

A brave attempt, with fortunate ſucceſſe.

eſtate

eſtate of the comfortleſſe Counteſſe his ſiſter, who expected nothing but villanous abuſe if it were yeelded) with a ſettled reſolution undertooke the journey: and being gallantly mounted upon a ſwift courſer, he ſpeedily poſted through all the thouſands of his enemies. And in the morning he informed *David* (by ſuch paſſengers as he did meet) that very quickly he ſhould heare newes of him againe.

The Caſtle is bravely aſſaulted, and defended.

The Scots (knowing that it was no time to linger, and yet being deſirous to revenge the great diſgrace which their Army had received) again and againe furiouſly aſſaulted the Caſtle, and (in them) they performed many brave feats of armes, which witneſſed their eager longing to have won it; but they were ſtill repulſed, and beaten backe with many incredible ſlaughters of their ſouldiers; and were compelled to raiſe the ſiege, and with great ſpeed to haſten into their owne Country.

The ſiege is raiſed.

The King comes too late, for the Scots are gone.

King *Edward* (the very day of their departure) had travelled a long and weary journey, thinking to have met them there. But he failed of his purpoſe, for which he was much grieved. Yet by the mediation of divers honourable perſonages, a Truce was concluded on for a few moneths, but to be enlarged for two yeeres, if the French King (without whoſe leave the Scots could make no peace) would conſent thereto.

A Truce.

The French King liked the motion well, and gave freedome to the Earle of Salisbury, for whom the Earle of Morret was by King *Edward* ſet at liberty.

The cauſes why the King conſented to this Truce.

And though King *Edward* tooke but little pleaſure in this Truce, yet he was the more eaſily drawne to conſent thereto, becauſe at the ſame time he had wars in France, Gaſcoin, Poytiers, Paynton, Britaine, and elſewhere: all which daily conſumed as much treaſure as he could get.

The King makes love to the Counteſſe of Salisbury.

The King (when he perceived that the Scots were gone from the Caſtle) diſarmed himſelfe, and with ten or twelve Lords and Knights entred into the Caſtle, where the excellent beauty and modeſt behaviour of the ſweet Counteſſe of Salisbury ſo inflamed his heart, that by ſecret and amorous wooings he endevoured to perſwade her to eaſe his paſſions with her love. But the vertuous Lady (firſt with mild and kind entreaties, and afterwards with quicke and nipping reprehenſions) ſtrived to make the King to ſee his owne errour. But ſuch was his deſire, and her denialls were ſo peremptory and reſolute, that diſcontentedly the King left her, caſhiered his Army, and returned backe againe.

She cares not for it.

And (having for many yeeres together been vexed and toiled in ſundry wars) he intended to recreate himſelfe, his Lords, his Knights and cheifeſt Martialiſts, with ſuch paſtimes and ſportings as men of warre tooke greateſt pleaſure in. Wherefore he proclaimed a ſolemne Feaſt to continue many dayes, and generally invited thereunto the valiant men of his owne, and of forraine nations and kingdomes, propoſing the exerciſe of feates of armes at the appointed time. By meanes whereof many Noblemen, and ſuch as were of beſt renowne for Chivalrie, repaired into England from many Countries (excepting France) and were with all magnificence, courteſie, and love received, and entertained by the King, and by all his Court. But in thoſe heroicall ſportings (by an evill and an unfortunate accident) Sir *John* Lord *Beaumont*, a valiant Knight of this Realme (who had formerly taken the laſt King and Sir *Hugh Spenſer*

The King keeps a ſolemn Feaſt.

Strangers repaire into England.

Martiall ſportings.

The Lord Beaumont ſlaine.

the

the younger in a fiſher boat, before the Caſtle of Briſtoll) was ſlaine.

ANNO 18. A Parliament. The Prince of Wales is created.

This Royall feaſt, and theſe warlike paſtimes being thus finiſhed, a Parliament was aſſembled at Weſtminſter, wherein the King created his eldeſt ſon *Edward*, Prince of Wales; and unto him was given by a free and generall conſent, foure fifteenes by the Laity, and three by the Clergy, but with this condition, that no part thereof ſhould be converted unto any other uſe, than only to the furtherance of the wars of France. And certaine Lords and ſome others of principall note were then ſelected, to whom the onely care and charge of that imploiment ſhould belong.

Commiſſioners for the imploiment of the Subſidy money.

ANNO 19. 1344. The order of the Garter deviſed and eſtabliſhed.

The next yeere following, King *Edward*, to encreaſe vertue and valour in his Nobles, to enlarge his amity and friendſhip with the States and Princes of forraine Countries, deviſed and eſtabliſhed a new order of Knight-hood, confining the number of them to twenty and ſix, of which himſelfe and his ſucceſſors were to be Preſidents, and called them knights of the honourable Order of the Garter. The Rites and Ceremonies of which Order are every yeere ſolemnized with Princely magnificence in the Kings Caſtle at Windſor, to Gods glory, and the honour of all ſuch as are dignified with that degree.

And thus King *Edward* having a while recreated himſelfe with ſuch Princely delights as exerciſed his Martialiſts in feats of Armes, to the pleaſure & good contentment of his people, he now began again to think upon his affaires with France, and to make his forces better known to the Frenchmen than formerly they had beene.

An Army ſent into Gaſcoine.

For which purpoſe he levied a faire Army, which by his Couſin the Earle of Darbie was landed and directed in Gaſcoyne, with ſuch diſcretion, and with ſuch valour, that he not only acquited himſelfe right nobly, by way of defence againſt *Philip* the French King, but daily won from him his Cities, Townes, Caſtles, and his Forts, and filled his hands ſo full, that whilſt the ſaid Earle remained there he laboured in vaine to catch at any thing which belonged to King *Edward*.

Jaques Dartuell.

At the ſame time *Jaques Dartuell* (whom fortune from a low beginning haid raiſed to the greateſt command that ever any man before him had in Flanders, notwithſtanding that *Loys* their Earle then perſonally did live among them) ſecretly purpoſed to diſ-inherite the ſaid Earle, and to make Prince *Edward* of England the great Lord and Maſter of thoſe Countries: and to effect what therein he did intend, he called a generall Councell of the Lords and great men of thoſe Territories, and appointed the place of their meeting to be at Sluce, where he alſo procured the preſence of King *Edward*, and of the Prince his ſon.

Malum conſilium conſultori peſſimum.

To draw theſe States together, he propoſed nothing publikely, but the neceſſity of a ſound conference touching their proceedings with the King of England againſt France. And within the Haven there, the place of Councell was in King *Edwards* great ſhip, called the *Katherine*. But (unexpectedly to the Flemiſh Lords) *Jaques Dartuell* diſcourſed boldly and at large of the great honour, proweſſe, and valour of King *Edward*, and of the young Prince his ſon: and by many circumſtances, and deviſed arguments, he endevoured to extenuate the worth of their own Earle, as being altogether unfit and unable to be a Lord of ſo great a command: and in the concluſion of his ſpeeech hee ſtrongly ſtrived to perſwade them

them all to depose the Earle *Loys* and his posterity, and to adde an invincible strength to their estates, by electing and chusing the Prince of England to be their Master and great Lord.

The Nobles and the great men of Flanders (being now made eare-witnesses of *Jaques Dartuells* attempt, and inwardly detesting to leave unto a future age a memoriall of such trecherous infidelity and wrong) made answer, That albeit no people in the world did more than they respect King *Edward*, nor more affect the advancement and the honour of the Prince his son, yet this motion could not prevaile, except the Natives and common people of those Countries (who had as large an interest as they in the deposing of the said Earle, and in the disposing of his Lordship and command) would willingly assent thereto. And (though in their hearts they intended and meant nothing lesse) yet (to make faire weather for the present time) they told the King, that they liked the motion exceeding well, and that they would forthwith depart unto the severall places of their habitations, and would informe the people of this project, and doe their best endevours to perswade and to incourage them to consent thereunto. And having promised the King that at the end of one Moneth they would returne againe with their full answer to the said motion, and having mutually performed all complements requisite for a kind farewell, they departed thence. But when this newes was divulged, and when it was publikely knowne what *Jaques Dartuell* had proposed, both he and his practice were inwardly detested, and so hated, that he was not esteemed be a true borne Flemming who had the least inclination to give any furtherance thereunto. Yet notwithstanding, such was the great confidence which this great Commander reposed in the favour of the common people, and such was the resolution of him (whose authoritie before that time was unlimited, and whose prosperity was equall to the greatnesse of a potent King) that his presence would worke wonders, and change the minds of the common people, that to make triall of his power in that behalfe he came to Gaunt: but as hee passed through the streets he might well perceive that his entertainment was nothing correspondent to his former welcomes, and that the countenances of the Inhabitants bewrayed their inward contempt and loathing, both of him and of his despised motion. And no sooner was he entred into his house, but by many thousands of mutinous and armed Swaggerers it was compassed round about; and then was he railed on with the foulest words, and reviled with the most bitter termes, that either their hearts could devise, or their tongues utter: so that he perceived that it availed him not to looke big, nor to put out his authority to appease their rage. Wherefore (at a grate window of the house) he began mildly, and with humble termes to plead in his owne excuse, and promised to give them a full satisfaction, upon what grounds, points, and reasons, he had unadvisedly conceived the motion. But the sight of him (whom in former times they loved and honoured as an Angell) was now so loathsome and so vile, and his words were so displeasing to them, that with dirt & stones they beat him from the window, assaulted his house, brake it open, entred in, & slaughtered him with a thousand wounds. And thus died that great Commander of the Flemmings, who (for his power and

Displeasing counsell.

No trusting to the peoples favour.

Jaques Dartuell is hated and murdered.

and abſolute authority among them) had never his equall in thoſe Countries. And by theſe meanes King *Edward* not only loſt a ſound and potent friend, but ever after that time the hearts of the Flemmings more favoured the French King than they did him.

King Edward loſeth many powerfull friends.

At the ſame time alſo his noble and worthy friend and uncle Sir *John* of Henalt, Lord *Beaumont*, revolted from him, and adhered to the French King, becauſe King *Edward* (upon ſome private unkindneſſe conceived) did with-hold and keepe from him a penſion, which for his faithfull and good ſervice he had formerly given and duely paid unto him.

Sir John of Henalt revolteth to the French.

And though King *Edward* did daily grow more ſtrong in his hopes to poſſeſſe himſelfe of the Crowne of France, yet the loſſe of ſome great friends, being his aſſociates in thoſe wars, made him indeed more weake: yet thoſe his misfortunes ſo little availed to diſcourage him, that it increaſed his magnanimity and his reſolutions, to maintaine thoſe his wars with the greater helps of his owne ſtrength.

A valiant King.

ANNO 20. Now was the King informed, that *John* the eldeſt Son of the French King had ſtrongly beſieged the Caſtle of Aguillon in Gaſcoyne, wellneere with an hundred thouſand men; within which were the noble Earle of Pembroke, and the renowned Knight Sir *Walter* of *Manny*, and divers others of eſpeciall note and place. Whereupon King *Edward* levied the number of foureteene thouſand men, which he and the Prince his ſon, being accompanied with eight Earles, fifteene Barons, and a great number of brave Knights and gallant Gentlemen, by the advice and counſell of Sir *Godfrey* Lord *Harcourt*, a French baniſhed Noble man, of great wiſedome, and wonderfull valour in the warre, carried into Normandie; and with them he beſieged the rich and ſtrong towne of Harflew: but becauſe the Engliſh Armie ſeemed terrible in the ſight of the Inhabitants, it was not defended, but the King tooke it without blowes, and gave the ſpoyle thereof to his common Souldiers, ſo that he filled their purſes with crownes, and thereby prepared them with the greater courage and reſolution for more dangerous attempts. So that within few daies after he won, rifled, and ſpoyled the rich Townes of Cheirbrough, Mount-brough, and Quarentine, and the Caſtle there.

Aguillon is beſieged by 100000. men.

The King tranſporteth an Army into Normandy.

Harflew is taken.

Divers townes and Caſtles are taken.

Then King *Edward* marched forth in great ſtrength through that Countrey, being hedged in on the one ſide by his Marſhall the Lord *Harcourt*, and five hundred choſen men of warre which he commanded; and by his other Marſhall on the other ſide with a like number; and with ſuch ſeveritie ranſacked, ſpoiled, burned, and harrowed all places as hee paſſed by, that every common ſouldier was now a rich man, and the Kings Army was increaſed, and now conſiſted of nineteene thouſand fighting men; with which he pitched before the Citie of Cane; in which were the Earles of Tankervile and of Ewe, beſides the Earle of Guyens, who being high Conſtable of France; had gathered and brought into that place many brave and approved men at armes; and made a flouriſhing ſhew, as if he meant to iſſue forth, and to give battell to the King. But feare poſſeſſing his heart, he made but a faint reſiſtance, and in ſhort time and with little loſſe the City was taken and ranſaked by the Engliſh ſouldiers, who conveyed all their ſpoyles into England.

Normandy harrowed by King Edward.

The Engliſh Army is rich. The Engliſh Army increaſeth.

The City of Cane is taken.

In the yeelding up of the Citie, firſt, the three Earles ſubmitted their fortunes

fortunes to Sir *Thomas Holland*, a valiant Engliſh Knight, who had but one eye, of whom the King bought them for ten thouſand marks in gold, and receiving them as Priſoners into his Armie, he marched to the Town of Loures, which hee quickly won; and then entred into the Province of Eureux, all which he waſted, ſpoiled, and burned without pitie, the walled Townes, Cities, and Caſtles only excepted, with none of which he meddled, leſt by them his ſtrength ſhould be diminiſhed before he met with the French King, who had ſolemnly ſworn and proteſted that King *Edward* ſhould not returne into England before a battell fought between them.

Loures is taken.

After this King *Edward* in his march won Giſours, Vernon, Saint Germans in Lay, Mountrell, St. Clowde, Rely, and the whole Countrey about Roan, Pont de L'arch, Nants, Newlench, Robbois, Fountain, Pois, and Vimew, in all which places he found but weake reſiſtance. King *Philip* of France having true intelligence that King *Edward* with all his Army was within two leagues of Paris, left that Citie, and went to Saint Dennis where his Army lay, perſwading the Pariſians that King *Edward* dared not to looke them in the face; but they beleeved him not, and feare made them greatly diſpleaſed with their King. Neere about the ſame time Sir *Godfrey* Lord *Harcourt*, being one of King *Edwards* Marſhalls, encountred with certaine Burgeſſes of Amiens, whom the French King had appointed to come unto Paris for the better defence thereof, if need ſhould ſo require: and though they defended themſelves with much valour, yet at length twelve hundred of them were ſlaine, and the reſt being taken Priſoners were brought unto the King. The Engliſh Army ſo eagerly purſued the happineſſe of their fortune, that they poſſeſſed the whole Countrey through which they paſſed, yea even to the gates of Aubevile, and of Saint Valary: yet were they unawares environed with the River of Some on the one ſide, and with the French Kings Army (conſiſting of more than an hundred thouſand men) on the other ſide. The place wherein he was, promiſed him no maner of advantage if he ſhould fight, but many inconveniences preſented themſelves unto him: ſo that he conſulted with his Priſoners if any of them could direct him to any Ford where he might tranſport his Army; among whom one who was named *Gobyn* of *Grace* directed him to a convenient paſſage. But when the King came thither, it was defended by twelve thouſand of the French Kings Army. Yet notwithſtanding, when the Sea was ebbed, King *Edward*, with the Prince and the whole Armie, did put themſelves into the water; and ſo did the Frenchmen on the other ſide: ſo that they all encountred pell mell in the midſt of the River, and fought with ſuch deſperate reſolution on either part, that many a man was ſtricken downe, being ſlaine, or by that meane was drowned. But at length the Frenchmen, being much waſted by the ſword, fled, and the Engliſhmen ſlaughtered them in the chaſe a full league and more.

Many Towns won by the Engliſh.

The French King forſaketh the Pariſians.

Thoſe of Amiens are ſlaine and taken.

King Edward paſſeth through the River of Some, and ſlaughtereth the French.

And now approached the time in which this journey made by King *Edward* and his ſon was to be bleſſed with much honour and happineſſe, or to be unfortunate, though hitherto it had proceeded well. For the French King (being reſolved to be revenged without pitie, and in regard that his Army contained in number more than ſixe times as many fighting

1345.

The famous and victorious battell of Creſſey.

fighting men as King *Edward* had; and making no doubt but that a triumphant victory ſhould prevent all future danger of Englands claime to the French Crown) marched with all his ſtrength, in good order of battell, againſt King *Edward*. Who knowing that only the ſword was then to decide the controveſie, and to pronounce the judgement, entred into a ſpacious field neere unto Creſſey, where he did ſet his whole Armie in good order, and divided it into three Battells. All which he ſo imparked behind with carriages and carts, that no man was eaſily able to interrupt or to endanger them in the Rereward. And when the battell ſhould begin, the firſt Companies were conducted by the young Prince, who was aſſiſted by the Earles of *Warwick*, and of *Canford*, and by the Lords of *Harcourt*, *Stafford*, *Manny*, *De Lavarre*, *Chandoys*, *Clifford*, and *Bourchier*; Sir *Reynald Cobham*, Sir *Thomas Holland*, Sir *Roger Nevill*, and many other Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen of name: and in that battell were eight hundred men at Armes, two thouſand Archers, and one thouſand other luſtie and good Souldiers.

The battell of the Blacke Prince.

The ſecond battell of the Engliſh.

The ſecond battell was directed by the Earles of Northampton, and of Arundell, who were accompanied with the Lords *Roſe*, *Lygo*, *Willoughby*, *Baſſet*, Saint *Awbin*, *Myleton*, and *De La Sell*, and by many other Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen: and in this battell there were eight hundred men at Armes, and twelve hundred Archers.

The Kings battell.

And the third and maine battell (being placed betwixt the other two) was led by the King himſelfe, who was aſſiſted by many Earles, Lords, Knights, Eſquires, and Gentlemen of the beſt ranke: and in that battell there were ſeven hundred men at Armes, two thouſand Archers, and ten thouſand other common Souldiers, well approved and expert men of warre.

The Engliſh Armie having exerciſed themſelves in prayer unto God, and moderately refreſhed themſelves with ſome meat and ſome drink, laid themſelves down upon the ground, thereby to comfort and to eaſe themſelves before they fought. But the Frenchmen, although they proudly bragged, and proffered many ſhewes, yet for that day they wanted courage to begin the fight. But the next morning the French King commanded that fifteen thouſand Genowayes with their Crosbowes ſhould give the firſt onſet upon the Prince his battell: but either for want of skill, or elſe in making more haſte than good ſpeed, their diſorder was ſo foule, and ſo groſſe, that by the Engliſh Archers the greater part of them were ſlaine, and the reſt were ſoone defeated, and compelled to retire. In which ſo violent was their haſt and poſting, that in rude heaps they ruſhed into the French Kings maine battell, and diſordered it, but were by their owne friends without mercie put unto the ſword.

Fifteene thouſand Genowayes overthrowne.

The maine battell of the French Army is diſordered.

The Prince his battell receiveth the Frenchmen to their paine.

And though the French Armie (by reaſon of their diſorder not to be repaired) had little warrant for good ſucceſſe, yet being emboldened by reaſon of their multitudes, and being ſharp ſet upon revenge, advanced themſelves, and charged gallantly upon the Engliſh Armie, but bent their chiefeſt ſtrength againſt the Prince his battell, who received them with ſuch furie and hardy blowes, that thouſands of them almoſt in a moment were made Bond-ſlaves unto death.

For ſtill the Prince his battell remained entire and unbroken: by

meanes

meanes whereof he made prodigall expence and havock of the French men, who being firſt broken, could not obſerve any order at all, nor help themſelves by any ingenuous policie of warre. The benefit of good order.

And though they fell in great numbers before the Prince his battell, yet their new and copious ſupplies, which alwayes ſucceeded thoſe who were ſlaine, gave no leiſure nor reſpite at all to the Prince, nor to his aſſiſtants, to take any breathing, much leſſe to refreſh themſelves. So that the brave Prince, though he were full of incomparable valour and reſolution, yet, being diſtreſſed for want of breath, and of ſome reliefe, he ſent to have ſome help and ſuccour from the King; who inquired of the meſſenger if he were alive: who anſwered that he was. Then (quoth the King) report to him from me, that he expect no aid; for this ſhall be the day in which he ſhall win his ſpurres, or elſe ſhall loſe his life: for in life or in death he ſhall ingroſſe to himſelfe the whole honour and glory of this day. The King would not relieve the Prince his ſon.

When Prince *Edward* was informed what the King had ſaid (being urged by ſharp neceſſity, and animated with freſh hopes of a famous victory) he, with his companions in armes, renewed their ſtrength, and redoubled their manlike courage, and wholly repoſing their truſt and confidence in Gods goodneſſe, and in the edges of their hungry ſwords, they fought with ſuch undaunted ſpirits, that the Frenchmen began to flie, and were ſo eagerly purſued, that the greater part of their whole Army lay breathleſſe upon the ground. The French Army is overthrowne. And in the chaſe the two Marſhals of England encountred with a multitude of the Inhabitants of Bevoys, Reignyer, Aubevile, and of Roan, of whom ſeven thouſand were ſlaine, and the reſt by flight had much adoe in ſaving of themſelves. Another French company is ſlaine. And the next day the ſaid Marſhalls were recharged by the Archbiſhop of Roan, and by the Grand-Pryor of France, who conducted a ſtrong Armie to aid their King, they not knowing that the battell was already fought, and the field loſt by their friends. No misfortune goeth alone.

With theſe new forces the Engliſhmen encountred, and contended ſo proudly, that quickly they began to flie, and were almoſt all waſted by the ſword: ſo that within the compaſſe of thoſe two dayes there were ſlaine on the French part eleven Princes, foureſcore Barons, twelve hundred Knights, and more than thirty thouſand Souldiers of the common ſort: and the French King himſelfe by ſpeedy flight very hardly eſcaped with his life. The number of priſoners, and of ſuch as were ſlaine. The whole bootie of this field the King frankly beſtowed upon his Nobles, Gentry, and on his whole Armie; and cauſed the dead bodies of all ſuch as were honourable and of note, to be taken up, and carried them with him unto Mountrell, where they were buried with much ſolemnitie and great honour. The King gives away all the ſpoiles. The Kings charitie.

Now when King *Edward* perceived that the French King made no preparation at all for a new ſupply to encounter him, he marched towards Callice, burning, ſpoiling, and rifling all places as he paſſed by. The Town and Caſtle he intended not to aſſault: for as it would have beene full of danger, ſo he knew the ſtrength thereof to be ſuch, that in aſſaulting it he ſhould both loſe his labour and his men. It therefore gave him good content to gird and to compaſſe it round about with a ſtrong ſiege: which when he had continued a full whole yeere, the French King, with a huge Armie of two hundred thouſand men marched towards Callice. King Edward beſiegeth Callice. Two hundred thouſand men in the French Kings Army.

The French Kings Challenge.

King Edwards anſwer.

But finding every paſſage and way in ſuch warlike ſort to be guarded and defended that he could not approach unto the Engliſh Army, he challenged King *Edward* to maintaine his honour by fighting with him a battell in the field. But King *Edward* (by reaſon of his long ſiege having ſpent much treaſure, and the Towne and Caſtle of Callice wanting many things needfull and neceſſarie for their reliefe) made this anſwer, That his many and great victories in France, and elſewhere, ſufficiently cleered him from the ſuſpicion of cowardize; and that (ſeeing he had travelled and ſpent ſo much time and money for the winning of Callice) the French King ſhould open all paſſages by force, and then make triall of his ſtrength before that Towne, or otherwiſe might returne. Whereupon the French King (not finding any means how he might relieve Callice) caſhiered his Army, and retired, leaving poore diſtreſſed Callice to the mercy of King *Edward*, who daily expected when it would be yeelded into his hands.

The French Army caſhiered.

The Scots invade England in the Kings abſence.

The Queene fights with them.

John Copland taketh the King of Scots.

The Scots are overthrowne.

Now whileſt the King thus lay before Callice, *David* of Scotland, with an Army of fifty thouſand men (by the procurement and furtherance of the French King) entred into England, and did much harme. But the Queene with her Armie, conſiſting onely of twelve thouſand valiant men, confronted him in the field, where was fought a long and a ſharpe battell, untill King *David*, by an Eſquire named *John Copland*, was taken priſoner, and ſecretly conveyed out of the Army. There were alſo at that time ſlaine of the Scots, divers Earles, Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, beſides more than fifteene thouſand ſouldiers of the common rank: and the reſidue of them being defeated, returned by continuall flight into Scotland.

John Copland would not deliver his Priſoner to the Queene.

The Queene much importuned *John Copland* for the deliverie of his Priſoner King *David*. But he (making challenge unto him as to his only behooſe by the lawes of Armes) made anſwer, that he would not deliver him unto any but to the King himſelfe. So that the Queene (being highly diſpleaſed with him) certified the King both of her victorie, and alſo in what ſort *John Copland* had anſwered her touching the deliverie of the Scotiſh King. Whereupon *John Copland* being ſent for went unto Callice, where he was graciouſly and lovingly welcommed by the King, who thanked him heartily for his great ſervice, and made him an Eſquire of his owne bodie, and recompenced his travailes and his good fortune with the gift in Fee ſimple of five hundred pounds by the yeere in good land, and commanded him to deliver his Priſoner to the Queene at his returne: which he performed accordingly. And then the Queene committed the ſaid King, and the Earle of Morret, and many others, Priſoners to the Tower of London, where they remained long after.

John Copland is thanked and rewarded.

King David and others are committed to the Tower.

The Queene paſſeth over to Callice.

And then the Queene (being accompanied with a great troupe of faire Ladies and beautifull Gentlewomen (whoſe husbands, fathers, brothers, and kinsfolkes, had for a long time been employed in the French warres) came unto the King as he lay before Callice, and were by him and his whole Armie received, and entertained with much joy.

The Callicians crave mercy.

And now the diſtreſſed and the beſieged Towne of Callice (travelling with many wants, and being deſtitute of all hope to be relieved, becauſe the French King not long before had caſhiered and diſmiſſed his whole Armie)

Armie) craved pardon and mercie of King *Edward*, who in regard of their perverſe and long continued obſtinacie, and for that they had ſpoiled and robbed many of his Engliſh Merchants upon the Sea before they were beſieged, would in no ſort hearken to their requeſt and ſubmiſſion, except ſixe of their worthieſt Inhabitants did come unto him bare-legged, bare-headed, in their ſhirts, and with halters about their neckes, to be corrected and diſpoſed of as the King ſhould pleaſe. And though this condition was full of terror and bitterneſſe, yet neceſſity compelled them to accompliſh the Kings demand. So that they ſent him the keyes both of the Towne and Caſtle by thoſe ſixe, who preſented them to the King. The keyes he received, but forthwith commanded that the ſaid Townesmen ſhould be hanged. Whereupon all ſuch in the Kings Armie as were either honourable by birth, or had for their ſervice deſerved well, or were graced by the Kings ſpeciall love and favour, became earneſt petitioners to the King for the pardon of thoſe diſtreſſed men. But ſuch was the Kings reſolution and full determination to make them examples to the reſt, for the injuries and for the wrongs which formerly they had done the Engliſh Nation, that all their meanes was unſufficient and unable to deliver them from death. Which when the Queene perceived, on bended knees, with prayers, and with teares, and with importunate requeſt, ſhe never ceaſed to urge the King, untill ſhe had procured their pardon, and their enlargement from that danger.

Ingent telum neceſſitas.

The chiefe Captaine, named Sir *Guy* of Vyen, and ſuch Knights and Gentlemen as were in the Towne, and in the Caſtle, were ſent Priſoners into England, where they remained above ſix moneths, and were then ranſomed by the French King.

Callice is yeelded to King Edward in *An. Dom.* 1347 and in the 22. yeere of King Edwards reign.

Thus when the King was quietly and fully poſſeſſed of Callice (the key to France) and had (without ſparing of any coſt) in wonderfull ſort ſtrengthened and fortified it, he left none to remaine there but Engliſhmen, the Captaine only excepted; who being a Lombard by birth, was named Sir *Andrew de Parie*, an eſpeciall favourite of the Kings, whom the King (upon the undoubted truſt and confidence which he repoſed in him) placed chiefe Captaine and Commander there.

A ſtranger made Captain of Callice.

Theſe things being thus ſettled in good order, the King with the Queene and all his troups returned into England, and were received into London with extraordinarie triumph and great joy. And from thence he ſent ſix and thirtie rich, wiſe, and grave Citizens, with their wives and families to Callice, to inhabite, and to trade and traffike there; and gave to the ſaid Towne and Caſtle ſuch profitable and large immunities, priviledges, liberties, and franchiſes, that they thought themſelves to be very happy whom the King would licence to dwell there.

Londoners are ſent to dwell in Callice.

Pope *Clement* the ſixt, having many yeeres laughed in his ſleeve to ſee the ſet two potent and mighty Kings ſo buſily to employ themſelves each againſt other in thoſe bloudie wars, at length mediated a Truce betwixt them, which (on his motion) was concluded for two yeeres.

The Pope mediates a Truce.

And in the mean time King *Edward* was informed that Sir *Andrew de Parie* his chiefe Captain of Callice, for twenty thouſand crowns to him promiſed by the Lord *Charney* Captaine of Arras, had conſpired to betray the Towne and Caſtle into his hands. Whereupon King *Edward*,

Callice ſhould have beene betrayed.

(to make a triall of this newes, and to ſurpriſe the ſaid Lord and all his companie, if he might, when he ſhould come to take the poſſeſſion of Callice) departed ſecretly out of England with three hundred ſelected men at armes, and in the depth of the night landed at Callice, and was quickly received in; where he ſharply reprehended the Lombard, who under the pretext of honeſt dealing for the King, excuſed himſelfe of any trecherous intent. But within a night or two after, the Lord *Charney* (at the appointed time) repaired thither with twelve hundred armed men to ſurpriſe both the Caſtle and the Towne. The money in good gold was by the Captaine received at a poſterne gate of the Caſtle, and one hundred only of that company were ſuffered to enter in. But they (finding quickly that they were beguiled and betrayed) without noiſe or reſiſtance yeelded themſelves, and were cloſed up in a ſtrong Dungeon. And then the King himſelfe, with three hundred men at armes, under the Banner of Sir *Walter* of *Manny*, brake forth out of the Caſtle, and furiouſly ruſhed upon the Frenchmen, who attended for better newes. But when they did perceive that they were deceived, they reſolved to acquit themſelves like men; and for an houre and more ſo they did: but when many of them were ſlaine, the reſt fled, and were thus deprived both of their money, and of their hope. In this conflict the King himſelfe encountred hand to hand with the Lord *Euſtace* of *Ribamount*, a right hardie and valiant Knight, and was by him twice ſtooped on his knees; but ſcorning to yeeld to any baſe conceit, or froward fortune, he advanced himſelfe ſo nobly, and in ſuch ſort redoubled his courage and his ſtrength, that in the end he tooke the ſaid Sir *Euſtace* priſoner with his owne hand, the ſaid Lord not knowing with whom he had ſo ſharply contended. But the King making him to know all, releaſed him without ranſome, promiſed him future favours, and diſmiſſed him with a Princely reward.

The French King dieth.

About the ſame time the French King *Philip* of *Valoys* died, and his ſon was crowned King.

ANNO 24. John is crowned King of France.

In the beginning of his reigne hee created Sir *Charles* a Nobleman of Spaine, Earle of Angoleſme, becauſe he entred into the narrow Seas on the French behalfe with a powerfull Fleet, and miſerably ſpoiled, robbed, and rifled the Engliſh Merchants, and expoſed them to much crueltie. With him King *Edward* fought, and compelled him to flie, having loſt many of his chiefeſt men, and two and twentie of his beſt ſhips.

ANNO 25. Guyens is yeelded to the Callicians.

And about the ſame time the Caſtle of Guyens was yeelded to the Kings people of Callice; and in the ſeven and twentieth yeer of his reign he created his couſin *Henrie* of Bullinbrooke (who was Earle of Darby) Duke of Lancaſter, with whoſe daughter and heire the Kings ſon *John* of *Gaunt* afterwards married, and was Duke of Lancaſter in her right.

ANNO 27. A Duke of Lancaſter created.

He alſo created Sir *Roger Stafford*, Earle of Stafford. The ſaid Duke, upon ſome miſ-information that he ſhould publiſh ſome diſgraceſull words of the Duke of Brunſwicke, was by him challenged to a ſingle combate before King *John* of France, whereof he gladly accepted; and at the appointed time, they both being throughly fitted for that purpoſe, entred with haughtie courage into the Liſts, for the triall of their cauſe. But they both of them were reconciled by the French King, to the great

contentment

contentment and honour of the Duke of Lancaſter, notwithſtanding that he was an Engliſhman, and a ſubject to his enemie.

King *Edward*, during the time of the aforeſaid Truce, had uſed all friendly meanes to reconcile the Flemings, and draw them from the French to his owne part: but finding that all his endeavours proved vain, and that no courteſie could win them, he withdrew from them all his Marts for Merchandizing, which *Jaques Dartwell* had procured for them. Which thing (in a ſhort time) became exceeding hurtfull and prejudiciall to the Flemings.

The Marts for England removed from the Flemings.

And now, the time of the former Truce with France being long ſince ended, King *Edward* levied a puiſſant Army of his moſt expert and approved men of warre, which he committed to the charge and government of his ſon, the noble and valorous Prince of Wales, ſirnamed the *Black Prince*; who being accompanied with many Earles, Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen of name, departed out of England, and landed in Gaſcoine, where he ranſacked, ſpoiled, burnt, and conſumed Villages, Towns, Cities, Forts, and Caſtles, in all places as he paſſed by, without any reſiſtance or defence. But King *John* of France, intending to ſtop this Torrent, and making no doubt but that the multitude of his ſouldiers would give him an eaſie victorie over ſo ſmall a Companie as the Prince conducted, which exceeded not ten thouſand men, levied a huge Armie, which he aſſembled from all places ſubject to his Dominion; and being accompanied with *Philip* his younger ſon, and with the flower of all the Chivalrie of France, he marched with great ſtrength againſt the Blacke Prince, whom he found neere unto Poytiers, readily prepared in the field to receive him. The French Armie was divided into foure Battels, who (as their turnes or lots came) fought with much valour, but with little uſe of their great skill. For the thicke ſhot of the Engliſh Archers (galling unmeaſurably their great Horſes) was the cauſe that quickly they brake their order and their array: which ſuddenly bred ſuch a totall diſturbance in the whole Armie, that themſelves (as waves of water doe in a turbulent and in a tempeſtuous Sea) overwhelmed each other; ſo that ſuch as were downe, were trodden to death by their owne friends, who could not avoid them; ſuch as would preſſe forward to make good proofe of their valour, were repreſſed by ſuch as did retire; and ſuch as did recoile, were ſtopped and hindred of their purpoſe by thoſe who could not chooſe but reſiſt their comming back. Notwithſtanding, the French Kings owne Battell (which was better ordered than all the reſt) encountring with that Battell of the Engliſh Army in which the Prince of Wales was, performed moſt rare and wonderfull feats of Chivalrie, which to the utmoſt of their powers they encreaſed, being extraordinarily animated thereunto by the matchleſſe valour and fortitude of their King, who, like a worthy Knight, for his ſurpaſſing valour and courage, exceeded all his Nobles for performance of that day.

The Blacke Prince lndeth in Gaſcoine with an Army.

He prevaileth.

The French King levieth a huge Army.

Ten thouſand men only in the Engliſh Army.

ANNO 30. 1355.

The battell of Poytiers.

The French men are diſordered.

King John is a moſt valiant Prince.

But the Black Prince and his Battell (whom no diſorder troubled) ſtriving almoſt beyond the abilities of men to win honour, and to ſave themſelves, retained undaunted ſpirits. And as dangers preſſed forth, ſo did they with incomparable manhood drive them backe againe, making the Frenchmen know by their miſerable experience that they could

The brave valour and reſolution of the Engliſh.

not ſo much as dreame of any flight, nor of yeelding, but were ſo greedy of the beſt honour, that nothing but death or victorie could content them. The Prince himſelfe vowed, that through the help of Almighty God he would that day performe the part of a good Knight. And to ſay the truth, ſuch were his unmatchable deeds of armes, ſo haughty was his ſpirit, ſo pleaſing was his example, and ſo cheerefull were his encouragements to his whole Armie, that every one among them (ſtriving to imitate his valour, and to win his favour) redoubled his ſtrength, and with ſuch reſolution fell upon the Frenchmen, that they were compelled to give back, and were ſo violently purſued, that the battell in which their King fought was now opened, and in ſuch ſort diſordered, that the Engliſhmen entred into the midſt of them, wounding and killing on every ſide, with little or no loſſe or danger to themſelves. And at length King *John* (ſcorning to leave the field) yeelded himſelfe and his ſon *Philip* priſoners unto Sir *Dennis Morbeck*, a Knight of Saint Omers, who for a murder forſook his country, and ſerved for wages with the Black Prince. In this battell there were ſlain very many great men of the Nobility and Gentry of France, and above ten thouſand others.

The Blacke Prince his vow.

The French Army is overthrowne.

King John and his younger ſon are taken priſoners by Sir Dennis Morbeck.

Too much deſire of Honour, and too much covetouſneſſe, were the cauſes that the French King (being thus taken) was ill uſed: for by reaſon that more than ten Gentlemen laid ſeverall claimes unto him as to their priſoner, he was uncivilly drawne from one to another, not without ſome perill to his life: but telling them that he was ſo great a Lord that he could make them all rich, they were better pleaſed, and brought him to the Prince, who with great reverence bowed himſelfe before the King, revived his heavie ſpirits with cheerefull and with comfortable words, feaſted him and Philip his younger ſon, attended dutifully at his Table, lodged him in his owne bed, provided for him moſt honourable attendance, ſupplied all things about him which were wanting, and brought them both from thence unto Burdeaux, and from thence into England, where he was joyfully and royally received, and welcommed by the King and Queene, and by the Nobilitie of this kingdome, and was entertained with as great magnificence and courteſie as he could expect or wiſh for. And, upon King *Johns* owne confeſſion, the honour of his taking was by King *Edward* adjudged to Sir *Dennis Morbeck*; who for his great and good ſervice was much thanked, and bountifully rewarded by the King.

The French King is ill uſed.

How the Black Prince received and entertained the French King and his ſon.

The Blacke Prince bringeth the French King and his ſon priſoners into England.

Sir Dennis Morbeck.

In this battell (beſides ſuch as were ſlaine) there were taken priſoners ſeventeen Earls, thrice as many Barons, and ſo great a number of Knights and Gentlemen of name and of note, that every Engliſh common ſouldier who had feweſt priſoners had two: all which, together with the whole ſpoiles of the field, the Prince frankly and freely gave to his Companies, who valiantly had won them by their ſwords: ſo that there was not a poore man in the Engliſh Army, but every one of them had as much Gold, and as much Silver, Plate, and Jewels, as gave him good contentment for his paines. And ſuch was their ſtore, and ſuch was their plenty of thoſe things, that rich and coſtly Armours, and ſuch like warlike proviſions, were not taken up, nor cared for at all.

Priſoners.

A bountifull Prince.

The Engliſh Army is made rich.

The French King for a while lived at the Savoy, which by King *Edward*

ward was ſumptuouſly furniſhed, and beautified with all things neceſſary for ſo great a gueſt. And from thence he was removed to the Caſtle of Windſor, where he feaſted, hunted, hawked, and did all things according to his owne pleaſure and will, for the ſpace of two yeeres; the King and the Black Prince as often as any leaſure gave them leave repairing thither, and gladding him with their cheerefull and moſt friendly company; and with the variety of many pleaſing ſports. By meanes whereof true and hearty love and affection did knit them faſt together, ſo that they concluded a friendly Truce, to continue for the ſpace of two yeeres. And thus were King *Edward* and the Noble Prince his ſon honoured and bleſſed by Almighty God with ſuch triumphant ſucceſſe in their wars, both in Scotland and in France (they then poſſeſſing for their priſoners at one time the Kings of thoſe two kingdomes, and *Philip* the French Kings younger ſon, and many Dukes, Earles, and Barons) as no other Princes in Chriſtendome then were.

How the French King was diſpoſed of.

The honourable proſperity of King Edward, and of the Blacke Prince.

And *David* King of Scots, after ten yeeres of impriſonment in England, was enlarged for a ranſome of one hundred thouſand pounds, to be paid in five yeeres; and upon his oath never againe to beare Armes againſt England, and upon his homage and fealty done for that Kingdome, and upon his faithfull promiſe to doe his beſt to procure the Nobility of Scotland to doe the like, he was enlarged and ſet free.

King David of Scotland is releaſed.

ANNO 32.

Not long after King *Edward* and the King of France entred into a parlee for a longer time of Truce. But their concluſions and agreements were utterly diſliked by his eldeſt ſon *Charles*, then Regent of France, and Duke of Normandie, and by the whole Baronie of that Countrie. Whereupon King *Edward*, with all expedition and convenient ſpeed, made greater preparation to make war there, than he had done at any time before. And having committed the French King and his ſon *Philip* with honourable attendance cloſe priſoners to the Tower of London, himſelfe, with the Black Prince his ſon, tranſported thither a puiſſant Army, and landed at the Towne of Callice; and from thence he marched ſtrongly unto Rhemes, where he beſieged the Caſtle ſeven weeks, but did not win it in the end. From thence he marched towards Paris, and Chartres, waſting, burning, and killing in all places as he paſſed: ſo that hee compelled the Regent and the Nobilitie of France to become earneſt Petitioners unto him for Peace; which they obtained upon theſe Articles enſuing.

ANNO 33.

The Dolphin allowes not his fathers concluſions.

King John of France committed to the Tower.

ANNO 34.

King Edward and the Black Prince doe land a puiſſant Army at Callice.

The Regent Dolphin ſueth for Peace.

1. *FIrſt, That King John ſhould pay for his ranſome five hundred thouſand Pounds of ſterling money.*

The Articles of the Peace.

The Ranſome.

2. *Secondly, That from thenceforth no King of France ſhould aid or aſſiſt any King of Scotland in any war or rebellion againſt England: And that no King of England ſhould from thenceforth take part with the Flemings in any expedition or war againſt France.*

3. *Thirdly, That the Kings of England ſhould have, and for ever enjoy freely, without homage, and in their owne right, their*

Territories

Territories in Gaſcoine, and in Guyan, with the Precincts, Caſtles, Forts, Townes, and Cities of Poytiers and Perigrot; the Earledomes of Bygrot, Poytiau, and Guyens; the Cities of Lymoges, Tharbes, Guaires, Agen, Angoleſme, Agenoys, Raverne, and Caours; the Lordſhips of Xantes, Caumeſin, Hammes, Ouy, and Mountrell; with the Seigniories of Callice, Marguiſe, Sandgate, and Cologne.

The title to the Crown of France is relinquiſhed.

4. *And laſtly, That (in regard thereof) King Edward, as well in the behalfe of himſelfe, as of his Succeſſours, Kings of England, ſhould utterly renounce and leave both the name and title to the Kingdome of France.*

ANNO 34. How the obſervation of this peace was ratified.

And for the performance of theſe Articles, *Charles* the Regent of France, and the Prince of Wales, in the preſence of ſixe Knights of either Nation, received the holy Sacrament at the high Altar; and then King *Edward* and his ſon returned into England, and were with all complements of love and kindneſſe entertained, and feaſted at the Tower of London by the French King, who was conveyed from thence to Callice, where (according to agreement) he remained foure moneths, and then King Edward repaired to him, and both of them (at a high Maſſe) ſolemnly ſwore to obſerve, performe, and keepe the ſaid Articles and the Peace. And King John (for the hoſtages of his Ranſome) delivered to King *Edward* foure Dukes, ſeven Earles, ten Barons, many Knights, and two of the worthieſt Burgeſſes of every great Citie in France, and tooke a moſt friendly leave of the King, and of the Prince of Wales, and departed towards Boleine, he having remained a priſoner more than foure yeeres: and King *Edward* with his ſon returned into England, bringing with them their honourable hoſtages, who were with all humanitie and kindneſſe feaſted and entertained by the King and by his Nobilitie, and were permitted freely to uſe all ſports, paſtimes, and exerciſes for pleaſure and contentation, as they pleaſed.

The King and Prince returne into England.

The French King feaſteth them.

The two Princes ſweare.

Hoſtages.

King John was a priſoner foure yeeres.

ANNO 37. Three Kings doe viſit King Edward.

About two yeeres after King *Edward* was at one time viſited (for love and kindneſſe only, and for no buſineſſe at all) by three Kings, that is to ſay, by King *John* of France, *David* the King of Scots, and by the King of Cyprus, who were with all munificent bountie and liberalitie feaſted and honoured by the King; but King *John* fell ſicke, and died in the Savoy, and his body was conveyed unto St. Dennis in France, where with great pomp and Princely ceremonies it was buried.

King John dieth in England.

The Blacke Prince liveth in Burdeaux.

The next yeere following the noble Prince of Wales and his wife (being very gallantly attended and provided) went unto Burdeaux, where he lived, and governed the Kings Provinces thereabout, and elſewhere in France, to the great contentment and good liking of the Nobles and Commons of thoſe Countries.

ANNO 40. The cauſes of King Edwards future loſſes in thoſe countries

In the fortieth yeere of King *Edwards* reign an unfortunate buſineſſe was taken in hand by the valiant Prince of Wales, which albeit it were performed with great reſolution, and was rewarded with deſerved honor, yet within few yeeres, by reaſon of a future accident, it was the occaſion

that

that King *Edward* loſt a great part of his Territories in France; and it was thus: *Peter* the true and lawfull King of Caſtile was in the field overthrowne, put to flight, and diſpoſſeſſed of his Crowne by *Henry* his baſtard brother, who was aſſiſted by *Charles* the fifth, the ſon of *John* the deceaſed King of France. This poore diſtreſſed King in his wants and miſerie repaired to the Prince of Wales for aid, who for his reſtoring, and upon large and faithfull promiſes of liberall pay and great rewards, conducted an Army into Caſtile: and albeit that the Spaniſh and the French forces were in number foure times more than the Princes were, yet in a bloudy battell the moſt of them were ſlain, & the reſt were put to flight: and King *Peter* was again reſtored to his Crown, and ſettled in his kingdome by the Prince, who returned again to Burdeaux with great honor.

Peter King of Caſtile is deposed by Henry the Baſtard.

The Blacke Prince being victorious reſettleth Peter in his kingdome.

But not long after, *Henrie* the baſtard, being newly ſupplied with freſh forces, warred with ſuch great furie and violence upon King *Peter*, that he ſubdued him; and to prevent all future claimes and troubles which he might make, he cauſed him to be put to death. But his two daughters and heires were after married unto *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of Lancaſter, and to *Thomas* of Woodſtocke, two of King *Edwards* ſons.

Henry the Baſtard taketh and ſlayeth Peter.

By reaſon of King *Peters* death the Prince his ſouldiers, being hopeleſſe to receive their promiſed pay and large rewards, and being oppreſſed with many wants, daily petitioned the Prince to ſupply their need. But he (finding no other meanes to ſupport their neceſſities, nor being ſtored with money to relieve their povertie) impoſed (contrary to the cuſtomes of thoſe Countries) divers Taxes upon the Inhabitants of Aquitaine; which ſo highly did diſpleaſe them, that the Lords thereof complained of this ſharp noveltie to the French King, who, flatly contrary to the Articles not long before concluded on for peace betwixt England and France, arrogated to himſelfe the Soveraignty over the Prince and his Dominions in France, and ſummoned him to appeare before him at Paris. So that the Peace and thoſe agreed Articles were broken by the French King, and wars were again proclaimed between England and France. But before the Prince of Wales could enable his forces for a ſtrong defence, the Inhabitants of thoſe countries for the moſt part revolted from him, & daily yeelded their Townes, Cities, Forts, and Caſtles into the hands of the French King: ſo that King *Edward*, who for the ſpace of fortie yeers together was moſt honourable, & more fortunate than any other Chriſtian Prince, by gaining of incredible victories upon the Scots and French Nation, within the compaſſe of one yeer, and without blowes, loſt almoſt all his command in thoſe Provinces, which by the ſaid agreement and Articles of peace were allotted, and by ſolemn oath aſſured unto him.

The French King breakes the League.

ANNO 43.

King *Charles* of France, forgetting what he had ſworne, and pleaſing himſelfe thus quietly to be made the Lord of all thoſe Countries which were aſſigned to King *Edward*, conceived a ſtrong hope, not only to defeat him utterly of all theſe Countries, but alſo to vex him at home in his own kingdome. And for that purpoſe he furniſhed a ſtrong Navie, with which he kept the narrow Seas. But King *Edward* (to drive thoſe forces backagain) ſent his ſon *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of Lancaſter, with an Army into Callice, who, to the terrour and ſpoile of the Frenchmen, marched from thence until he came to Burdeaux to the Prince his brother, without

oppoſition

oppoſition or reſiſtance, waſting and havocking in all places as he paſſed by, ſaving that he was once met with, and encountred by King *Charles*; who being ſoundly beaten, was enforced to retire, and to give free paſſage to the Duke.

ANNO 44. Another Army ſent into France.

King *Edward* as much as in him lay, though he began to grow old, yet he was very carefull of thoſe affaires. For as ſoone as his ſon *John* of *Gaunt* was gone out of England, he ſent another Armie unto Saint Omers, which was conducted by Sir *Robert Knowls*, who marching through thoſe adjacent Countries, with fire and ſword depopulated it, yea almoſt untill he came to the Citie of Paris: and then he marched into the Earledome of Anjou, where he won the ſtrong towns of Vaas, and Ruyly, and ſundry others thereabout. But the French King being informed that there was great diſſention in the Engliſh Armie betwixt Sir *Robert Knowls*, & the Lords *Fitz-water*, and of *Grauntſon*, ruſhed upon them ſuddenly with an Armie, and finding their minds divided, and their forces by great diſorder broken, prevailed againſt them, and ſlew about one thouſand Engliſhmen. Whereupon the ſaid Townes which they had taken

ANNO 45. were againe yeelded into the French Kings hands. He alſo (following the good hap of his fawning fortune) ſent another Armie into the Province of Guyan, where the Prince was weakly aſſiſted, and his Townes and Caſtles daily revolted from him.

ANNO 46. King *Edward* (being much perplexed with the common reports of his declining fortune, and being reſolved to do his beſt to prevent the worſt) aſſembled his High Court of Parliament at Weſtminſter: wherein (to ſupply his wants, and to give better ſtrength and furtherance to his French wars) the Temporaltie with much cheerfulneſſe granted him a ſubſidy of fifteen thouſand pounds: and the like ſumme he requeſted of the Clergie, who were contented to give him faire words, but no money: whereat he was ſo much diſpleaſed, that whereas at that time the Biſhops and the Clergie men were chiefly honoured with all Places and Offices of honour, and of profit, and of command, diſgracefully he deprived them, and diſmiſſed them all, and placed more thankfull ſubjects of the Laitie in their roomes.

A Parliament.

A Subſidie granted.

The Clergie will grant none.

ANNO 46. The Earle of Pembroke defeated, and taken at Sea.

King *Charles* had now beſieged the Towne of Rochell almoſt one whole yeere; for whoſe reliefe, and to remove the ſiege, King *Edward* ſent the Earle of Pembroke with an Army to the Sea; but he was encountred, fought with, and put unto the worſt by *Henry* the Uſurper of Caſtile, who in favour of the French King, and thankfully to requite his former love, when he aſſiſted him againſt King *Peter*, kept the narrow Seas with a ſtrong Fleet. In this fight the Earle himſelfe, and one hundred and threeſcore others, were taken Priſoners, many men were ſlaine, and the reſt who eſcaped returned altogether diſcomforted into England.

The French King wins Rochell, &c.

And upon the report of this diſaſter the Townes of Rochell, Angoleſme, Xants, and Saint *Johns* of Angley, and divers other Provinces, were given up unto the French King.

ANNO 47. Sir *John de Mountford* Duke of Britaine (perceiving that good ſucceſſe accompanied the French King in all his actions) began to feare leſt in the height of his proſperitie he would attempt ſome quarrell againſt him. Wherefore hee fortified his Countries, and then came into England,

and

and offered his aſſiſtance to King *Edward*, who forthwith levied a ſtrong Armie, and committed it to the government of his ſon the Duke of Lancaſter: who (being accompanied with the Duke of Britaine) landed at Callice, and with ſword and fire waſted the whole Countrie, untill he came to Burdeaux, where the Duke of Lancaſter found his brother the Prince of Wales exceeding ſicke; who made him Governour of all King *Edwards* Provinces. And having ſeene all ſuch Noblemen as he could command to take their ſolemne oathes for the performance of their duties and obedience to his brother the Duke, he ſailed into England. After whoſe arrivall three parleys for peace betwixt England and France were entertained, upon the motion, and by the mediation of Pope *Gregorie* the eleventh: but not one of them was made fruitfull with any fortunate ſucceſſe.

John of Gaunt and the Duke of Britain oppoſe themſelves againſt the French King. They waſte the Countrey.

ANNO 48.

John of Gaunt is made Governour.

The ſicke Prince commeth into England.

ANNO 49.

In the laſt yeere of King *Edwards* reigne, in a Parliament holden at Weſtminſter, the King required a Subſidie from the Clergie and from the Temporaltie of his kingdome, towards the ſupporting of his wars. But the Lower Houſe of that aſſembly complained grievouſly againſt the Lord *Latimer*, chiefe Chamberlaine to the King, and of many other of his officers, for that they not only miſ-led the King in his old age, but alſo unthriftily ſpent and conſumed the treaſure of his kingdome. Wherefore they refuſed to yeeld unto the Kings demand, except thoſe evill Officers might be diſplaced, and better men ſettled in their roomes. Which being by the King, through the important perſwaſions of the Prince, conſented unto, he cheerfully obtained his demand.

ANNO 50.

The Lower Houſe of the Parliament complaine upon the Kings evill Officers.

And now approached the ends of thoſe two famous and moſt worthy Princes the Father and the Son. For the Prince of Wales died the eighth day of June, in the yeere of our Lord God one thouſand three hundred threeſcore and ſixteene, when he had lived forty yeeres, and lieth buried at Canterburie.

1376.

The Blacke Prince dieth.

And no ſooner was he dead, but King *Edward* (very unadviſedly, to his great diſhonour, and to the great diſcontentment of his people) removed from him ſuch new Officers as in the late High Court of Parliament were eſtabliſhed and placed neere about him, and reſtored the Lord *Latimer*, and all the reſt, to their former offices and places. And finding himſelfe exceeding weake (by reaſon of his ſharp and grievous ſickneſſe) he created his Nephew *Richard* (ſon to the Prince deceaſed) Prince of Wales, Earle of Cheſter, and Duke of Cornwall, and committed the Regencie of his kingdome to his ſon *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of Lancaſter, and died when he had reigned fiftie yeeres, and ſomewhat more.

The King reſtoreth his evill Officers.

Richard is created Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earle of Cheſter.

King Edward dieth.

THE

The true pourtraicture of Richard the 2. King of England, and France. Lord of Ireland. and Prince of Chester he raigned 22 yeres, was deposed and murthered at Pomfraict Cast: at the age of 33 yeares. Buried first at Langley, and 14 yeares after by K. Henry the 5th removed to Westminster, and their was honourably interred.

THE HISTORIE OF KING RICHARD THE SECOND.

Richard the Second (being the ſonne and heire of the Blacke Prince, and aged eleven yeeres and ſomewhat more) was crowned King of England in the yeere of our Lord God one thouſand three hundred and ſeventie ſeven. ANNO 1. 1377.

King Richards evill manners and bad government.

In the whole courſe of his evill government he neglected his Nobilitie, and taxed his Subjects to enable himſelfe to give prodigally unto his ill deſerving favourites. He was too too reſolute in his follies, and refuſed to be reproved or reformed. He alſo deſpiſed the ſage advice and good directions of his wiſeſt and beſt Councellors, and wholly plotted all his courſes by the wicked and graceleſſe projects of his baſe companions, whom he raiſed to more honourable eſtates than befitted the meaneneſſe of their condition. So that they fell by their own weight, and he himſelfe (in the end) was enforced to endure the extremitie of his hard fortune. For being firſt diſgraced by his couſin *Henrie* of *Bullingbrooke*, Duke of Lancaſter, and ſon and heire to his uncle *John* of *Gaunt*, he was at length by him (with the generall conſent of a whole Parliament) depoſed from his Crowne, committed to priſon, and afterwards wickedly murdered, as in this diſcourſe of his diſordered government more amply it ſhall appeare.

The French men burne divers Townes in England.

In the firſt yeere of King *Richards* reign, *Charles* the French King (preſuming much on his Minoritie, and being aided by the Spaniard) landed in the South-weſt, and in the South-eaſt parts of this kingdome, and ranſacked and burnt the Towns of Plimouth, Dartmouth, Portſmouth, Rie, and ſome other Townes and Villages coaſting upon the Sea, and would have done more miſchief, if by the Kings uncle *Edmund* of *Langly* Earle of Cambridge, and by the Earles of Buckingham and of Salisburie, they had not been fought with, and beaten to their ſhips.

At the ſame time alſo (by the inſtigation of the French King) one *Alexander Ramſey*, an approved Scottiſhman at armes, with fortie of his companie

The true pourtraicture of Richard the 2. King of England, and France. Lord of Ireland. and Prince of Chester he raigned 22 yeres. was deposed and murtherd at Pomfraict Cast: at the age of 33 yeares. Buried first at Langley. and 14 yeares after by K Henry the 5th removed to Westminster. and their was honourably interred.

THE HISTORIE OF KING RICHARD THE SECOND.

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Alexander Ramſey's deſperate attempt, and ſucceſſe.

companie, in the depth of the night, ſuddenly and deſperately ſcaled the walls of the Caſtle of Barwicke; and finding the Captaine and all his ſouldiers ſecurely ſleeping, he tooke it without blowes, and intended alſo to have ſurpriſed the Towne. But the Inhabitants, hearing an extraordinarie noiſe and tumult in the Caſtle, and endevouring to prevent a feared miſchiefe, hewed away the ſtaies of the Draw-bridge on the Townes ſide: ſo that when the Scots did let fall the Draw-bridge, the chains brake, and the Bridge fell into the Caſtle ditch: by means whereof the Scots could not iſſue out, but were impriſoned by their own victory.

This neceſſitie enforced them (as well as they were able) to fortifie the Caſtle, which on the Kings behalfe was ſoone beſieged, and aſſaulted by ten thouſand men; who after many feats of armes performed bravely by the aſſailants, and after much valour, with high courage, ſhewed by that ſmall number of valiant Scots, won the Caſtle, and received not one of them to mercy, but only their Captaine *Alexander Ramſey*.

And not long after, the Frenchmen landed againe in England, and did much harme at Dover, Winchelſey, Haſtings, and at Graveſend, and returned with their booties into France. But to prevent like future miſchiefs, and to revenge thoſe injuries done to the King and his Realme by the French King, a Parliament was aſſembled at Weſtminſter: in which a Subſidie of foure pence for every man and for every woman within this kingdome (being above foureteene yeeres of age) was granted to the King. The levying whereof procured much heart-burning, which not long after brake forth, and endangered the whole State of the Common-weale. Yet with that money great proviſion was made, and an Army of eight thouſand men was ſent into France, under the command of *Thomas* of Woodſtocke the Kings uncle, who paſſing over the faire and great Rivers of Soame, Oyſe, and Marne, ſpoiled and burnt all the Countries, and ranſomed the Inhabitants, untill he came into Britaine, where he was received by the Duke *John Mountford* with all friendly entertainment, and much joy.

Anno 3. A Parliament.

This Taxe cauſed much trouble.

An Army ſent into France.

Anno 4. A great rebellion in England.

And now began a rebellion in England, which was exceeding hazzardous to the whole kingdome: for *John Wall*, a factious Prieſt, perceiving that the inferiour ſort of the people much murmured and grudged at the payment of the aforeſaid Subſidie, by ſecret conferences in all places where he came, informed the Bondmen, Villaines, Slaves, and ſuch others as were pinched with penurie, and with want, that by deſcent and parentage from *Adam* all men were of one condition, and of equall worth; and that the Lawes of this kingdome were injurious and unjuſt, which did ſet ſo great a difference betwixt men, as to make ſome of them great Peeres, Potentates, and Lords, and in giving to ſome others large authority and command, and in enlarging of great poſſeſſions, and ſtore of riches unto ſome, and in commanding others to be baſe, ſervile, beggars, and to enjoy little or nothing at all. And therefore (with traiterous reaſons) he perſwaded them, either by faire meanes, or by open inſurrection and civill warre, to provide for their owne liberties, and to relieve their owne wants.

This lewd and damnable doctrine ſo infatuated and infected the Ruſticks from ſhire to ſhire, that at length it was ſpread in the Citie of London,

London, where the meaneſt and the baſeſt ſort (being a multitude who eagerly envied the proſperity of the more worthy Inhabitants, & greedily covered to be enriched with their ſubſtance) were in great hope by rebellious mutining to make utter havock and ſpoile of all things at their pleaſure. And to effect that which they intended, ſuch as were moſt deſperately inclined among them, informed the headleſſe multitude in the Countries round about them, that if they would come thither and joine with them, the whole Citie of London ſhould be at their command. So that incredible numbers of braine-ſicke, turbulent, and traiterous people prepared to flocke thither, from Kent, Eſſex, Suſſex, Bedfordſhire, and from many other places.

The Captains in this rebellion.

Of this rude and raſcall rout *Wat Tylar* (who by his profeſſion was a Tailor) was made Captaine to command the reſt: and the ſaid *John Wall, Jack Straw, Jack Shepheard*, and ſome others, were made chiefe directors, and their leaders. And ſtiling themſelves *The Kings men, and the ſervants of the Common-weale of England*, they marched towards London, beating downe the houſes, and rifling all the moveables of all ſuch as were profeſſours of the law, and compelling all Knights and Gentlemen either to flie before their comming, or to be partakers in this uproare. They alſo ſent unto the King, who then lay in the Tower, requiring him to come and to ſpeake with them. Whereupon the King (purpoſing, if he might, to prevent all future miſchiefes which were threatned by this diſorder, and being accompanied with ſome of his wiſeſt and diſcreeteſt Lords and Counſellours) went by water to Gravel-end. But when he perceived their unruly madneſſe, and their rage and fury, and that all their numbers conſiſted of the baſeſt ſwink, and of the off-ſcum of the People, he feared to put himſelfe into their hands, and returned back againe to the Tower.

How the Rebels paſſed towards London.

They reſolve to burn Southwarke.

The next day they all came to London: but finding the Gates to be ſhut againſt them, and the Bridge to be ſtrongly fortified, they intended firſt to kill all the Inhabitants of South-warke, then to ſpoile their goods, and laſt of all to conſume it utterly with fire. But to prevent that miſchiefe, a free entrance was given them into the Citie, where the greateſt men made them the beſt cheere, and fed them with their choiceſt dainties, and by liberall gifts in ſome ſort pacified their fury and their rage.

Then they entred into the Savoy, which then belonged to *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of Lancaſter, the Kings Uncle, which houſe they rifled, burnt, and wickedly murdered all his Officers whom they found there. They alſo robbed all the Inner of Court, but neither Law-bookes, and ſacrilegiouſly they ſtole in all Churches, and in all Religious Houſes, accounting their monſtrous theftes to be no ſin.

They alſo releaſed out of all Priſons all manner of offenders whatſoever. Among ſundry other outrages which they then committed, their chiefeſt Ring-leader *Wat Tylar* ſent for his old Maſter, named *Richard Lyon*, a worthy and grave Citizen, from whom (during the time of his ſervice) he had received for a fraude offence ſome ſmall correction, and for a revenge, without other judgement, according to his graceleſſe bowels, his head was ſtricken off, and borne upon a Lance before him in the ſtreets. They alſo robbed and ſpoiled all Clergymen, Frenchmen, Inhabitants,

Wat Tylars cruelty to his old Maſter.

and other Forrainers inhabiting in or neere about the Citie of London. And at length, their numbers being encreaſed to threeſcore thouſand, they came to Saint Katherines, neere to the Kings lodging, where they remained that night. But ſuch were their hideous, beaſtly, and confuſed howlings, roarings, whoopings, and out-cries, that oftentimes the King and his Councell feared greatly leſt by treacherie and by treaſon they had poſſeſſed themſelves of the Tower, in which hee lay.

The King goeth to Mile-end-greene to ſpeake with the Rebels.

The next morning they ſent againe to the King, entreating him to ſpeake with them at Mile-end-greene. But his Highneſſe was no ſooner gone thither, than *Wat Tylar*, with fortie more of his wicked and raſcall companions, preſſed in by violence at the Tower Gates, and robbed the chambers and the lodgings there, not ſparing thoſe which did belong to the Princeſſe of Wales the Kings mother, whoſe head *Wat Tylar* brake, and in ſuch rude and beaſtly ſort behaved himſelfe towards her, that feare and griefe encreaſed a ſickneſſe in her which a long time after was dangerous to her life.

The Archbiſhop of Canterbury beheaded.

They alſo apprehended there, *Simon* Sudbury a learned and a famous Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and ſtrooke off his head, becauſe upon the firſt notice of *John Walls* traiterous perſwaſions to the baſe raſcalls, he had committed him to a ſhort and to an eaſie impriſonment.

Manumiſſion is required and promiſed.

The King, as ſoone as he came to Mile-end-greene, demanded what it was that with ſuch violence they required? They all with a mightie ſhout, and with a horrible confuſed crie, deſired that they might be manumitted and ſet free, and that their poſterities might not be Villains, nor in bondage. The King graciouſly replied, that he would not onely grant in moſt ample and large maner, their demand, and procure it to be eſtabliſhed by a Parliament; but gave unto them his banners for their ſafe conduct to returne into their Countries, and to their owne houſes, and alſo pardoned them their rebellion and their offence.

The greater part of this rude multitude, who were not made acquainted with any further miſchiefe which was ſecretly intended by the reſt, returned unto London, where with all convenient ſpeed, by inſtruments in writing, the King cheerefully performed his promiſe: and thereupon great numbers of them returned to their owne homes.

Wat Tylar comes into Smithfield.

But *Wat Tylar*, and about twenty thouſand more of his wicked and graceleſſe conſorts (determining, if it were poſſible, firſt to ranſacke, and then to burne the Citie of London) kept many of the Kings banners and his pardons which were under the great Seale, and came with all his remaining rabble into Smithfield.

The King commeth to the Rebels.

When the King heard that this unruly aſſembly was not utterly diſſolved, to prevent in time ſuch miſchiefe as they might doe, being guarded but with a ſmall ſtrength, he preſented himſelfe before the Rebels, and with all Princely courteſie and kindneſſe behaved himſelfe towards them, and perſwaded them to deſiſt from all violence, and from wrong; aſſuring them that they ſhould not only obtain their liberty and pardons, but ſhould (upon triall) find him to be their good Lord, and gracious King. But the Arch-traitour *Wat Tylar*, with a frowning countenance, inſolent behaviour, and rough ſpeech, refuſed to accept of the Kings

favour;

favour, and proudly told him, that all these troups, and many more thousands, were ready at his beck to doe and to execute whatsoever he would command. And to the end that his pride might want no manner of audacious boldnesse, he required the Kings Esquire, who bare the sword, to deliver to him his dagger: but with a stout answer, and with a manlike courage, he refused so to doe, untill he was by the King commanded to deliver it. Now when the Traitour had thus gotten the dagger, he required to have the sword also: but the Esquire told him plainly, that it was the Kings sword, and should not be given to a knave. Whereat *Wat Tylar* was so extraordinarily incensed, that (with an execrable and a vile oath) he swore that the Esquire should lose his head before he himselfe would either eat any meat, or drink any drinke. The Maior of London, named *John Hadley*, who then attended on the King, disdaining that a proud Traitour should so confront and brave the King, drew forth his sword, and starke him so soundly on the head, that he felled him to the ground, and incontinently he was slaine. Whereat some hope was suddenly conceived that the rest of the Rebels would have gone away: but they (being desperately resolved to revenge his death) according to their little skill cast themselves into some order; so that now every minute of time threatned the destruction and slaughter of many men.

Wat Tylars proud speech to the King.

Wat Tylar slaine by the Maior of London.

For this cause that City gives the Sword in her Armes.

The Citizens of London being informed what had hapned, and purposing with all speed to aid the King, and to free themselves and the City from ruine and from spoile, sent an Armie of eight thousand men well armed, and well appointed, to the King; all which were quickly marshalled, and ready to give the charge. But first the King required the Rebels to submit themselves, or else to deliver unto him such of his Banners, & free Pardons, and Manumissions, as they had gotten into their hands. But so far off were they from being sorry or repentant for their treasons, that (in a proud bravery, and in much scorne) they re-delivered them all unto the King; who caused them, in their open view, to be cancelled, and to be torne in pieces. The doing whereof so suddenly daunted and quailed the hearts and courages of those insolent and graceless Rebels, that when the King expected nothing but all violence to be executed by the sword, they cowardly dispersed themselves, and ranne away, every man (without any order or staying) making all possible haste and shift to save themselves. And thus vanished this cloud, which threatned an outragious storme of much danger and mischiefe to the King and Commonweale.

The Rebels flie.

And the chiefest of those malefactours (a thing which never faileth in such tumultuous rebellions) were by their owne companions (to insinuate grace and favour with the King) delivered into the hands of justice; who afterwards, with fifteene hundred more of the principall agents in this businesse, were (upon due enquiries, and just convictions, according to the Law) executed, and put to sundry tortures and deaths, in divers places of this Realme.

The Captains delivered to the King by the Rebels themselves.

The King having thus pacified this rebellion and uproare, married the Lady *Anne*, daughter to the deceased Emperour *Charles* the fourth, and sister unto *Wenceslaus* the Emperour who then reigned; and was made happy, through much prosperity and peace, untill the ninth

ANNO 5. King Richard marrieth.

Anno 9. 1385. yeere of his government: and then he ſummoned and held his High Court of Parliament at Weſtminſter; in which he created his fifth and ſixth uncles, *Edmund* of *Langley* (being then Earle of Cambridge) Duke of Yorke, and *Thomas* of *Woodſtocke* (who was then Earle of Buckingham) Duke of Gloceſter. He alſo created his Couſin *Henrie* of *Bullingbrook* (ſon and heire apparent to his fourth uncle *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of Lancaſter) Earle of Darbie, and his Couſin *Edward Plantagenet* (the ſon and heire apparent of his ſaid uncle *Edmund* of *Langley*) he created Earle of Rutland, and Sir *John Holland* (brother to the Earle of Kent) was made Earle of Huntingdon, and *Thomas* Lord *Mowbray* was made Earle of Nottingham.

King Richards evill Counſellours. The King (whoſe affections were but greene, and who was eaſily ſeduced by ſuch as he beſt loved) was at this time wholly directed and counſelled into many evill and ungodly courſes by his unworthy favourites *Michael De la Poole* his Chancellour, whom he created Duke of Suffolke; and by *Robert de Vere*, Earle of Oxford, and Marqueſſe of Dublin, whom he made Duke of Ireland, and would have made him King of that Countrey, if his Nobility would have conſented thereunto.

Roger Mortimer proclaimed heire apparent. In the ſame Parliament he cauſed his Couſin Sir *Roger Mortimer* Earle of March, who was the ſon and heire of *Edmund Mortimer*, and of *Philip* his wife, who was the daughter and heire of the Kings third uncle *Lionel* Duke of Clarence, to be proclaimed heire apparent to his Crowne. But he was long afterward ſlaine in Ireland by ſuch Rebels as he endevoured to ſuppreſſe.

Anno 10. 1386. It is now to be obſerved, that from henceforth the King reſpected not the ſage advice and counſell of his graveſt and moſt experienced Lords, and that he began careleſly to neglect the Nobility, and his great Officers of his kingdome; and that he did all things prepoſterouſly, by the lewd and unskilfull perſwaſions and directions of his two newly-created Dukes of Suffolke, and of Ireland, and of *Alexander* then Archbiſhop of York, and of *Robert Treſilian* his chiefe Juſtice. And as they all did lead him into many errours, ſo did they eſpecially exaſperate him (without juſt cauſe) againſt his renowned and truely noble uncle *Thomas* of Woodſtocke, Duke of Gloceſter; and againſt the two Earles, of Warwick, and of Arundell; which three he intended to have ſurpriſed at a Banquet in London, if *Nicholas Exton* (then Maior of that City) would have conſented thereunto. But becauſe his help then failed, and the King could not at that time obtaine his purpoſe, he reſolved to effect it at a more ſolemne meeting. For which cauſe principally he ſummoned his High Court of Parliament: but the ſaid three Lords (upon good information, being jealous of ſuch unkindly entertainment) repaired to the ſaid aſſembly, being ſtrongly guarded by a multitude of men at armes: by meanes whereof they ſecured their owne liberty, and the ungodly project of the King, and of his wicked Counſellours, came to nought.

Now when this long Parliament produced nothing worthy to be noted, *Michael de la Poole* (in the Kings behalfe) required a Taxe of foure fifteenes, affirming, that a leſſer gift could not ſupport his eſtate, and maintain ſuch wars as he was likely to undertake. But the Lords and the

Lower Houſe not only refuſed to yeeld unto this motion, but made a ſolemn declaration, that as the Kings of this Realm, for the better ordering and preſerving of their eſtate and kingdome, might once in every yeere aſſemble a Parliament; ſo by an ancient law all the members of that great Councell might without leave break up the ſame aſſembly, and depart to their own houſes, if the King abſented himſelfe from their company for the ſpace of forty dayes together; and that they would not proceed in any buſineſſe, but depart, except the King would be pleaſed perſonally to come among them, and to grace them with his preſence; and would alſo remove *Michael de la Poole* from his Chancellorſhip, and commit him to ſtrait Priſon, becauſe he lewdly counſelled the King to attempt many things which were diſhonourable to himſelfe, and hurtfull to the Common-weale.

A Parliament may be held once a yeere. In what caſe the Knights and Burgeſſes may depart.

The King (as a Lion) being ſterne, and ſcorning to yeeld unto any motion, although it tended to his own ſafety, and to the well-fare of his people, required that fifty ſelected men of that Aſſembly might be ſent unto him, with whom he would conferre and agree upon ſuch affaires as they required to be treated on. But the two houſes (denying to make any concluſions privately of ſuch affaires and buſineſſes as by a Parliament were to be diſputed publikely, and publikely to be eſtabliſhed) did ſend unto him his ſaid uncle *Thomas* of Woodſtock, Duke of Gloceſter, and *Thomas Arundel* then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and none others. And they two (by expreſſe commandement) told the King, that by his abſence he obſcured the light of juſtice, and hindred the negotiations of the Common-weale, which without his approbation and conſent could not receive any ſtrength or life; and that if he pleaſed not, upon their humble intreatie, to come among them for the furthering and for the finiſhing of ſuch weighty affaires as then they had in hand, they would depart to their owne houſes, becauſe he had abſented himſelfe from them (to their diſlike and diſcouragement) more than forty daies. They alſo craved with great ſubmiſſion and humility, as they were commanded, to be informed by whom his Majeſties treaſure, belonging to the Common-weale, was prodigally waſted and conſumed? and how it came to paſſe that his large revenues could not ſuffice to maintaine and to ſupport his eſtate and charge, ſeeing he had no warres, except his people muſt be taxed?

The King told of his faults.

This meſſage and theſe demands ſo wonderfully incenſed the King againſt both the Houſes of Parliament, that in great choler and indignation he deeply ſwore, that if he had foreknowne the faucie boldneſſe of his owne ſubjects, who as he ſuppoſed intended to riſe in armes againſt him, he would more willingly have ſubmitted himſelfe to the King of France, and have relied upon his protection and defence, than thus be baffled, and be made ſervile and an underling to thoſe whom his Soveraignty ought to command.

The two Lords with ſuch wonderfull gravity and temperate mildneſs, ſo effectually related to the King the inveterate malice which the Kings of France had borne towards this kingdome and the Kings which ruled it, and the loyall dutie and obedience which both the Lords, and alſo all other inferiour ſubjects of this Realme did beare unto him, as unto their moſt

A caveat to beware of France.

moſt gracious and good Lord, that thereby the greateſt flame of his fire was much quenched, and the Kings paſſions began to be more moderate and calme: ſo that he promiſed within three daies to come among them, and did performe it accordingly, to the great joy and contentment of all ſuch as meant and wiſhed well.

Michael de la Poole accuſed, condemned, fined, impriſoned, deprived, &c.

When they were all thus met together, *Michael de la Poole* was by the Lords accuſed, and found guilty of many notable and notorious couſenages and deceits, by him practiſed in the execution of his office; and for that he had purchaſed with the Kings money, in yeerely revenue, ſo much land as was worth one thouſand pounds and more; and had purloined (in bribes from the Kings ſubjects for expeditions, and by ſuch craſty and diſhoneſt trickes) the ſumme of twenty thouſand markes at the leaſt: for which offences all his lands were given to the King, together with a fine of twenty thouſand markes; and himſelfe, being deprived of his office of Chancellorſhip, and of his liberty, was committed unto ſtraight priſon: and *Thomas Arundel*, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was a wiſe and great Stateſman, and did employ his beſt endevours for the welfare and proſperity of the Common-weale, without any reſpect to his friends, or profit to himſelfe, was made Chancellour in his ſtead.

Commiſſioners choſen to examine the Kings Officers.

In the ſame Parliament alſo thirteen perſons were elected, ſworn, and authorized (as well by the conſents of the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and by the Commons, as alſo by the Kings agreement thereunto publiſhed in writing under his great Seale) to examine all or any of his Majeſties Officers, touching their behaviours, & their demeanors in their ſeverall roomes and places; and by whom, and how, both at home and abroad, the Kings treaſure had beene purloined or miſ-ſpent; and to correct and puniſh all ſuch as for juſt tranſgreſſions they ſhould cenſure and condemne. And the King himſelfe took a publike oath not to revoke, nor to ſuppreſſe the ſaid Commiſſion, or their power, except a Parliament ſhould joyne with him therein. And furthermore it was then enacted for a law, that if any man ſhould or did attempt, directly or indirectly, to perſwade or to encourage the King to infringe his promiſe, and to make breach of his ſaid oath, touching all or any of thoſe matters, he ſhould for his firſt offence loſe all his lands and goods, and for his ſecond offence ſhould receive triall, judgement, and execution, as a Traitour to the King, and to his Crowne. And then a Subſidie of one halfe fifteene was granted, if by the ſaid Commiſſioners, and upon their view of the Kings eſtate, it ſhould be thought needfull for him to have the ſame.

ANNO 11. The King breaketh his promiſe and his oath. Michael de la Poole is enlarged. The commiſſioners are pronounced Traitors.

No ſooner was this Parliament ended, but the King (by the perſwaſions of his evill Counſellors, and contrary to his owne aſſent, promiſe, and oath) enlarged *Michael de la Poole*; and went with him and *Robert de Vere* his Duke of Ireland, and with *Treſilian* his chiefe Juſtice, and many of his Judges, unto Nottingham; where they pronounced the Kings uncle *Thomas* of Woodſtock Duke of Gloceſter, and *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the ſaid thirteen Commiſſioners, and many others, to be guilty of high treaſon, becauſe they had compelled the King, againſt his will and conſcience, to ratifie the ſaid Commiſſion by his oath and under his great Seale. And then they went to Coventry, where the ſaid Judges, by an inſtrument in writing under their hands and ſeales, declared

declared and confirmed their opinions touching thoſe matters, to be agreeable and conſonant to the Lawes of this Realme.

Now for a while muſt we leave the King and his Nobility, perplexed with many evill conceits each of the other, and ſtudying upon the future events of thoſe former concluſions, and will informe the Reader that the time of Truce betwixt England and France was more than fully ended; and that the French King, to beget more broiles at home, ſent his Admirall into Scotland, with a thouſand Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, completely armed, and furniſhed with armour and with weapons ſufficient for one thouſand more. But ſuch was their courſe and homely entertainment, that, upon their firſt arrivall, the Common people abandoned their company, making no maner of reckoning or account of them, nor relieving of their wants with any thing which was needfull; but ſuffered them to be oppreſſed with as many miſeries, as ſtrangers, being in a forraine and in a poore Countrey, were able to endure, untill they joined with the Scottiſh Army, which conſiſted of thirty thouſand men. And with them they entred into England, and did much harme. But when they were informed that the King with eight thouſand men at armes, and threeſcore thouſand Archers, travailed hard journies to encounter with them, they then forſooke their ordinary march and paſſages, and went over the high and craggie Mountaines into Wales: where they committed many vile and wicked outrages, which turned little to their commodity and gaine. But in the meane time King *Richard* with fire and ſword entred into Scotland, where, being unreſiſted, he rifled and burnt the Townes and Cities of *Eden-burgh*, Saint *Johns*, *Eſtreveling*, *Dondée*, and many others, and returned home. And the Scots and Frenchmen retired themſelves into Scotland: where, by reaſon of the late havocke and ruines of that kingdome, the French Gallants were worne out with more neceſſities than before. For neither could or would the Townes or Countrey afford them any help; and the apparent hazzard of their lives, by the violence of the poore diſtreſſed Scots, did altogether terrifie them from foraging abroad. And in the end, to adde unto them greater affliction than all the reſt, the Scots compelled their meaneſt Gentlemen (without their horſes, and unarmed, and pennileſſe) to returne into France, but kept as pledges, or as pawnes, the Admirall, and ſuch as were honourable and great, untill a full reckoning and an amends were made unto them for all ſuch loſſe and dammages as by the Engliſh Army they had ſuſtained: affirming, That the French King had engaged Scotland in thoſe wars, not for themſelves, but to ſerve his owne turne, and in his ſervice.

The French Lords and Gentlemen come to animate the Scots againſt England.

King Richard with an Army of 68000. men entreth and ſpoileth Scotland.

The French King (though angred at the heart to be thus abuſed; yet finding none other meanes to enlarge the Admirall, and ſuch other great men as he had employed in thoſe wars) ſent to the Scots as much money as was demanded; and thereupon the French Admirall, Barons, and Gentry, were diſmiſſed, and returned home, having ſmall cauſe to bragge of their ſucceſſe, or of their entertainment in that journey.

The King of France is enforced to redeem his ſubjects.

But the French King, intending to relieve himſelfe, and to wrecke his anger upon England, reſolved to tranſport into this kingdome ſuch an Army as ſhould make an abſolute conqueſt of this whole Land. And to

The French King dreameth to conquer England,

to further his proviſions therein, he impoſed many grievous and intolerable taxes on his people, which were not levied without much grudging, and great trouble. His whole Fleet conſiſted of more than twelve hundred ſaile of Ships. The number of his men was extraordinarie, and exceeding great: and ſuch were his proviſions, that among Chriſtian Princes the like before was ſeldome ſeene or heard of.

King *Richard*, who was very valiant, and cared not for his approach, was readily prepared to give him a welcome with ten thouſand gallant men at armes, and with more than one hundred thouſand fighting men; beſides ſuch as furniſhed his brave Navie on the ſea, and beſides all ſuch as for the defence of Callice were ſent thither.

Homo ponit, diſponit autem Deus.

Experience teacheth us, That the greateſt preparations for any expedition whatſoever are made in vaine, if the thing to which they are intended and directed be not ſeconded by Gods favour; as by this example it ſhall appeare. For when the French ſouldiers were departed from their owne dwellings, and travelled diſorderly towards the place where their ſhips lay, they robbed and ſpoiled in all Provinces, and in all Countries through which they paſſed, with greater fury, and with more violence than commonly the Engliſh, or any other forraine enemy accuſtomed to doe. So that the Inhabitants of all places (ſubject to their cruelty and uncivill outrage) were not only in the higheſt degree diſpleaſed and diſcontented, but by ſolemne imprecations they curſed both them and the action likewiſe which they had in hand. And when thoſe looſe companions came into the Low-countries where the Fleet was, ſuch were their wants of all things needfull to relieve them (by reaſon of their exceſſive numbers, and by reaſon of the long abſence of the Duke of Berry, the French Kings Uncle, who haſted not thither, nor liked well of that journey, although it altogether depended upon his furtherance and preſence) that firſt they ſold their armour and their weapons, then their horſes, and laſt of all their clothes, to provide them meat. And when all thoſe meanes failed them, then they daily, yea hourely, committed ſuch violence and ſuch outrages in thoſe Countries without controlment, that they became hatefull & odious to the Inhabitants, and at length the King their Maſter (being utterly diſcouraged by his ſaid Uncle in this attempt) diſſolved his whole Army. And thus, at one inſtant almoſt, he loſt both his honour and his hope, his money, and many great things beſides.

The men and the enterpriſe are accurſed by the oppreſſed people.

Parturiunt Montes, naſcetur ridiculus Mus.

The hiſtorie of the Kings evill government at home is purſued.

And the end of thoſe his great deſignes affords us liberty to returne againe to our highly diſpleaſed and diſcontented King, whom his Lords (with all humility and ſubmiſſive modeſty) petitioned and deſired, newly to ratifie and to confirme his former promiſe and his oath, and to thruſt from him *Michael de la Poole*, *Robert de Vere*, *Alexander* the lewd Archbiſhop of York, *Robert Treſilian* his chiefe Juſtice, and Sir *Nicolas Brembre* of London (who were generally termed to be the Kings wicked Counſellours) and to baniſh out of the Land all thoſe ſoothing and flattering Judges, who to pleaſe the King had ſubſcribed to the nullitie of the ſaid Commiſſion, and had cenſured all ſuch as procured it, to be traitors to the King and to his Crowne.

But the Kings affections were ſo ſtrongly riveted and annexed unto thoſe five, and ſo confident was he, that both himſelfe, and they, and his

ſaid

said Judges had done well in their proceedings at Nottingham, and at Coventry, that in plaine termes he denied them their request. And thereupon the Lords (for their owne safety, and to support the peace, and to prevent the ruine and the destruction of the Common-weale) raised a strong Army of their friends, and of such as utterly disliked those disorders in the King, and came to the City of London, being fully resolved that they themselves would put in execution those things, which the King (upon their reasonable and just request and petition) had refused to yeeld unto.

The Nobility raise an Army.

But when those five wicked Counsellors perceived throughly what was purposed and meant, they then endevoured to perswade the King to surrender Callice, and all his other Lordships and Territories in France, to the French King, and confidently to relie upon his aid; assuring him, that in so doing he should obtaine two glorious and pleasing victories; the one over all his wars, by settling of his Estate in a perfect peace; and the other over his Noblemen, who strived (as lewdly they pretended) to make him subject and servile to their wills.

And though in all things besides their counsells were his Oracles, yet the King would not at any hand hearken to this motion: and yet he was determined (by one means or other) to curbe and to abridge the strength of his Nobility, who strived to reforme such things as were amisse. And that his purpose might therein be effected, especially he enquired of the Maior of London how many able armed men that City could conveniently set forth? who certified him, That fifty thousand such might easily and in a short time be prepared and spared there. Whereupon the King commanded him with all expedition to send him such an Armie: which forthwith he endevoured to performe.

The King requireth an Army from the Londoners.

But when the gravest and the wisest Citizens had maturely considered of this businesse, they interrupted his proceedings, and told the King, That they might not be employed in warlike maner against his Lords, who for his Majesty and Honour, and to preserve his kingdome from ruine and from destruction, had used all faithfull and good meanes to remove from his person those his wicked Counsellours, who only (for their owne commodity and advancement) had hazzarded the whole estate of his kingdome, by advising and by counselling of him to rule and to governe unadvisedly, according to their pleasures, and after their lewd and lawlesse wills.

The King perceiving by this message that his inferiour subjects would in those troubles adhere unto the Lords, seemed a little to restraine his violent affections, and did informe the Lords, That he would assemble his High Court of Parliament, in which those five favourites of his should be answerable to all objections whatsoever, and should (if they were convicted) receive such punishment as should by the publike censure of the house be inflicted on them.

The Kings gentle message to the Lords.

This unexpected and good message so throughly contented the Barons, that presently they dis-furnished themselves of all their warlike Forces, and were most thankfull for it to the King. But as the wind, so was he suddenly changed: for in stead of performing what he had promised, he freely licenced *Robert de Vere*, Duke of Ireland, to levie five thousand

The Lords doe cashiere their Army.

thouſand men for his owne particular guard and defence. And the Barons, perceiving thereby that it was high time for them to looke unto their owne ſafety, with incredible celerity and expedition renewed their ſtrength, and upon the ſudden ſo ſtrongly environed the ſaid Duke betwixt their Armie and the river of Thames, that they compelled him (for the preſervation of his life) by ſwimming on horſebacke to paſſe over unto the other ſide: from whence he preſently fled into France, in which kingdome (about five yeeres after, as he hunted) he was ſlaine by a wilde Boare.

The Lords doe renew their Army.

But ſuch was the Kings affection towards him whileſt he lived, that he cauſed his dead carkaſſe to be embalmed, and to be brought into England, and to be apparelled in Princely ornaments and robes, his necke to be compaſſed with a maſſie chaine of gold, his fingers to be covered with rings, and his funeralls to be ſolemnized with all magnificence and pompe.

Now when the ſaid Duke of Ireland was compelled by ſwimming on horſebacke (as you have heard) to ſave himſelfe, and was fled into France, the Barons executed ſome of his chiefeſt conſorts for an example unto others, but ſuffered the multitude to diſperſe themſelves, and required them with all ſpeed to repaire to their owne houſes. But the ſaid Barons conducted their owne Army to London, where they were received with much joy. And ſuch was the bountifull entertainment which they found there, that they might thereby aſſure themſelves of their hearts welcome.

The Barons Army is with joy received into London.

The King (who kept his Court in the Tower of London) was well pleaſed to admit of a conference with the Lords: in which it was concluded that a Parliament ſhould be ſummoned: which being orderly aſſembled, the Kings wicked Counſellours, and ſome of the aforeſaid Judges, were required perſonally to appeare. But they came not thither; yet were they (after great debating and diſputing of that buſineſſe) condemned of high Treaſon to the King, and to the Common-weale. And not long after, Sir *John* Earle of Salisburie, and Sir *Nicolas Bembre* loſt their heads; and *Robert Treſilian* the chiefe Juſtice was hanged at Tiborne: and the reſt of thoſe Judges had beene hanged in like ſort, if (upon the importunate and unceſſant requeſt of the Queene) their lives had not beene redeemed by their baniſhment. And thus were the threatnings of civill wars converted into ſome aſſurance of proſperity and of peace.

Wicked Counſellors and Judges condemned as Traitors.

ANNO 12. But the next yeere following the Scots invaded this Realme, and did much harme; againſt whom great preparations were made by the King, who reſolved to recompence his owne damage by juſt and ſevere revenge.

The Scots doe invade.

But the wiſedome and diſcretion of many great Eſtates were ſuch, that a Truce was concluded to endure for three yeeres, betwixt England, France, and Scotland, which ſhortly after was enlarged for foure yeeres more.

A Truce betwixt England, France, and Scotland, for ſeven yeers.

ANNO 13. So that now all matters betwixt thoſe three kingdomes and their Kings being bleſſed with tranquility and with peace, the Kings fourth Uncle *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of Lancaſter, was ſuffered by the King to levie a ſtrong Army, which he tranſported into Spaine, where he demanded his right

John of Gaunt goeth with an Army into Spaine.

right to the Kingdome of Caſtile, in the behalfe of *Conſtance* his wife, who was the eldeſt daughter of *Peter* the depoſed and ſlaine King.

In thoſe wars the Duke and his Army performed many honourable ſervices, and (with the aſſiſtance of the King of Portugall) ſo prevailed, that, to conclude a ſued for peace, the King of Spaine married with *Conſtance* the Dukes eldeſt daughter by his ſaid wife, and gave unto him eight Waggons loaden with maſſie Gold, and ſecured him and his wife of the yeerely paiment of ten thouſand Markes during both their lives. And then the Duke went into Portugall, where he married *Anne* his younger daughter to the King of that Countrey, and then returned into England with great riches and much honour.

ANNO 14. How his brave attempts ſucceeded there.

This time of peace betwixt England and other Nations bred ſome quarrelling betwixt the King and the Pope, who uſurped too too much authority and juriſdiction within this Realme. Wherefore, to prevent ſuch miſchiefes as this intolerable ſufferance might beget, in a Parliament (upon grave and great advice) it was enacted, That the Popes pretended authority within this Kingdome ſhould ceaſe and be determined; and that no appeale for any matter or cauſe whatſoever ſhould from thenceforth be made to the See of Rome, upon the penalty of a *Præmunire*, which did extend to perpetuall impriſonment, and to the forfeiture of the lands and goods of ſuch as (contrary to that law) preſumed to offend.

ANNO 16. Lawes againſt the Popes uſurped authority.

In the ſeventeenth yeere of King *Richards* reigne his faire and vertuous Queene *Anne* died.

ANNO 17.

And about two yeeres after the King married the Lady *Iſabel*, daughter to the French King *Charles* the ſixth. By reaſon whereof a peace was concluded betwixt thoſe two Kings to endure for thirtie yeers. And King *Richard* (being too kind, but too little adviſed) of his own accord and free will ſurrendred and gave up to the Duke of Britaine the ſtrong Towne and Caſtle of Breſt, which very much grieved and diſcontented his Nobility, eſpecially his uncle *Thomas* of Woodſtocke Duke of Gloceſter, who told him plainly, That it was not convenient that without blowes with the ſaid Duke of Britain, he ſhould have departed with that ſtrong Towne and Caſtle, which his Anceſtours had won with the expence of much blond. Whereat the King was ſo much diſpleaſed, that in his heart he cauſeleſly vowed ſevere revenge: and in this his haſty paſſion he was abuſed and furthered by ſuch of his Favourites as envied the eſtate, the vertues, and honour of the Duke, cauſing ſtrangers to informe the King (flatteringly and maliciouſly) that divers of the Princes Electors intended to have made him Emperour, had not ſome others of them gain-ſaid it, & alledged that he was altogether unfit to govern the diſperſed Seigniories and Dominions of the Empire, who could not rule and command his owne ſubjects at home. The greedy deſire which King *Richard* had to be magnified and made great, by being dignified with the name and power of the Empire, and his ſtrong reliance upon the untrue report which was ſuggeſted unto him by ſuch as only endevoured to whet his anger againſt his Lords, armed him with ſubtlety, and with a hearty deſire to circumvent his Barons, though it were done with the breach of his oath, and with the ſhipwrack of his honour. So that pretending much love and favour towards them, but eſpecially to the Duke of Gloceſter his

ANNO 19. King Richard marrieth the French Kings daughter.

The King reproved for ſurrending the Caſtle of Breſt

The King intendeth the deſtruction of his Barons.

Uncle, and to the two Earles of Arundell and Warwick) he cauſed them to be apprehended, when (as they imagined) they had leaſt cauſe to feare. And having ſo done, he aſſembled his High Court of Parliament, in which his baſeſt and his groſſeſt flatterer, the Speaker of the Lower Houſe, named Sir *John Buſh*, who was a man of a moſt proud, inſolent, and aſpiring ſpirit, irreligiouſly, profanely, and diſhoneſtly (in a formall and in a tedious ſpeech) attributed unto the King the higheſt titles of divine honour; and therefore condemned (almoſt to hell) all ſuch as traiterouſly had conſpired againſt his Majeſty: among whom he particularly impeached *Thomas* Lord Archbiſhop of Canterburie, ſitting next unto the King: who made no anſwer at all thereto, becauſe the King himſelfe (under pretence of more than ordinary love and favour) had privately enjoyned him unto ſilence, and unto future abſence from that aſſembly; promiſing and proteſting, that nothing ſhould be attempted or done againſt him by any meanes. Yet notwithſtanding (for want of his preſence, and of his anſwer to the ſaid untrue objections) he was (with the Kings conſent) baniſhed this Realme. And the two Earles, of Arundell and of Warwicke, were alſo condemned of High Treaſon: and ſhortly after, the former of thoſe two loſt his head; and ſo had *Thomas Beauchamp* Earle of Warwick, if by his humble confeſſion of things untrue, and upon his great ſubmiſſion ſteeped in teares and much ſorrow, he had not procured a mitigation of his puniſhment. For he was confined into the Ile of Wight, where (contrary to the Kings promiſe) he endured ſuch miſery, and was ſo grievouſly oppreſſed with the griefe which he ſuſtained by reaſon of his great wants, that he quickly died.

The Archbiſhop of Canterbury accuſed of Treaſon.

He is baniſhed. Warwick and Arundell are condemned as Traitors.

But the good Duke of Glocester the Kings uncle (being unſentenced) was ſent to Callice, where (according to the Kings directions) *Thomas Mowbray* Earle of Nottingham betwixt two featherbeds cauſed him to be ſmothered to death; for which good ſervice he was afterwards made a Duke.

The Duke of Glocester murdered at Callice by Thomas Mowbray Earle of Nottingham.

This being done, the King procured the Upper and the Lower Houſes of Parliament to make an example, without preſident, by granting full and abſolute authority unto ſix or eight ſuch perſons as he ſhould nominate, finally to determine all ſuch cauſes (and to enact them) as then remained undiſcuſſed, and not ended there. This act not only made him proud, but to ſerve his preſent turne, he nominated for that purpoſe ſuch as to pleaſe his humour decreed many things which were diſhonourable to the King, and hurtfull to the Common-weale.

The King alſo to pleaſe his Guard, who for the moſt part were Cheſhire men, of ordinary parentage, and of baſe birth, cauſed himſelfe very ridiculouſly to be ſtiled *Prince of Cheſhire*; as if it had been more honourable for him to be ſuch a Prince, than to be the King and Monarch of the whole Realme.

The King will be called Prince of Cheſhire.

And to adde more ſtrength and liking unto thoſe things which then were done amiſſe, the King beſtowed many honourable dignities upon ſome of his beſt liked Noblemen.

So that his Couſin *Henrie* of *Bullinbrooke* (ſon and heire apparent to the Kings fourth uncle *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of Lancaſter, and who was at that time Earle of Darby) was by him created Duke of Hartford; his

his couſin *Edward Plantagenet*, being Earle of Rutland, was created Duke of Aubemarle; and *Thomas Mowbray*, Earle of Nottingham, was made Marſhall of England, and Duke of Norfolke; and the Earle of Kent was created Duke of Surrey, and Sir *John Holland* his brother, being Earle of Huntington, was made Duke of Exeter; and the Earle of Somerſet was created Marqueſſe Dorſet, and the Lord *Spencer* was made Earle of Gloceſter, the Lord *Nevill* Earle of Weſtmerland, the Lord *William Scrope* Earle of Wiltſhire, and the Lord *Percie* was created Earle of Worceſter: and upon all theſe he beſtowed many great Lordſhips, Mannors, and large revenues, which of late did belong to his murdred uncle *Thomas* of Woodſtock, ſometimes Duke of Gloceſter, and unto the ſaid two deceaſed Earles, of Arundell, and of Warwicke.

A crafty pardon which inabled the King to much miſchiefe.

He alſo granted his free pardon to all offenders whatſoever, fifteene only excepted, whom he would not nominate. By which ungodly and crafty policie he hedged his Nobility round about with continuall feare, and made them moſt ſervile, and moſt baſe. For if any one of them in any high meaſure had offended him, he would then pronounce him to be one of thoſe fifteene who were excepted out of his free and generall pardon, and then would put his life upon triall for ſuppoſed and ſurmiſed Treaſon.

ANNO 22. The Kings couſin deſireth reformation in the King by his friend Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norfolk, whom the King did favour extraordinarily.

It happened about this time that *Henrie Bullinbrooke* Duke of Hartford, and couſin to the King, was much grieved daily to heare ſuch ſlanderous reports as were too commonly noiſed of the King, partly upon his too much liberty, which beyond the lawes he challenged in the courſe of his government; and partly by reaſon of his unjuſt and unskilfull managing of the weighty affaires and buſineſſes of his kingdome. And though affection (by meanes of his neere conſanguinity with the King) moved him heartily to wiſh for and to deſire a preſent reformation of thoſe evills, yet could hee not better deviſe how he might effect that which he ſo much craved, than by making uſe of his great familiaritie and acquaintance with *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of Norfolke, who had an extraordinarie intereſt in the Kings favour. Whereupon, very privately, and in great ſecrecie, as unto a moſt kind and loving friend, he imparted the cauſes of his griefe in that behalfe unto the ſaid Duke, and earneſtly entreated him (upon fit opportunity, and at his leiſure, and as from himſelfe) ſeriouſly to informe the King of the ſaid reports; and withall to entreat his Highneſſe to extend more grace and more favour to thoſe Lords, who (for his honour, and the kingdomes good) had both incurred his diſpleaſure, and alſo were (with too much extremity) condemned of high Treaſon.

A falſe and unfaithfull friend.

But the Duke of Norfolke, who more reſpected his owne preferment than the Kings honour, and ſtrongly preſumed that he had now gotten fit meanes to advance himſelfe by his friends fall, related all his ſayings to the King, in the rudeſt and moſt uncivill maner which he could deviſe, and added many things to his relation which were untrue, and never ſpoken; thereby aggravating an offence which was not committed, and incenſing the King with high indignation to vow revenge and puniſhment, when the Duke of Hartfords fidelity and loyall ſervice deſerved great thanks, and a good reward.

The King was ſo much vexed and enraged by meanes of theſe tidings, that nothing could give him any contentment in any thing, untill his couſin the Duke had made his anſwer thereunto. And being ſharply preſſed thereunto by the King, ſuch things as in that ſecret and friendly manner h had deſired might be reformed, he both confeſſed and juſtified: but the untrue ſuggeſtions which falſly and maliciouſly were added, he denied: And to cleere himſelfe of them, he challenged the Duke of Norfolke to a ſingle combate, which was by him accepted, and conſented unto by the King. But when the appointed day was come, and the two Dukes were within the Liſts, readily prepared, and advanced themſelves each toward the other for the encounter, the King would not permit them to proceed, but baniſhed the Duke of Norfolke for ever, who ſhortly after died at Venice; and his couſin the Duke of Hartford hee exiled for ſixe yeeres.

A combate challenged and accepted.

Whereupon he ſailed into France, and was honourably received by King *Charles* the ſixth, father to the Queene of England, King *Richards* wife; who ſo effectually juſtified him in his ſaid actions and doings, and ſo highly affected his deſcent, his perſonage, his wiſedome, his vertues, and his right noble conditions, that he would have beſtowed upon him in marriage the daughter of his uncle the Duke of Berrie, if his Son-in-law King *Richard* (by extraordinarie ſolicitations, and by unuſuall meanes) had not beene the hinderer thereof.

John of Gaunt dieth.

Not long after this Dukes baniſhment, his father *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of Lancaſter, and uncle to the King, died: the deſcent of which Dutchie would have made the ſaid Duke a potent Prince. But the King (refreſhing his humours with new practices of ſecret revenge, and that he might keepe him low) unjuſtly ſeized upon all the Lordſhips and Poſſeſſions belonging to that Dutchie, and upon all the moveables of his ſaid deceaſed uncle, and ſhared and diſtributed them among his Sycophants and wicked Counſellours. Which tyrannous and wrongfull dealing ſo much diſpleaſed his uncle the Duke of Yorke, and his couſin the Duke of Aumarle, that preſently they left the Kings Court, and retired themſelves to their owne houſes.

At this time King *Richard* was wholly miſ-led, and lewdly directed in all his doings and negotiations, by his principall favourites Sir *William Scrope* Earle of Wiltſhire, Sir *John Buſhe*, Sir *James Bagot*, and Sir *Henry Greene*; by whoſe advice (without the conſent of his privie Counſellours of Eſtate) he levied a ſtrong Armie, farmed to them for certaine yeeres his whole Kingdome, and all his revenues belonging thereunto, and ſailed into Ireland; where he behaved himſelfe ſo valiantly, that he ſubdued that rebelling Nation, and by his ſeveritie he compelled them to be willing to obey.

The King farmeth his kingdome, and ſaileth into Ireland.

But in his abſence his baniſhed couſin *Henrie* of *Bullingbrooke*, Duke of Hartford and of Lancaſter, together with his old friend and exiled companion, *Thomas* Archbiſhop of Canterburie, returned into England, to make claime to his Dutchie of Lancaſter. His firſt landing was in the North; where ſuch was the ſingular love and the great affection of the Noblemen and of the common ſort of people towards him, partly in regard of his nobleneſſe and vertues, and partly in regard of the Kings

The journey coſt him his Crowne and his life.

ANNO 23. The Duke of Lancaſter landeth in England.

diſordered

disordered courses in his government; that they all (with extraordinary cheerefulnesse and alacritie) flocked unto him well armed, and in great troupes: so that within few dayes his Companies were encreased to a strong Armie; with which he marched peaceably and in good order unto London, and was received, entertained, and feasted there with much honour and great joy. And from thence he went into the Westerne parts of this kingdome, the people in all places where hee came being heartily gladded, with much contentment, with his doings.

But in the mean time King *Richard* (who was returned, and had quickly levied great forces, which he conducted against the Duke) perceiving that every day his subjects fled from him, and voluntarily offered their service to the Duke; and being certainely informed that Sir *William Scrope* Earle of Wiltshire, Sir *John Bush*, and Sir *Henrie Greene* (three of his wicked Counsellors, and upon whom he most of all relied) were taken, and had lost their heads; despairing of any safety to be gained by force and violence, of his owne accord he came to his cousin the Duke of Lancaster, confessed publikely his owne insufficiencie and weakenesse to rule and to governe well, praised the Dukes rare and singular vertues, and his absolute worthinesse to be a King, and proffered to make him an absolute surrender of his whole kingdome, if hee would accept thereof.

Three of the Kings wicked Counsellours beheaded.

The Kings submission and offers to the Duke.

But the Duke (though he much affected the wearing of a Crowne, yet because he hoped that the favour of the Nobilitie, Gentrie, and of the Common people, would freely cast that burthen and dignitie upon him, with greater safety and assurance of continuance) refused to accept thereof; and protesting (with many pleasing speeches) that he onely desired to enjoy his owne Patrimonie, and to reforme such things as were amisse, he caused the King (with very honourable and respective attendance) to be guarded to the Tower of London: and then he assembled a Parliament, in which (among sundry other things) were publikely proposed these ensuing Articles, concerning the evill government of the King.

The King is sent to the Tower.

Articles proposed in Parliament against the King.

1. *IMprimis, That he would not permit the said Duke of Hartford (who was so much wronged for his good advice and counsell touching the Kings Government) to fight the combate against the falsely accusing Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norfolke, and yet banished him unjustly for sixe yeeres.*
2. *Item, that albeit under the great Seale of his Kingdome hee had licenced the said Duke of Hartford, at his departure out of England, to make his Attorney to proceed for him in his causes*

of Law; yet (he being gone) the King would not permit any man to deale for him in his abſence.

3. Item, That very uncharitably he prohibited all his Nobilitie, and all others, to be ſuitors unto him for the ſaid Duke of Hartfords returne from his unjuſt baniſhment, upon the forfeiture of their lives and goods.

4. Item, That after the death of John of Gaunt, the Kings Uncle, father to the ſaid Duke, and Duke of Lancaſter, he had wrongfully ſeized into his hands all his moveables whatſoever, and had divided and ſhared them among his graceleſſe and wicked Counſellors; and had alſo (by like injuſtice) ſeized all the poſſeſſions of the ſaid Dutchie of Lancaſter (which rightfully did belong to the ſaid Duke of Hartford) into his owne hands, and kept the profits thereof to his owne uſe.

5. Item, That colourably, as a good friend to Thomas Arundell Archbiſhop of Canterbury (who was falſly accuſed of high treaſon to the King, as he ſate next to him in the Higher Houſe of Parliament) he perſwaded the ſaid Archbiſhop to make no anſwer at all in defence of the ſaid accuſation, nor repaire any more to the ſame houſe; proteſting, that neither the ſaid accuſation, nor his ſilence, nor his abſence, ſhould be hurtfull or prejudiciall unto him, and yet baniſhed him out of the Realme, not having examined the ſaid ſurmiſed Treaſon.

6. Item, That whereas his Chancellour had refuſed (in an unjuſt matter) to grant a prohibition under the great Seale of England; the King himſelfe, to pervert the due courſe of Juſtice and of Right, granted the ſaid prohibition under his privie Seale, and ſtreightly required that it ſhould be executed and obeyed.

7. Item, That moſt unnaturally and cruelly he had procured Thomas Mowbray to ſmother to death, betwixt two featherbeds, the Kings moſt noble and moſt renowned Uncle Thomas of Woodſtock, Duke of Gloceſter, when wrongfully, and without any good cauſe he was a priſoner at Callice; and afterwards dignified the ſaid murderer, firſt, with the Earledome of Nottingham, then with the Office of the Marſhall generall of England; and laſt of all made him Duke of Norfolke, he being altogether unworthy of ſo great honour.

8. Item, That the King, to further his laſt expedition for Ireland, without law, and without juſtice, tooke from the Clergie and many Religious Houſes, great ſtore of money, plate, jewels, and rich ornaments, not having the owners conſent ſo to doe.

9. Item,

9. Item, That in the ſame journey, without the approbation of his Councell of Eſtate, he carried with him into Ireland the plate and rich jewels belonging to the Crowne, which might have tended to the great impoveriſhment of this Realme.

10. Item, That in every Shire he had ſecret Intelligencers, upon whoſe bare information that any man had repined at the Kings bad government, the party ſo accuſed (without examination or triall) was enforced to procure his pardon by the payment of a grievous fine.

11. Item, That by the lewd advice of his wicked Counſellours he had deviſed many ſubtile and crafty Oathes, by meanes whereof many of his honeſt Subjects had beene undone.

12. Item, That by the like advice and counſell he procured Ruffians and deſperate companions to accuſe rich (but weake) men of ſundry falſly-ſuppoſed crimes, and imagined offences, and by meanes thereof enforced them to redeem the combate with much money.

13. Item, That he gave large gifts unto wicked and lewd companions, who maliciouſly (to advance their owne eſtates) animated him againſt divers of his Barons, who only deſired a good reformation of his evill government; and impoſed divers Taxes upon his people, to enrich them.

14. Item, That he had procured ſuch Records to be cancelled and imbeſelled, as teſtified his extortions, and his oppreſſions unjuſtly impoſed upon his people.

15. Item, That he had oftentimes ſaid, that the Lawes of his kingdome were in his owne breaſt, and that (upon this opinion) he had put to death many of his Noblemen, and ſome of his inferiour ſubjects, without juſt cauſe.

16. Item, That moſt of his writings and letters unto forrain Princes and Eſtates were ſo crafty, ambiguous, doubtfull, and uncertaine, that they could not relie confidently upon any thing which he had written.

17. Item, That in his Parliament holden in the one and twentieth yeere of his reigne, his Cheſhire Guard (who only were permitted and ſuffered to weare weapons) committed many robberies and murders, and yet not one of them was puniſhed or reproved for the ſame.

18. Item, That (to inſinuate favour with thoſe looſe and lewd companions) the King had baſely and fondly diſhonoured his high Eſtate and Soveraignty, by entitling himſelf Prince of Cheſhire.

19. Item,

19. *Item, That whereas in the ſame Parliament ſundry great Lords intended liberally and dutifully to have ſpoken of ſuch things as were not well ordered, to the end that they might have beene reformed; the King in ſuch ſort threatned them, that for feare of enſuing dangers they held themſelves ſilent, and ſpake not at all.*

20. *Item, That he exacted great fines from the wealthieſt of his Subjects for adhering to the Barons, notwithſtanding that in full Parliament he had before granted them his free pardon.*

21. *Item, That by himſelfe and his owne authority he had diſplaced divers Burgeſſes of the Parliament, and had placed ſuch other in their roomes as would better fit and ſerve his owne turne.*

22. *Item, That contrarie to his ſolemne Oath and Inſtrument in writing under the great Seale of his Kingdome, he had not only diſallowed the Commiſſion granted in the ſame Parliament to the thirteene Lords, to enquire of, and to reforme the great abuſes and the apparent miſ-government of the Common-weale; but alſo had exiled, beheaded, and otherwiſe executed, divers Noble men, and others, who for the Kings honour, and for the ſafetie and welfare of the Common-weale, had procured the ſaid Commiſsion, or had executed the ſaid authoritie, according to the truſt and confidence in them repoſed.*

23. *Item, That whereas he had cauſed certaine Lawes in the ſame Parliament to be made for his owne gaine, and to ſerve his own turne, he procured the Popes Buls to curſe ſuch as ſhould withſtand or diſobey them; which thing greatly tended to the derogation of his Crowne, and was done expreſly againſt his owne law made againſt the authoritie of the Pope within this Realm but ſeven yeeres before.*

24. *Item, That hee had diſplaced lawfull and good Sheriffes, and had elected others, whom hee ſuffered to continue and to hold the ſaid Office two yeeres together, and more; becauſe their unjuſt oppreſsions augmented and encreaſed his gaine.*

King Richard confeſſeth all the Articles. He reſignes his Crowne.

The tranſcript of all theſe Articles and Objections were by both the Houſes of Parliament authentically ſent unto the King, who not onely confeſſed them to be true, and acknowledged his owne inſufficiencie to rule and to governe better; but alſo by a plaine and exact Inſtrument in writing under his hand and ſeale he reſigned his Crowne and Kingdome to his couſin *Henrie* of *Bullingbrooke* Duke of Lancaſter: which being read publickly, and being generally ratified, approved, and confirmed by the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and by the Commons in the

ſame Parliament aſſembled, they depoſed King *Richard*, and made the ſaid Duke King. And his true and faithfull friend, and his companion in baniſhment, *Thomas Arundell* Archbiſhop of Canterburie (being then and there reſtored to his place and dignitie) inſtalled the ſaid *Henrie* in the Kingly Throne. And the late King *Richard* was ſent to Pomfret Caſtle, there to be ſafely kept, and with Princely honour to be maintained: but very ſhortly after (by the new Kings direction and commandement, who feared leſt his Eſtate might be ſhaken ſo long as *Richard* lived) he was wickedly and villanouſly aſſaulted in his lodging by Sir *Pierce Exton*, and eight other armed men; from one of which, with a Princely courage, he wreſted a browne Bill, and therewith ſlew foure of his miſchievous and ungodly aſſailants, and with admirable reſolution fought with all the reſt, untill comming by his own Chaire (in which the baſe cowardly Knight himſelfe ſtood for his owne ſafety) he was by him ſtricken with a Poll-axe in the hinder part of his head, ſo that preſently he fell downe and died. And thus was he wickedly and treacherouſly murdered, and his body buried at Langley; but was afterwards removed unto Weſtminſter, where it now lieth.

Henrie Duke of Lancaſter is made King.

King Richard is cruelly murdered.

Though he were an evill King, yet no religion warranted thoſe unjuſt proceedings.

THE

The right noble Prince Henry the 4th King of England and Fraunce Lord of Ireland &c Who died at the age of 46 yeares in Anno 1413 after he had raigned 13 yeares 6 moneths and 4 dayes and lieth buried at Canterbury

THE HISTORIE OF KING HENRIE THE FOURTH.

ALthough the Crowne of England in right (if *Richard* the depoſed King ſhould die without iſſue) was by ſucceſſion to deſcend unto *Edmund Mortimer* Earle of March (the ſon and heire of *Edmund Mortimer*, by *Philip* his wife, who was the daughter and heire of *Lionel* Duke of Clarence, the third ſon of *Edward* the Third) yet his Couſin *Henrie* of *Bullinbrook* Duke of Hartford, and ſon and heire unto *John* of *Gaunt*, the younger brother of the ſaid *Lionel*, was elected & crowned King. And forthwith he created his eldeſt ſon *Henrie*, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earle of Cheſter; and ſummoned his High Court of Parliament, in which an order was preſcribed and ſet down for the ſafe keeping, and for the honourable attendance and maintaining of *Richard* the late King. But his depoſing, impriſonment, and all the former proceedings which were had againſt him, were in the ſame Aſſembly publikely condemned and reproved by *John* Biſhop of Carlile, as hatefull unto God, traiterous towards the wronged King, and infamous among good men. For he averred boldly, That if he were not a good King, yet more injury was done unto him than ordinarily is done to murderers and to theeves; becauſe they are not (as he was) condemned before they had made their anſwer to the objected crime, before Judges which were indifferent, and pronounced their judgement upon good proofe. But as ſoone as he had ended his ſpeech, he was attached by the Earle Marſhall, and committed to ſtrait priſon in the Abbey of Saint Albons. And then (among many other things in the ſame Parliament done) the Crowne of England was entailed to King *Henrie*, and to his heires for ever.

ANNO 1. 1399.

John Biſhop of Carlile condemneth the former proceedings againſt King Richard.

As ſoone as this Parliament was ended, ſuch of the greateſt Lords, as made the faireſt ſhew of publike applauſe and joy for the high dignity which King *Henry* did poſſeſſe, conſpired by Treaſon to take away his life at a ſolemne Juſts to be holden in the City of Oxford; whereunto

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unto the King was invited, and promiſed to be preſent, becauſe he conceived that the ſame Triumph was ſo appointed for his honour, and for his delight.

This treachery was cunningly plotted and contrived by the Conſpirators, who by Indentures under their hands and ſeales had bound themſelves each unto other, both for ſecrecie, and alſo for the reſolute effecting and performing thereof; all which they ſolemnly confirmed by their oathes.

The Confederates in this Treaſon, were the Kings Couſin German *Edward Plantagenet* Duke of Aumarle, ſon and heire apparent to *Edmund* of *Langley* Duke of Yorke; *Thomas Holland* Duke of Surrey; and *John Holland* his brother, Duke of Exeter, both which were halfe brothers to King *Richard*; *John Mountague* Earle of Salisburie, *Hugh Spencer* Earle of Gloceſter, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, and one *Magdalen*, who was ſometimes a Chamber-waiter to the depoſed King, and both in ſtature, and in countenance, and in his behaviour was not much unlike him.

The Treaſon was ſtrangely diſcovered.

All theſe Conſpirators (the Duke of Aumarle only excepted) met at Oxford at the appointed time, being ſtrongly guarded, and honourably attended by luſty Archers, and other valiant men. But the abſence of the ſaid Duke was by his Aſſociates wondred at, for which there was good cauſe. For as he ſate at Table with the Duke his father, one Label of a part of the ſaid Indentures appeared at his boſome, by which the old Duke drew forth the whole writing. And having read the ſame, he cauſed his horſe to be made ready, becauſe he intended (with all poaſting ſpeed) to make this newes knowne unto the King. But his guilty and perplexed ſon (perceiving that his Father would reveale this ſecret, and knowing that now the leaſt delay might extraordinarily haſten his danger) being bravely mounted, with all celerity he out-rode his father, and came to Windſor Caſtle to the King (who was preparing for his ſaid journey) and without any tedious diſcourſe, or lingring ceremonies, he revealed to his Majeſtie the whole conſpired Treaſon, and freely obtined his owne pardon.

The Duke of Aumarle confeſſeth all to the King.

It now behoved the King to change his courſe; and ſo he did: for preſently he rode to the Tower of London, where he tooke a preſent and a perfect view of all ſuch things as were behoofefull and neceſſarie to an Armie.

And then he levied a ſtrong power, purpoſing to defend himſelfe, and to ſurpriſe thoſe grand Traitours, if he might. But when the Conſpirators were informed that all their Plot and Treaſon was revealed, they cauſed the ſaid *Magdalen* to be attired in Royall Robes, and to faine and affirme himſelfe to be King *Richard*. And with him, and all their Troupes (which were very warlike and ſtrong) they marched towards London, reſolving to oppoſe themſelves in the field againſt the King.

Magdalen was King Richards counterfeit.

The King marcheth towards the Traitors.

But King *Henrie* (knowing that thoſe Lords both in bloud and for their power were more than ordinarily great) was not ignorant that his beſt meanes to repreſſe and vanquiſh them conſiſted in the quickeſt expedition and diſpatch which hee could make. Wherefore with a bold

a bold and with a kingly courage hee marched ſpeedily towards them, with twenty thouſand well armed ſouldiers.

The newes of the Kings approach being voiced among the companies which were conducted by the Conſpiratours, ſo perplexed and ſo amazed them, that very cowardly they ran away, and left thoſe Lords comfortleſſe and deſtitute of all aide: ſo that the moſt of them were apprehended, and not long after were put to death in ſundry places of this kingdome; and the reſt being ſurcharged and over-burdened with feare and ſorrow, not long after died.

The Lords flye and are taken and executed.

Thus was King *Henry* happily delivered from this danger. And leſt the like treaſon for King *Richards* ſake might at another time be attempted againſt his perſon, hee cauſed him to bee murdered in the caſtle of Pomfret, as in the end of the diſcourſe deſcribing his reigne and hiſtory, more particularly it doth appeare. When the French King *Charles* the ſixt, Father-in-law to King *Richard*, was truely informed what had been done in England, he was much grieved at the inſufferable wrongs which were done unto him; and did intend, as a faithfull friend in his extremities, to relieve his lamentable eſtate, and to be pitied miſeries. And for that purpoſe he ſent his letters of defiance to King *Henry*, and brought an army royall into Picardy, with which he reſolved to make ſharp warre within this Realme.

But when he certainly knew that the poore, diſtreſſed, and afflicted King was dead, and that it was too late to doe him any good, he diſſolved his army, and proceeded no farther in that buſineſſe. Yet to revenge thoſe wrongs, hee was very hopefull to ſurpriſe many townes, cities, and caſtles in Aquitaine and in Guyan. And to effect the ſame, not long after hee levied other forces, encreaſing them to a great army: and King *Henry* to withſtand them did the like. But the Engliſh army landing in thoſe countries before the French King was in a readineſſe: and being boldly commanded and conducted by the Lord *Percie* Earle of Worceſter, unto Sir *Thomas Knowles* the King of Englands Lievtenant there: and they having taken the fealtie and the homage of the Lords of thoſe Provinces, for their obedience and allegeance unto King *Henry*, cauſed the French King to change his minde, and diſhonourably to diſband all ſuch companies as hee had levied. Yet for all this, King *Henry* ſtill diſtruſting the weakneſſe of his uſurped title, and endevouring to ſupport it with a more ſure foundation, entreated the French King *Charles* the ſixt, to give in marriage his daughter *Iſabel*, ſometime King *Richards* wife, unto his eldeſt ſonne *Henry* Prince of Wales. But her father obſerving that marriages betwixt England and France were but ſeldome fortunate, denied the Kings requeſt: whereupon ſhee was conveyed into France with princely attendance and great honour. And not long after ſhe was married to her Couſin *Charles*, the eldeſt ſonne of *Lewis* Duke of Orleance her Unkle.

Marriages with France are ſeldome fortunate.

The aforeſaid Treaſon, conſpired againſt the King by the aforeſaid Lords; and the late preparations of the French King, firſt to have invaded the kingdome of England; and ſecondly, to have wrought wonders in Aquitaine, and in Guyan; and the frequent ſpeeches which every where were uttered, touching the manner of the Kings attaining to the

Crowne, animated the Welshmen and the Scots to shew themselves troublesome neighbours unto the King.

For in Wales, *Owen Glendor* a bold Squire, with many hundreds of his lawlesse and uncivill companions, entred into armes, and did much harme in the Marches which bordered neere unto them. Against whom the Lord *Gray* of Ruthen, and *Edmund Mortimer*, who was the true and rightfull heire of the Crowne, conducted their forces, and fought with him. But they were both taken prisoners, and the said *Edmund* was by him kept close in a darke dungeon, which was both cold and unhealthy, where hee was overburdened with daily wants and much misery. All which were with the greater extremitie laid upon him, because King *Henry* his Cousin should be enforced the sooner to redeeme him with a great ransome. Wherein (because the King was too too slacke and negligent) he was entreated and urged by his Lords, but especially by the distressed Earles kinsmen, the *Percies*. But unto them all he turned the deafe eare, rather desiring his destruction, than holding it safe for him to set him free.

Edmund Mortimer taken prisoner.

The Scots also invaded the Northern parts of this kingdome: but King *Henry* with a puissant army entred into their countrey, and revenged his wrongs every where with fire and sword at his owne pleasure. But because the winter was extraordinarily wet and cold, hee dissolved his army, and with great honour victoriously he returned backe.

The Scots invade.

But as soone as he was gone, the angry Scots being in number twenty thousand at the least, entred with barbarous cruelty into England upon the Northumbers, but were gallantly encountred by Sir *Henry Hot-spur*, the son and heire apparent of *Henry Percy* Earle of that Province: who with ten thousand lusty and brave men gave the Scots such a bloody overthrow, that he slew of them more than ten thousand in the field, and tooke above five hundred Prisoners: among whom *Mordacke* Earle of *Fyffe*, *Archibald* Earle *Douglasse*, *Thomas* Earle of *Murrey*, and *Robert* Earle of *Angus* were the chiefe.

Henry Hotspur overthroweth them.

ANNO 1. The next yeere following, the French King sent for Wales to assist *Owen Glendor* in his rebellious enterprises, twelve hundred Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen of good account, that they might be Leaders and directors to those disordered traytors. But the windes not being answerable to their desires, were so contrary at the sea, and a storme so violently encreased, that twelve of their greatest ships, with all their men and furniture, were swallowed into the sea; and the rest with great difficulty returned into France.

The French-men spoiled by a storme at sea.

This misfortune so animated the English nation, that they began every where to talke of and to jest at the French King, because all his warlike expeditions had still beene unfortunate and disastrous, and though they threatned much, yet alwaies they vanished as a cloud. The report whereof so whetted and exasperated his resolutions to doe some memorable service, that forthwith hee sent unto the said rebelling Welchmen an army of twelve thousand men: who safely landed and joyned with ten thousand of that nation.

Twelve thousand French-men sent into Wales.

This army occasioned King *Henry* to prepare soundly for his safety. For hee was well assured, that if any neglect, or want of skill or of courage,

rage, ſhould give them the leaſt advantage whatſoever, then his Crown would bee ſhaken, and many miſeries would threaten his overthrow. Wherefore he in his own perſon marched with a ſtrong and with a complete armie into Wales. But as ſoon as the Frenchmen had certain notice of his comming, they thought it was high time for them to adviſe what courſe to take: perchance not becauſe they were diſtruſtfull of their own valour and reſolution, but becauſe the inconſtancy of that turbulent and fickle nation, when danger did appeare, affrighted them fully with feares and with doubts, leſt they would flie into the Woods, and craggie Mountaines, and forſake them, when they ſhould crave the beſt performance of their helpe. And ſo ſtrongly did this doubtfull feare poſſeſſe them, that ſuddenly, like men amazed, and heartleſſe, they ran unto their ſhips: and not having performed any manner of ſervice whatſoever, diſgracefully and cowardly they returned into France.

Hereupon the Welſh rebels deſperately ſhifting for themſelves, fled every man his owne way; ſo that King *Henry* found thoſe traiterous multitudes diſperſed and quite vaniſhed, and would not be fought with. Wherefore hee diſſolved his great army, and returned in peace without blowes.

The King marrieth the Dutcheſſe of Britaine.

Afterwards King *Henry* took to wife *Jane*, the widow of *John* the deceaſed Duke of Britaine, and gave *Blanch* his eldeſt daughter in marriage unto *William* Duke of Bavier, the ſonne and heire apparent of the Emperour *Lewes* of Bavier.

And ſome few yeeres after he matched *Philip* his youngeſt daughter with the King of Denmark. For his daily troubles and turmoiles at home, gave him advice to make himſelfe more ſtrong, by procuring of great friends abroad.

ANNO 3.

The King requireth the Percies to deliver to him their Scottiſh Priſoners.

In the third yeere of his reigne hee required *Henry Percie* Earle of Worceſter, *Henry Percie* Earle of Northumberland, and *Henry Hotſpur* his ſonne, to deliver unto him ſuch Scottiſh priſoners as they had taken in thoſe laſt warres. But they affirmed ſtoutly, that by the lawes of armes and chivalrie thoſe priſoners belonged unto them; and thereupon they refuſed to deliver them unto the King. By meanes whereof ſome unkindneſſe grew betwixt the King and them, which not long after was made apparent to the world. For the *Percies* now began to reſolve upon the reſtoring of their inthralled Couſin *Edmund Mortimer* Earle of March, both unto his liberty, and alſo to his Crowne: and to depoſe King *Henry*, if by any meanes and endevours they could bring their purpoſes to paſſe. Yet for a time they concealed their intent, and making none other ſhew but of naturall kindneſſe and friendſhip to the ſaid Earle, in regard of their affinity and kinred, earneſtly prayed the King to ranſome him and to ſet him free, becauſe he was unfortunately taken in his ſervice, and was oppreſſed with much miſery. But the King not hearkening to their ſuite, nor indeed deſiring that he ſhould be enlarged, made anſwer, and cauſed it to bee proclaimed, That the ſaid Earle had voluntarily cauſed himſelfe to bee taken priſoner, ſo that the Rebels having him in their cuſtodie and company, might pretend ſome colour, therewith to varniſh ſuch conſpiracies and treaſons, as ſecretly they had plotted and contrived againſt his Crowne and him: and that therefore

The Percies reſolve to ſet Edmund Mortimer at libertie.

his owne ſafety, and his good diſcretion, gave him advice and counſell not to hearken to their motion, but to puniſh his offence.

Anno 4. Sir Edmund Mortimer is ranſomed by the Percies. Owen Glendor conſpireth with the Percies.

The *Percies* having received this anſwer, and being much grieved with the ſaid Proclamation, and being reſolved no longer to delay and to deferre the enlargement of the ſaid Earle, paid his ranſome to *Owen Glendor*, and redeemed him at their owne coſt: and ſecretly entred into ſuch a league or friendſhip and familiarity with *Owen Glendor*, that he faithfully promiſed to ſtick unto them ſtoutly, whenſoever they would attempt the depoſing of King *Henry*.

And then the ſaid Lords *Percies*, being by reaſon of their Scottiſh priſoners aſſiſted with a multitude of warlike Scots, joyned unto their part the Earle of Stafford, and *Richard Scrope* Archbiſhop of Yorke, brother to the beheaded Earle of Salisbury, and many others; who encreaſed their numbers with Engliſhmen, and purpoſed to joyne with *Owen Glender* and his Welſh conſorts in the depoſing of the King: againſt whom by way of accuſation they framed certaine Articles, which they publiſhed, and ſent them to him in writing, to this effect.

Articles againſt King Henry.

1. *Imprimis, That when he came into England from his baniſhment, he tooke an oath onely to challenge and to recover his inheritance, and his wives; and not to intermeddle with the King, nor with the Crowne. By reaſon of which oath, divers loyall and good Subjects to King Richard reſorted unto him, not having a treaſonable intent. But when he perceived that his ſtrength was ſo much encreaſed, that hee might doe what hee pleaſed, hee wickedly brake his oath, and without any title or right he procured himſelfe to be made and to be crowned King.*
2. *Item, that not onely as an Arch-Traitor hee had impriſoned his naturall and undoubted Lord and Maſter King Richard, but had cauſed him wickedly and traiterouſly to be murdered, that with greater ſecurity he might enjoy his Crowne and his Kingdome.*
3. *Item, that ever ſince the death of King Richard, he had unjuſtly kept the Kingdome and the Crowne from his Couſin Edmund Mortimer Earle of March, who was the ſonne and heire of Philip, the daughter and heire of Lionell Duke of Clarence, elder brother to John of Gaunt father to the uſurping King.*
4. *Item, that when no want or need compelled him, he had impoſed divers Subſidies and Taxes upon the people, to their great griefe and diſcontentment: of which they willingly would, but dare not complaine.*

5. *Item,*

5. *Item, that no juſtice could be expected at his hand, becauſe contrary to the oath which he tooke when he was crowned, he had by letters written and ſent into ſundry ſhires, procured certain Burgeſhips for the Parliament: all which he beſtowed upon ſuch as would not faile to ſerve his turne when opportunity did ſerve.*

6. *And laſtly, that whereas in honour and for affinities ſake hee ought to have ranſomed and redeemed his ſaid Couſin the Earle of March from his ſtrait and loathſome impriſonment; and the rather, for that he was earneſtly ſolicited ſo to doe: he not onely denied the ſaid requeſt, but falſly and untruly publiſhed and proclaimed, that the Earle himſelfe was of his owne accord become a voluntary priſoner, to the end that the Traitors and Rebels joyning with him, might have ſomewhat wherewith they might colour ſuch Treaſons as they would conſpire againſt him.*

For all which cauſes, and many others more, they utterly defied him as a Traitor, and as an Uſurper, and as an enemie they vowed his deſtruction, and the reſtoring of the ſaid Earle to his right. The Percies do defie the King.

The King perceiving that nothing but ſtrong blowes could end this ſtrife: and being perſwaded that if he became victorious in this rebellion, he ſhould bereave all his enemies of all hope to prevaile in the like attempts, had levied a ſtrong army; with which he marched courageouſly againſt thoſe Lords, hoping to meet with them before they ſhould joine their forces with the Welſhmen: and ſo great was his care, that he failed not therein of his purpoſe. For both their armies met neere unto Shrewsbury; and in their firſt encounter the Scots gave a brave onſet upon the King. But with ſuch hardy violence he received them, that almoſt in a moment the greateſt part of them were ſlaine. The King raiſeth an army. The battell of Shrewsbury.

Yet notwithſtanding, the Lords and their army ſtoutly performed their taske, and fought with ſuch admired courage and reſolution, that they perſwaded themſelves of good ſucceſſe; untill the King and the martiall Prince his ſonne (determining by honourable death rather to bee ſubdued, than to become the laughing ſtockes of adverſe and froward fortune) redoubled their ſtrength and valour: and by their particular examples each to the other, they ſo renewed the fight, that Sir *Henry Hoſpurre*, and ſome others of the principall Leaders of thoſe companies, and many thouſands more were ſlaine; and his Uncle the Earle of Worceſter was taken priſoner in the field, and the reſt fled. And ſo the King, with the loſſe of ſixteene hundred of his ſouldiers, having ſlaine more than ſixe thouſand of his enemies (of which thirty and ſixe fell by his owne ſword) obtained a famous victory. And becauſe the Earle *Douglas* in a ſingle combat with the King himſelfe, performed the part of an approved and of a worthy Knight, the King granted him his liberty without ranſome. The Percies are overthrowne.

The next day following, the King and all his armie with great devotion and reverence gave thankes unto Almighty God for their good and Thankſgiving unto God.

honourable ſucceſſe: and then he cauſed the Earle of Worceſter to bee beheaded; and many others, being ring-leaders in that rebellion, to bee drawne, hanged, and quartered, and did ſet their heads upon London bridge.

The Prince marcheth into Wales.

And the King intending forthwith to purſue and proſecute his good fortunes; for the ſurer ſetling of his eſtate in future times, ſent the Prince of Wales, and his whole army into Wales. But when he came thither, his chiefeſt enemy *Owen Glendor* was utterly forſaken by his whole companies, and ſhrowded himſelfe in the woods: and being compaſſed round about by the Princes forces (who eagerly hunted to apprehend him) hee was miſerably famiſhed to death; and many of his aſſociates being taken, were put to death: and then the Prince returned joyfully to the King.

The Earle of Northumberlands voluntary ſubmiſſion.

Now whileſt the Prince was thus buſied in Wales, *Henry Percy* Earle of Northumberland, came of his owne accord and ſubmitted himſelfe to the Kings mercy; proteſting and ſwearing with many oaths, that he was never made acquainted, nor intermedled in thoſe Treaſons. And though the King conceived not the leaſt thought that might excuſe him, yet for that time hee entertained him with ſmooth words, and with a ſmiling countenance, and ſuffered him to come and to goe at his pleaſure, becauſe he had in his poſſeſſion the caſtle of Barwicke, and other places of great ſtrength.

A challenge ſent by the Duke of Orleance to King Henry.

When all theſe troubles had found an end, *Lewis* Duke of Orleance, brother to the French King (being proud and vaine-glorious) ſent a challenge to King *Henry*, requiring him with one hundred choſen men at armes of his kingdome, in ſome indifferent and convenient place, to fight with him, and with the like number of Frenchmen, for honours ſake.

King Henries diſcreet anſwer.

But the King with great diſcretion and wiſedome made him this anſwer: That his former actions in warlike employments could cleerely acquit him from the infamous name and title of a coward: And that Kings ought not to be ſo careleſſe of their countries and of their people, whom God had committed unto their charge and government, as to fight for any cauſe, except it were for the furtherance, or for the maintenance of true Religion; or in defence of their rights, or to defend their kingdomes from forraine enemies, or to revenge their wrongs, and for ſuch like important cauſes. And alſo, that a Soveraigne and an annointed King, by the Lawes of Armes and of Honour was not bound to anſwer any challenge in the field, except it were made upon good cauſe, by his equall in dignity and in office. And yet he further added this, That hee would at all times be very ready to repulſe and to repreſſe any violence or wrong, which the Duke ſhould dare raſhly or unadviſedly at any time to attempt againſt him, or any of his people.

The Duke being over-paſſionate, when hee received this diſcreet and mild anſwer, with all expedition beſieged the towne of Vergie in Guyan, and remained there for the ſpace of three moneths, and ſomewhat more. In which time he offered many ſharpe aſſaults, and much violence; but received as many ſtout repulſes as hee could well endure. And in the end, having loſt many of his beſt men and chiefeſt friends, he was compelled diſgracefully to raiſe his ſiege, and to returne into France.

The

The Duke of *Burgoine* also (supposing that the instability of King *Henries* estate at home could not permit him to leave his kingdome and to warre abroad) obtained leave of the French King to attempt the regaining of Callice to the French. For which purpose he procured a puissant army, in which he had six thousand valiant men at armes, fifteen hundred Crosbowes, and twelve thousand ordinary Souldiers on foot. But when the French Kings Councell were informed of the great preparations made in England by King *Henry* to defeat them, and had maturely considered of the difficulty, yea almost of the impossibility of this attempt, the said Duke was commanded to desist from his intended service: whereat he was much grieved, and did conjecture that the proud Duke of *Orleans*, and some others, had discouraged the King in that businesse, because they were jealous that by his valour hee would win too much honour and renowne.

The Duke of Burgoine attempteth the regaining of Callice.

Experience teacheth us, that as the highest trees are subject most to be hurt by a storme, so the greatest Estates are in greatest danger to be shaken by envie. An evident proofe thereof appeared plainly in the whole course of this Kings reigne: For no sooner was hee freed from one mischiefe, but incontinently he was threatned by another. And though hee had now escaped the great danger of two former treasons and rebellions, and had been victorious over the Scots and Welsh Rebels, and had outfaced the French, who (if they had dared) would have attempted high atchievements at Callice, and in Aquitaine, and in Guyan: yet was hee now againe in hazzard to have been turmoiled with another civill warre at home; which secretly was plotted and contrived by *Henry Percy* Earle of Northumberland, *Richard Scrope* Archbishop of York, *Thomas Mowbray* Earle Marshall, and by the Lords *Hastings*, *Faulconbridge*, and *Bardolfe*, and by divers others.

ANNO 6. A new rebellion secretly plotted, but discovered.

But as in such like cases it often falleth out, so this traiterous conspiracie was secretly revealed to the King: who came so unexpectedly with an armie into the North, that ere any man reported the newes of his comming, he surprised the said Lords (the Earle of Northumberland and the Lord *Bardolfe* excepted) and strake off their heads. But the said Earle fled into France, from whence he came afterwards into Scotland, where hee was promised to bee aided against the King. But to prevent such mischiefes as those intendments did threaten, the Prince of Wales was sent into Scotland with an armie; where hee burnt and spoiled without controlment at his owne will and pleasure, and recovered to the Kings use the Castles of Barwick and of Anwicke; and enforced the Scots to crave a truce, which was granted them for a few moneths: and the Prince returned to the King.

The King sodainly surpriseth the Traytors.

The Prince warreth in Scotland prosperously.

And now it chanced that as King *Henry* passed over the river of Thames from Kent into Essex, under the conduct of the Lord of *Camois*, he was almost taken by the French Pirates: for which cause the said Lord was suspected, and attached as a traitour, and received his due triall by his Peeres: but was cleerely acquitted of that offence, and received into favour.

In the ninth yeere of this Kings reigne, the Earle of Northumberland, and the Lord *Bardolfe* (animating the Scots to a new warre) entred with them

them into Northumberland, and did much miſchiefe: whereupon King *Henry* levied a ſtrong armie, and by great journies travailed to encounter them. But before his comming forth they were fought with, and overthrowne by Sir *Ralfe Rokesby* then Sheriffe of that countie, who tooke the ſaid Lords and many others, and ſmote off their heads, and ſent them for preſents to the King.

In the eleventh yeere of his reigne hee aſſembled his High Court of Parliament: in which he created his three younger ſonnes, *Thomas*, Duke of Clarence; *John*, Duke of Bedford; and *Humfrey* Duke of Glocester; and enacted many lawes which were helpfull and profitable to this common-weale.

And from that time forth untill he died he enjoyed a happy peace, and reſted from all hoſtility and warres both at home and abroad. And to expreſſe his thankfulneſſe to God for all his goodneſſe and great bounty towards him, he made great and coſtly preparations of men, money, victuals, and armour, and ſhips, and all other things requiſite and needfull; and purpoſed to have waged warres with the Turkes in the Holy-Land. But whileſt he buſily imployed himſelf in thoſe affaires, he was attached by a deadly Apoplexy: and being neere his laſt end, he cauſed his Crown to be placed by him upon his pillow, leſt peradventure in his extremitie of ſickneſſe it might bee delivered to ſome other, who had better right thereto than he had. But when his attendants verily ſuppoſed that he was dead, the young Prince of Wales ſeized upon his Crowne: whereat the King ſtarted up, and raiſing himſelfe upon his armes, he demanded who it was that had taken away his Crown. The Prince anſwered, that it was he: and then he fell backe into his bed, and fetching a deep ſigh, and ſending forth many penſive groanes; My ſonne (quoth he) my ſonne, what right I had unto this Crowne, and how I have injoyed it, God knoweth, and the world hath ſeene. Comfort your ſelfe in God, good father, ſaid the Prince; the Crowne you have, and if you dye I will have it, and keep it with my ſword as you have done. And within a ſhort time after King *Henry* died, in the ſixe and fortieth yeere of his age, when he had reigned almoſt foureteene yeeres: and his body was carried to Canterbury, where with all Princely and due requiſites it was buried.

The King prepareth to war in the Holy-land.

The King falleth ſicke.

The King dieth.

THE

HENRY the V. began his reigne, the 20 of March, and was crowned at Westminster the 9. of April following 1413. He reigned gloriously 9 yeres, 5 monthes. he died in the Castle of Boys Vincent by Paris, the 1. of September. 1422. and lieth intombed in the Abbey of S^t Peters at Westminster being of the age of 36 yeares when he departed this world

R. E. sculp.

THE HISTORIE OF KING HENRY THE FIFT.

IT is well knowne that King *Henry* the fifth, whileſt he was but a Prince, aſſociated to himſelfe divers unthrifty and lewd companions; by whoſe inſtigation (among many other unworthy paſſages in his fathers daies) hee ſmote the Lord chiefe Juſtice of England in the face: for which offence hee was impriſoned and diſmiſſed of the Preſidentſhip of the Kings Councell, and (to his great griefe and diſgrace)

1. 1412 A wild Prince, but a wiſe King.

them into Northumberland, and did much miſchiefe: whereupon King *Henry* levied a ſtrong armie, and by great journies travailed to encounter them. But before his comming forth they were fought with, and overthrowne by Sir *Ralfe Rokesby* then Sheriffe of that countie, who tooke the ſaid Lords and many others, and ſmote off their heads, and ſent them for preſents to the King.

In the eleventh yeere of his reigne hee aſſembled his High Court of Parliament: in which he created his three younger ſonnes, *Thomas*, Duke of Clarence; *John*, Duke of Bedford; and *Humfrey* Duke of Glocester; and enacted many lawes which were helpfull and profitable to this common-weale.

And from that time forth untill he died he enjoyed a happy peace, and reſted from all hoſtility and warres both at home and abroad. And to expreſſe his thankfulneſſe to God for all his goodneſſe and great bounty towards him, he made great and coſtly preparations of men, money, victuals, and armour, and ſhips, and all other things requiſite and needfull; and purpoſed to have waged warres with the Turkes in the Holy-Land. But whileſt he buſily imployed himſelf in thoſe affaires, he was attached by a deadly Apoplexy: and being neere his laſt end, he cauſed his Crown to be placed by him upon his pillow, leſt peradventure in his extremitie of ſickneſſe it might bee delivered to ſome other, who had better right thereto than he had. But when his attendants verily ſuppoſed that he was dead, the young Prince of Wales ſeized upon his Crowne: whereat the King ſtarted up, and raiſing himſelfe upon his armes, he demanded who it was that had taken away his Crown. The Prince anſwered, that it was he: and then he fell backe into his bed, and fetching a deep ſigh, and ſending forth many penſive groanes; My ſonne (quoth he) my ſonne, what right I had unto this Crowne, and how I have injoyed it, God knoweth, and the world hath ſeene. Comfort your ſelfe in God, good father, ſaid the Prince; the Crowne you have, and if you dye I will have it, and keep it with my ſword as you have done. And within a ſhort time after King *Henry* died, in the ſixe and fortieth yeere of his age, when he had reigned almoſt foureteene yeeres: and his body was carried to Canterbury, where with all Princely and due requiſites it was buried.

The King prepareth to war in the Holy-land.

The King falleth ſicke.

The King dieth.

THE

HENRY the V. began his reigne the 20 of March, and was crowned at Westminster the 9. of Aprill following 1413. He reigned gloriously 9 yeres. 5 monthes. he died in the Castle of Boys Vincent by Paris, the 1. of September. 1422. and lieth intombed in the Abbey of S.t Peters at Westminster being of the age of 36 yeares when he departed this world

R. E. sculp.

THE HISTORIE OF KING HENRY THE FIFT.

IT is well knowne that King *Henry* the fifth, whilest he was but a Prince, associated to himselfe divers unthrifty and lewd companions; by whose instigation (among many other unworthy passages in his fathers daies) hee smote the Lord chiefe Justice of England in the face: for which offence hee was imprisoned and dismissed of the Presidentship of the Kings Councell, and (to his great griefe and disgrace)

1. 1412: A wild Prince, but a wise King.

diſgrace) was ſucceeded therein by *Thomas* Duke of Clarence, his younger brother. But when hee was crowned King, he diſpoſed himſelfe into a new courſe, qualifying his behaviour with ſuch heroicall vertues, as might beſeeme both his Perſon and his Honour, and baniſhed from his Court his looſe and baſe conſorts, after he had enabled them to live by ſuch gifts as were proportionable to their callings. Hee alſo elected for his Councell, and into places of Juſtice and publike Government, ſuch as were wiſe, diſcreet, learned, and temperate; well able to rule themſelves, and to command others. He painefully laboured to reforme pride, covetouſneſſe, and ſuch other groſſe abuſes as were crept into the Church among the Clergy; and enjoyned them ſtrictly to frequent praier and preaching, to Hoſpitality, and to the ſincere ſerving of Almightie God. And (by the adminiſtration of his Lawes with moderate ſeveritie) he made the Laitie tractable in the performance of their duties. And (to ſettle his Eſtate in peace and in tranquilitie at home, ſo that neither the Scots nor the Welſhmen ſhould moleſt him when hee was buſied in his Warres abroad) hee erected divers Caſtles, Bulwarkes, and other Fortifications upon their frontiers; and ſo diſpoſed of them, that with many thouſands of able men, and skilfull Captaines to command them, hee was ſtill ready and powerfull, with great violence and force, to ſuppreſſe and qualifie ſuch rebellious inſurrections as they might make.

He baniſheth his looſe companions.

He erecteth Caſtles in the frontiers of Scotland and of Wales.

In the firſt yeere of his Reigne, with great pompe and ſolemnitie, he brought the body of King *Richard* the Second from Langley unto Weſtminſter, and buried it by Queen *Anne*, his firſt wife.

2

1413. A motion in Parliament to ſuppreſſe Religious Houſes.

In the ſecond yeere, hee held his High Court of Parliament at Leiceſter: in which, he was importunately petitioned to ſuppreſſe the Religious Houſes of this Kingdome: becauſe they being ill uſed, were made the Nurſeries of idleneſſe, gluttony, lecherie, and of pride; and were the Cages of uncleane birds. The revenewes which belonged to thoſe Houſes were proportioned to yeeld unto the Kings Coffers the annuall rent of twenty thouſand pounds: and would alſo (for the encreaſe of the Kings power and ſtrength) maintaine fifteene Earles, fifteene hundred Knights, and more than ſixe thouſand men at Armes; beſides a great number of Almes-houſes for the poores reliefe.

The Clergies policy to quench this fire.

To divert this ſtreame into another Channell, the fat Abbots, Priors, idle Monkes, wanton Friars, and the puling Nunnes, procured *Henry Chicheſley*, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in a very learned and excellent Oration, to diſcover to the King his right and his title to the Crowne of France; to refreſh him with confident hopes of good ſucceſſe; to direct him into a courſe anſwerable to his hopes; and (in the Clergies behalfe, and for the furtherance of thoſe Warres) to offer unto the King an incredible maſſe of mony as their free and as their franke gift.

This motion and this buſineſſe was ſo much applauded by the King, his Nobles, and the inferiour ſorts of his people; and the great ſumme of mony which was offered, ſo well contented them all, that the ſaid Petition was thereby lulled faſt aſleepe; and nothing was now debated and ſpoken of, but the meanes how England might recover France.

This Parliament being ended, the Duke of Exeter, Uncle to the King, the

the Archbiſhop of Dublin, the Lord *Gray* high Admirall of England, and the Biſhop of Norwich (being attended with five hundred Horſe) were ſent Embaſſadours to the French King *Charles* the ſixt. By theſe the King required the peaceable delivery of that Kingdome; together with the whole Dutchies of Aquitain, Normandy, and of Anjou; and the Countries of Poytou and of Mayne: and made this offer, That if (without the effuſion of their peoples blood) the French King would yeeld to his demands, hee then would be pleaſed to take to his wife the Lady *Katherine* his daughter, and would endow her with all the ſaid Dutchies and Provinces, and would be tractable to all things tending to the French Kings honour and eſtate. But if hee refuſed to deliver him his Patrimonie and inheritance without blowes, then hee aſſured him, that he would attempt the gayning of them by his Sword: and would, in thoſe Countries, afflict thoſe people with ſuch oppreſſions, as were too too rife and common in the Warre.

Embaſſadors ſent to require the Crowne of France.

The unexpected ſtrangeneſſe of this motion and quicke meſſage ſo amazed the French King and his Nobilitie, that without found and good deliberation they were unable to returne any anſwer: but craved a longer time; with promiſe, ſhortly to ſend his Embaſſadours, concerning that buſineſſe, to the King. But the Dolphin deſpiſing the youth of King *Henrie*, and holding him unfit to attempt a matter of ſo high a conſequence, ſent unto him (as a preſent) a Tun of Tennis Balls: inſinuating thereby, that it was more agreeable to his yeeres to ſport himſelfe among nimble lads in a Tennis Court, than to dreame of the winning of ſo potent a Kingdome as France was.

The Dolphin ſcoffeth the King.

The King, although otherwiſe he would have beene perſwaded by reaſon kindly to have cenſured of the French Kings requeſt, and of his promiſe, yet becauſe the Dolphin ſo baſely ſcorned him, proteſted in his angry moode, that ere many moneths ſhould bee ſpent, hee would (if God aſſiſted him) toſſe ſo many balls of Iron within that Kingdome, that the ſtrongeſt Rackers in France ſhould be too weake to returne them. For this purpoſe, hee levied a ſtrong and a puiſſant Armie: whereof when the Dolphin had intelligence (becauſe the charge of thoſe affaires, by reaſon of the French Kings weakeneſſe and infirmitie, was committed to his care and providence) hee ſent Embaſſadours to King *Henrie*, to informe him, That if he would deſiſt from his purpoſe, and would live in amitie and in peace with that Nation, and would take his ſiſter, the Lady *Katherine*, to his wife, he then ſhould have and receive with her a large ſumme of money, with ſome ſmall Territories and poſſeſſions in that Kingdome.

The King couragious ſpeech.

The Dolphins motion for peace.

Thoſe Embaſſadours were honourably received, kindly entertained, and royally feaſted by the King, at his owne table. But for an anſwer he returned, That except the French King (with his ſaid daughter) would give unto him the Dutchies of Aquitaine, Normandie, Anjou, and all other ſmall Seigniories, to him and to his Crowne juſtly appertaining and belonging, he would not disband his armie, nor wave his title to the Crowne of France; but would attempt by fire and ſword to win it if he might.

King Henries anſwer.

Aſſoone as the French Embaſſadours were departed, the King (who

propoſed

ANNO 31 1414.

King Henrie defieth the King of France.

propoſed none other end to his endevours, but an aſſured truſt in God, and in a thouſand hopes of conqueſt and of victorie) placed a ſtrong power upon the marches of Scotland, to keepe them in order in his abſence. And having throughly furniſhed himſelfe and his army, with all needfull preparations, and having made the Queene his mother the Regent of his Kingdome, and aſſiſted her with a grave, and with a prudent Councell, hee ſent his letters of defiance to the French King, and began with great alacritie and courage, to proceed in this his royall journey.

Treaſon againſt King Henrie.

But as greateſt dangers are then moſt frequent, when ſecuritie ſeemeth to baniſh all feare: ſo when King *Henrie* perſwaded himſelfe, that hee was moſt ſure, and ſafe, in the middeſt of his brave armie: even then hee was in a greater hazzard of his life, than if he had beene in France, among the throngs of his mortall and profeſſed Enemies. For *Richard* Earle of Cambridge, brother to the Duke of Yorke, and *Henrie* Lord *Scrope*, and Sir *Thomas Gray* (three of the moſt approved Captaines of this Kingdome) being treacherouſly engaged by great rewards conferred on them by the Dolphin of France, conſpired to deliver him into the French Kings hands; or elſe to murder him in his owne Tent.

The Treaſon is diſcovered.

Miraculouſly was this intended villany revealed to the King; who grieved the more thereat, becauſe hee ſhould want the aideſull aſſiſtance of three ſuch valiant men of warre, as gave him much aſſurance of good ſucceſſe. But when they were apprehended, and brought into his preſence, their open confeſſion of that conſpiracie and treaſon (which otherwiſe would fully have beene proved againſt them) haſtned their publike ſentence of death, and as Traytors they were executed the next day.

The traytors are executed.

The King landeth with his army in Normandy.

Aſſoone as the winde ſerved, the King tranſported his armie in an hundred and forty ſhips, and landed in Normandie before Harflew, upon the River of Seyne, and beſieged it on every part for the ſpace of ſeven and thirty dayes. And though the French army, which was conducted by the Dolphin, made manie faire proffers to raiſe the ſiege, yet durſt they not come too neere. But the Towne having beene many times ſharply aſſaulted, was yeelded to King *Henrie*: who ſacked it, and ranſomed the Inhabitants, and with great plenty of ſilver and of gold, and many coſtly things, he enriched all his owne Companies; and (having placed as Captaine there his Uncle *Thomas* Duke of Exeter; and as his Lievtenant Sir *John Faſtolf*, with fifteene hundred ſouldiers, and five and thirty gallant Knights, he reſolved to goe unto Callice by land; and to reſt there, becauſe the winter (being now more wet, and approching ſooner at that time than uſually it was accuſtomed) infected many of his men with grievous fluxes, and ſtrange fevers: and occaſioned the death of the Earle of Stafford, of the Biſhop of Norwich, and of the Lords of Moline ſſe, and of Burnel, and of more than fifteen hundred men.

Great ſicknes in King Henries Armie.

And notwithſtanding that ſickneſſe and many wants afflicted his armie, yet King *Henrie* marched with great confidence and reſolution through the bowels of thoſe Countries, in deſpight of the French forces, who onely made proud brags and faire ſhewes of encounters; but (like unto hunted, and affrighted Deer) gazed a far off upon the Engliſh army, yet dared not by handy ſtrokes, to make the leaſt triall of their valour,

albeit

albeit King *Henries* ſtrength did then conſiſt onely of two thouſand Horſemen, and of thirteene thouſand Archers, and no more: many of which number wanted health, meat, wood, and reſt, and had not any plentie of any thing ſaving onely of Silver, and of Gold, which could not in that place ſupply unto them ſuch things, as moſt of all they needed.

The Dolphin braggeth, but doth not any thing.

The Dolphin of France, to whom the managing of thoſe warres was committed, having aſſembled more than thirty thouſand fighting men, ſaw that he was much diſhonoured by his owne cowardize; and leſt hee ſhould be infamous among his owne people, he determined to give battell to King *Henrie*: but his fainting ignoble heart, being terrified, and his courage paſſing in poſt out at his heeles, ſuffered him not to attempt any thing, ſo that King *Henrie* ſtill marched onwards, burning and ſpoiling, and doing in his paſſage whatſoever himſelfe beſt liked.

The French King, who lay at Roan, was highly diſcontented, for that the Engliſh Armie (unfought with) had proudly paſſed over the River of Soame; wherefore he entred into a ſerious conſultation concerning thoſe buſineſſes, with five and thirtie of his diſcreeteſt and wiſeſt Councellours: and the queſtion was; *Whether it were better to give Battell to the Engliſh Armie, or for that time, to give King* Henrie *a free march, without reſiſtance, unto Callice?* By thirtie of that number, it was adviſed and concluded on, that they ſhould bee fought with, but the other five urged many ſubſtantiall reaſons and arguments, to maintaine the contrary. But they were not hearkned unto. So the French King incontinently, by his Herald at Armes, ſent a defiance to King *Henrie*, and promiſed that within few daies, hee would trie his beſt ſtrength by handy ſtrokes in the open field. King *Henrie* (with a Princely boldneſſe and magnanimitie) returned him this anſwer, That becauſe his army was [illegible] with much ſickneſſe, and many wants, he bended his courſe directly to his Towne of Callice, where hee would goe and refreſh himſelfe, and his companies, and would not therefore at that time ſeeke the French King: but if hee endevoured and dared to interrupt him in his paſſage, hee was of ſufficient force and ſtrength to repell all violence which the French Nation ſhould oppoſe againſt him.

The King is defied, and a battell promiſed.

King Henries diſcreet anſwer.

When this anſwer was returned, the French King (by his Proclamations) cauſed many thouſand men at armes, and valiant Souldiers, to repaire to the Conſtable of France, to fight for honour and for their Country with King *Henrie*: who being informed, that the day drew neere in which the Frenchmen intended to give him battell, placed his Army in good order and array, betwixt the Townes of Blangie and of Agencourt, within the County of Saint *Paul*. 1414

The battell of Agencourt.

This being done, the Conſtable of France, being bravely accompanied with divers great and honourable perſonages, well experienced Captaines, and luſty men of warre, to the number of threeſcore thouſand on horſebacke, beſides his Footemen, Pages, Waggoners, and other attendants; approached neere to the Engliſh Armie, and placed them in good order of battell, and in the night time they made great fires about their Standard, diſpoſed themſelves to extraordinary mirth and jollitie, and made ſuch ſure account of the victory on the next day (by reaſon of

their great numbers, and for that the Engliſh forces were ſo ſmall, ſo weake, and ſickly; that they fell to the caſting of lots for ſuch priſoners as they ſhould take.

And on the other ſide, King *Henrie* and his people having humbly reconciled themſelves to God, and by repentance, and by publike and private prayer, purchaſed the happy contentment of quiet conſciences, ſounded their trumpets and muſicall inſtruments of all ſorts, and were reſolved to ſell their lives deare, and to die like men, ſeeing that now they were unable by any meanes (excepting only by the ſword) to worke unto themſelves any deliverance from infamie, and from death.

Upon Friday being the five and twentieth day of October, the Lord *Delabreth* High Conſtable of France arranged all his companies into three battels.

The firſt Battell of the French.

1. In the firſt, he placed eight thouſand well armed Knights and Eſquires, foure thouſand Archers, and fifteene hundred Crosbowes; and ſtrongly guarded them with two wings: the one of them conſiſted of fifteene hundred men at armes, and the other of eight hundred. And this battell, and theſe wings, were commanded by himſelfe, and by the Dukes of *Orleance*, and of *Burbon*, and by the Earles of *Ewe*, *Richmond*, and *Vandoſme*, and by the Lord *Dampier*, Admirall of France, and by the Marſhall *Bouciqualt*, and many others.

The middle Battell of the French.

2. In the middle battell were placed more men at armes than in the former: and it was commanded by the Dukes of *Barre* and of *Alanſon*, and by the Earles of *Vawdemont*, *Salings*, *Blamont*, *Grant-Preé*, and *Ruſsie*.

The Rere-battell of the French.

3. And the third battell (being compoſed of all the remnant) was marſhalled and guided by the Earles of *Marke*, *Damp-Martin*, and of *Faulconbridge*, and by the Lord *Lurrey* Captaine of the Towne of *Arde*.

King Henries Vauntgard.

And on the other ſide the Vauntgard of King *Henrie*, which conſiſted of good Archers onely, was conducted by the Duke of Yorke, who being right valiant, and of an haughty courage, by great entreaty obtained that place; and with him were the Lords of *Beamond*, *Willoughby*, and of *Fanhope*.

King Henries maine battell.

The maine battell was commanded by the King himſelfe: in which were his ſtrongeſt Bill-men, and ſome Archers: and with him were the Duke of Gloceſter his brother, the Earle Marſhall, Oxford, and of Suffolke.

The Kings Rereward.

And the Rereward was directed by *Thomas* Duke of Exeter, the Kings Uncle. And all the Horſemen (as wings) attended all theſe companies on both ſides.

Stakes driven into the ground behind the Engliſh Armie.

And to prevent by policie ſuch breaches as otherwiſe the French Horſemen might ſuddenly make upon the Engliſh Armie with their barred Steeds, whileſt the Archers were buſily performing their taske, King *Henrie* cauſed all his Footmen to be environed with ſtakes of five or ſixe foot long, which being well headed with ſharpe Iron at both ends, were thickly pitched into the Earth, and eaſily might (upon every remove) be newly faſtned into the ground, by ſuch as were appointed to attend them.

King *Henrie* upon his truſt in the mercifull aide and aſſiſtance of Almightie God, and upon a ſtrong hope which hee conceived of brave ſervice to bee perfomed that day, had ſecretly placed a luſtie crew of good Arches within a new caſt hedge, by which the French Horſemen were to make way towards the Engliſh armie. And theſe were commanded to ſhoot wholly and together, when a valiant and wel-experienced Knight, named Sir *Walter Harpington*, by the caſting up of his Gauntlet, ſhould occaſion the whole Army of the Engliſhmen to ſhout with a mighty cry. And this direction was ſo well obſerved, that when the French Horſemen were paſſed within the danger of that ambuſh, and attempted to give the firſt onſet; upon the ſaid ſigne and ſhout, the ſaid Archers dimmed the aire with the thickneſſe of their ſtrong flying arrowes: and the French Horſemen by meanes of the height of the ſaid banke, and depth of the ditch within it, were not able to come neere unto them.

The Engliſh Archers likewiſe, who ſerved in the Vauntgard, ſo ſtrongly fixed their ſhot in the French Horſes, that many of them being wounded, and the arrowes ſhaking in their fleſh, threw off their riders to the ground; and other ſome of them, with violence ran upon ſuch as rode next unto them; and the reſt of them, in ſuch diſordered troupes, and plumps, ſo furiouſly and ſo madly retired, that they thereby not onely were diſordered, but their footmen alſo; who were oppreſſed, wounded, and miſerably ſlaine and troden to death by them. Which when the Engliſh armie well perceived, the Archers threw away their Bowes, and with Malls, Axes, Swords, Gleaves, and Bils, they made an incredible ſlaughter upon the firſt battell of the Frenchmen: which by them were utterly diſcomfited, and put to flight. And without breathing, or the leaſt delay, they ran fiercely upon the middle battell of the French Armie: who fought with great courage, and reſolution, and for a while acquitted themſelves as valiant men. *The firſt Battell of the Frenchmen is overthrowne.*

The French Horſemen of that battell, ſcorning that ſo ſmall a number of their Enemies ſhould worke ſuch wonders, and intending by ſudden violence to make quicke diſpatch of them, began to charge upon them with great courage. The Engliſhmen (the better to ſave themſelves, and to traine the French Horſemen within the danger of their ſtakes) ſeemed faint: yet in good order they retired, and quickly ſlipped behind their ſtakes: ſo that the Frenchmen who made more haſte than good ſpeed to over-throw the Engliſhmen, ruſhed ignorantly and violently forward, not hurting their Enemies, but goring, ſpoyling and killing of their Horſes in great numbers. And thus was their maine battell diminiſhed, and altogether put out of order, and good government. Which when the Engliſhmen ſaw, they haughtily advanced their ſpirits, and confidently redoubled their ſtrength; and with rude and hardy blowes they ruſhed forth ſo eagerly upon the Frenchmen, that they compelled them to flie. In this encounter, the King himſelfe fought hand to hand with the Duke of Alanſon, and was by him wel-neere taken priſoner. But his high ſtomacke diſdaining to ſtoope to fortune, and to loſe the leaſt jot of honour, he encouraged *The French Horſes are goared on the ſtakes.* *The maine battell of the French vanquiſhed.*

himſelfe with a more conſtant reſolution. So that in the end he ſlew two of the Dukes neereſt attendants with his owne hand; and felled him to the ground. But whileſt the King paſſionately laboured and ſtrived to ſave his life, he was unadviſedly ſlaine by his Guard.

Aſſoone as theſe two battels were thus overthrowne, the King (abandoning all lingring and delay, and ſettling his hopes upon the aſſurance of an honourable victorie) made offer with his whole Companies, to environ the third and laſt battell of the Frenchmen: in which were the greateſt number, but the worſt men. But their courage was ſo cooled, that like unto Sheep before the Wolfe, they cowardly ran away, caſting from them their armour and their weapons: and (being ſtrangely amazed, and not knowing which way to runne to ſave themſelves) great numbers of them fell upon their knees, and craved mercy, and the preſervation of their lives; and were received as priſoners by the Engliſh armie, with the Kings conſent.

The third battell of the Frenchmen flie.

But whileſt King *Henrie* was thus buſied, and to purſue the Chaſe had left his owne Campe and Tents meanely and weakly guarded and defended, by Waggoners and by Lackies onely, *Robynet* of Bonvile, with ſix hundred of thoſe Horſemen who firſt of all acquitted the field, entred into the Kings Campe, and rifled all things at their pleaſure, and ſlew as many of the weake Guarders as they could: by meanes whereof, a ſtrong out-crie was ſuddenly made there: which when the King heard, he imagined that freſh and new forces intended to give him another battell, and to trie him with another ſtrength.

An unfortunate ſervice for the French Priſoners.

This conceit, and this fearing doubt, occaſioned him forthwith to proclaime, that on paine of death all ordinary Priſoners ſhould bee ſlaine, leſt in the new conflict they ſhould be troubleſome and dangerous to his armie. Then was there ſeene a ſorrowfull ſpectacle of much unexpected crueltie. For ſome of their throats were cut: the bellies of others were ſo lanced, that their guts fell out: the braines of others were daſhed abroad with Malls and Axes: others with Daggers were ſtabbed, and with Swords thruſt through; and finally, almoſt all of them upon a ſudden were with much enforced cruelty put to death; whereat the King conceived extraordinary griefe and ſorrow, and lamented it with many teares, when he perfectly underſtood that no freſh armie was prepared to aſſaile him.

The King, though he perceived well, and did perfectly know that his Souldiers were much tired and wearied with the great travels of that victorious day, yet (doubting of the worſt) hee arranged his whole armie into a new battell, becauſe he was informed, that another enterpriſe againſt him was taken in hand. And aſſoone as he was fitly provided to defend himſelfe, he was aſſailed by the Earles of *Marle*, and of *Faulconbridge*, and ſixe hundred valiant men at armes; who had kept together, and had not fought one ſtroke that day. But as a ſmall and a weake veſſell is quickly ſwallowed up into a wrathfull Sea: ſo this poore handfull was by and by cruſhed, and almoſt every one of them was ſlaine.

Another victory.

Afterwards, when King *Henrie* by his Scouts received certaine intelligence, that every Coaſt about him was cleere, and that ſuch of his Enemies, as were couragious, and would fight, lay dead upon the

the ground, and none were ſo hardy as to ſhew their faces: the King about foure of the clocke in the afternoone of the ſame day cauſed his whole armie upon their knees to joyne with him in hearty prayer, and in thankfulneſſe unto Almighty God, who onely, and alone, by his powerfull aide and aſſiſtance, had given to him, and them, a moſt incredible and a glorious Victory. This duty being thus devoutly accompliſhed, the common ſouldiers had franke leave and licence granted them, to rifle thoſe whom they had ſlaine. By meanes whereof they not onely waxed rich, but alſo ſtored themſelves with all ſuch neceſſaries and proviſions as before they wanted: and then the King marched forward, and with much joy and great honour was received into his ſtrong towne of Callice. In this battell were ſlaine *Charles* Lord *Delabreth* high Conſtable of France, *Jaques* of *Chaſtilion* Lord of *Dampier* High-Admirall of France, *John* Duke of *Alenſon*, *Anthonie* Duke of *Brabant*, *Edward* Duke of *Barre*; the Earles of *Marle*, *Vaudemont*, *Blawmount*, *Grand-pree*, *Ruſſey*, *Faulconbridge*, *Foys*, and *Laſtrake*: twenty and five Lords, eight thouſand Knights, and Eſquires, and Gentlemen of armes, and name; and about ſixteene hundred of the common ſort: beſides thoſe who were taken, and remained priſoners: among whom theſe were the chiefe, *Charles* Duke of *Orleance*, *John* Duke of *Burbon*, the Lords of *Donvart*, *Foſſeux*, *Humiers*, *Roy*, *Cawny*, *Hamcourt*, *Noell*, *Bonciquali*, and ſome others. And on the other part were ſlaine *Edward* Duke of Yorke, and the Earle of Suffolke; and of all others, not above ſixe hundred perſons.

The King and his Armie give thanks to God for their great victorie.

Priſoners taken.

When King *Henry* and his ſouldiers had a while refreſhed themſelves in Callice, they tooke ſhipping: and being enriched with Silver, Gold, and brave and coſtly Armours, they all arrived ſafely in England; and the King was received into London triumphantly, and with much joy.

The King with his army arrive in England.

When the French King and the Dolphin were informed of the ſaid great and inſupportable overthrow; it is not to be wondred at, if melancholy paſſions and much griefe ſurcharged them to the verie heart, and made them doubtfull of the event of this buſineſſe. But the ſlaughter of the French priſoners, fooliſhly occaſioned by the baſe attempt of *Robynet* of Bonvyle, and of his companions, who cowardly ranſacked the Engliſh Campe and the Kings Tents in the heat and fury of the aforeſaid Battell, perplexed them more than all the reſt: but eſpecially the Dolphin, who impriſoned the Ring-leaders of that folly, and would have ſentenced them to death, if ſuddenly himſelf had not after died: whoſe death much amazed the weake and much diſeaſed French King. But making a vertue of neceſſity, and intending by ſome provident courſe to prevent ſuch miſchiefes which future attempts did threaten, he made the Earle of Arminacke (who was a ſtout and a warlike Captaine) High Conſtable of France, and placed in his other great martiall Offices none but ſuch, as by their valour and good triall had made beſt proofe of their ſufficiencie to performe them. Theſe newly eſtabliſhed Officers levied many companies of the moſt able and ſtouteſt men in ſundry places of that Kingdome.

And at the ſame time, the Kings Uncle *Thomas* Duke of Exeter, and Captaine of Harflew (intending to exerciſe his ſouldiers in feates of Warre, and by ſome ſudden ſervice both to enrich them, to win honour to himſelfe, and to endammage his enemies) iſſued out of that Town

Thomas Duke of Exeter his gallant ſervice.

with three thouſand men, well armed to the proofe, and marched through thoſe Countries, burning, rifling, and ſpoyling, untill he came almoſt to the City of Roan: where he was encountred by the new Conſtable of France; who with five thouſand horſemen (having a reſolution in this exploit to winne his Spurres) ſo ſharply charged the Duke and his Followers, that hee compelled him, though in good order, and with little loſſe, to retyre. But the Frenchmen determining their utter overthrow, purſued them ſtill with eager ſpirits, untill they came almoſt to the Barriers of Harflew: which when the reſt of the Engliſhmen who were within the Towne perceived, they iſſued forth in good order, joyned with the Dukes companies, and then they all, with their entire ſtrength, ſo furiouſly oppoſed themſelves againſt the Conſtable and his Aſſociates, that (with the ſlaughter of many of their horſes and ſouldiers) they were enforced to flie away, and were chaſed by the Engliſh Victors more than two miles: and divers of them who were taken priſoners, could not obtaine their liberty, untill they had procured it with large ranſomes.

Sigiſmond the Emperour in vaine mediateth a peace.

About this time, *Sigiſmond* the Emperour of Germany came into England, endevouring to conclude a friendly peace betwixt England and France. His hearty welcome and his great entertainment liberally ſorted with the high calling of ſo great a Prince: but his motion was barren and fruitleſſe of good ſpeeding. In his departure the King accompanied him to Callice; from whence he returned home. And thither upon honourable hoſtages, repaired to King *Henrie* the Duke of Burgoine, and betwixt them a friendly peace, concerning onely the Counties of Flanders and of Arthois, was concluded. For which matter, the Duke was had in great jealouſie, and ſuſpected to be a ſecret enemy to the Crowne of France.

4 1415. Harflew beſieged by the French.

Not long after, the new Conſtable of France with a ſtrong Armie upon the Land, and *John* Vicount *Narbon*, Vice-admirall of France, with five hundred ſhips, at the mouth of the river of Seyne, beſieged Harflew on every ſide; and made little doubt to win it in few weekes. But when King *Henry* was advertiſed in what ſort the Town and his Subjects were diſtreſſed, with extraordinary care and expedition hee levied a powerfull army, and tranſported it thither in two hundred warlike and ſtrong ſhips: of theſe he made Generall his brother *John* Duke of Bedford, and aſſociated to him in that expedition the Earles of March, Oxford, Huntingdon, Arundel, Salisbury, and Devonſhire, and many Barons, Knights, and Gentlemen of great valour and much worth.

The Engliſh Navie doe overthrow the French Fleet.

The Duke ſhortly after his departure being happily conducted by a pleaſing wind, fell upon the French fleet, who in the view of the Towne of Harflew fought couragiouſly, as men reſolved to win honour. But being unable to make good what they intended, they were at length utterly vanquiſhed and overthrowne, with an incredible ſlaughter of their men: and great numbers of them being taken, were ſent Priſoners into England. And thus was the Towne of Harflew happily reſcued, and delivered from the Frenchmen. For when the Conſtable perceived that all their Sea-forces were defeated, and in a manner conſumed, he raiſed his Siege, and with a heavie heart marched diſhonourably unto Paris: and the Duke of Bedford (having new victualled, manned, and fortified the towne)

towne) returned with great applauſe and much honour into England.

Theſe diſaſtrous misfortunes ruſhing every day upon the French nation, rather animated the Nobility of France to ſeeke meanes to revenge their private quarrels and grudges one againſt the other, than as provident and worthy Peeres, to unite their forces for the defence and protection of their countrey: by meanes whereof a wide gappe was opened to King *Henry*, with leſſer danger to attempt great matters againſt the peace and eſtate of that kingdome. And to further his deſignes in thoſe negotiations, hee aſſembled his high Court of Parliament at Weſtminſter: in which he himſelfe pithily and effectually diſcovered his right and title to the Crowne of France, the often injuries which the Frenchmen had done from time to time to the Engliſh nation, his bleſſed and fortunate ſucceſſes in thoſe warres, the new diſſentions and ſecret revengefull grudges which divided the hearts and the ſtrength of the Frenchmen, and his undoubted hopes of winning both honour and profit, if by the ſufficient diſburſement of money and of treaſure, his preparations might be furthered and ſupported with all ſpeed.

Secret quarrellings among the French Nobility.

This ſpeech being graciouſly and artificially contrived, was ſo plauſible and pleaſing, and the Kings heroicall intendments were ſo well received and digeſted by all ſorts of people who were then preſent, that not onely a great ſumme of money with franke and free conſent was granted to him, but the ſame was quickly levied with great love and much eaſe.

The King being much encouraged in his French buſineſſe, by the forward bounty of his loving ſubjects, prepared a ſtrong fleet, furniſhed it with men, and all things needfull, and embarked therein a ſtrong army of luſty experienced ſouldiers; but ſent before him to ſcoure the ſeas, *John* Earle of Huntingdon, ſonne to that Duke of Exeter who was beheaded in the dayes of King *Henry* the fourth. This luſty Gallant being at all points readily provided, met luckily with nine Carricks of Genoa, which for money were waged to ſerve the French King: with thoſe he encountred, and fought ſtoutly, yet for a while with variable hopes of ſucceſſe: but in the end hee ſinke into the Sea ſixe of them, and tooke the other three, being ſtored with great ſtore of money and much treaſure, and brought them with his priſoners to the King.

Another victory at ſea, by John Holland Earle of Huntingdon.

This argument of good ſpeeding much encouraged King *Henry*, who with his copious army of gallant and luſty Lads departed out of England, and landed ſafely in Normandy before the ſtrong caſtle of Tonque; which by him was beſieged and won by ſtrong aſſaults, and yet he received the beſieged to his mercy.

The King with his army landed in Normandy.

When the Normans knew that King *Henry* was arrived in their countrey, and of his taking of that caſtle, they fled as men amazed with bagge and baggage into their walled towns; and ſo did all the ſouldiers which were placed every where for the defence and protection of thoſe countries: ſo that without reſiſtance King *Henry* marched forth, and pitched before the City of Cane, which was exceedingly well manned, and throughly provided of victuals, armour, and munition of all ſorts, for many moneths. Divers aſſaults were fiercely made; and the walls were often times ſcaled with deſperate reſolution by the Engliſh, and the Normans

The City of Cane in Normandy beſieged.

mans with no leſſe valour and ſtout courage defended the towne, to the great dammage of their enemies; untill at length King *Henry* (to ſave the lives of many valiant men, who otherwiſe muſt needs have died in that ſervice) proclaimed mercy to the beſieged, if they would yeeld. But their hopes to be relieved, and the truſt which they repoſed in their owne valour, perſwaded them to refuſe all compoſitions whatſoever. Whereupon many terrible aſſaults were fiercely made, and repulſed; the walls of the City were in many places undermined; the Engliſhmen with undaunted courage ruſhed into the towne, partly through the walls, and partly over them: ſo that in the end, although the Normans (to their continuall praiſe and commendation) performed the parts of worthy and faithfull ſouldiers: yet their towne was won, and all of them forſaking their armour and their weapons, fell upon their knees, and humbly craved mercy of the King. Which was not by and by granted unto them, becauſe they had obſtinately refuſed it before: yet ſome refreſhing words of comfort gladded their heavie hearts, ſo that they hoped the worſt was paſt.

Cane taken by aſſaults.

Then the King cauſed all the Townes-mens armour to bee heaped together in the market place, and to be defended by a ſtrong guard: which being done, with all the reſidue of his army he entred with great ſolemnity and reverence into the chiefeſt Church, and on their knees with true humility and devotion they yeelded their hearty thanks unto Almighty God for that victory.

Thanks given unto God.

This duty being thus performed, and ſtrong Watches being placed in every quarter of the City, the King upon the next morning aſſembled all the inhabitants at their Senate or Councell-houſe: where hee cenſured the principals of ſuch as obſtinately refuſed his favour when it was offered, to ſundry deaths; fined and ranſomed others, and divided the riches and the beſt things which were found there, among his ſouldiers, who in thoſe aſſaults had made ſufficient triall of their undaunted courage and bold valour.

Townesmen executed.

At this time the Earle of Arminacke High Conſtable of France, together with *Charles* the Dolphin (who was much grieved for his troubled countrey) propoſed to themſelves ſundry projects for the defeating of King *Henry*: and finding the want of money to be their chiefeſt impediment, the Dolphin (by the Conſtables advice) tooke from the Queene his mother a great maſſe of ſilver and of gold, which for many yeeres ſhe had ſcraped, ſcratched, and hoorded up together.

The Dolphin wanting money, taketh it from the Queen his mother.

This act ſo inwardly vexed and enraged the Queene, that in her heart ſhee vowed to be revenged upon them both: and knowing that *John* the Duke of Burgoine was their capitall and greateſt enemy, eſpecially to the Conſtable of France; and becauſe the King her husband by much ſickneſſe was weakened both in his body and in his underſtanding, ſhee procured him to bee made and to bee eſtabliſhed the Protector of the Kings perſon, and the Regent of his whole kingdome.

She procureth John Duke of Burgoin to be Regent and Protector.

Now when the ſaid Duke had obtained this authority and power, he forthwith reſolved to revenge his old diſpleaſures upon the ſaid Conſtable, and afterwards to bend his whole ſtrength againſt King *Henry*.

The Dolphin likewiſe and the Conſtable employed their chiefeſt

care

care how they might enfeeble the new Regent and his adherents; and to oppoſe themſelves againſt the Engliſh forces it was their ſmalleſt thought. So blind is envie, and ſo revengefull is proud ambition, that the countries good is nothing at all reſpected, when men reſolve to purſue their private hatred and contention. And hereby all men might plainly ſee, that theſe diſſentions and theſe diſcords did more further the Engliſh army in their proceedings, than did their owne policie and their own ſtrength. For the Normans being utterly diſmaied, and hopeleſſe to bee aſſiſted, becauſe the malice which bare ſway among the French Nobility was too too great, fled as men amazed (and as not being the commanders of their owne wits) from place to place, from village to village, and from towne to towne: and in the mean time the Engliſh army commanded as it pleaſed.

King *Henry* beholding their feare, and ſeeking rather to win their caſtles, townes, and cities by policie, than by the ſword, proclaimed in all places, That ſuch of them as would yeeld, and ſweare to become his ſubjects, ſhould not onely enjoy freely all their lands, goods, liberties, and lives, but ſhould alſo be protected and defended by his ſtrength, and bee received into his Princely love.

The greateſt townes in Normandy are yeelded to K. Henry.

This practice quickly procured the ſurrendring into his hands without blowes, the ſtrong Townes of *Alanſon*, *Argenton*, *Boyeux*, *Camboy*, *Conde*, *Crewly*, *Eſſay*, *Falis*, *Thorygny*, and *Vetnoyle*: and unto the Kings brother, the Duke of Clarence, were quietly yeelded the townes of *Avellyers*, *Barney*, *Bethelvyn*, *Chambroys*, *Cowrton*, *Crevener*, *Fangermon*, *Freſhney*, *Harcourt*, *Lyſoeux*, and *Ragles*. And into the hands of the Kings other brother, the Duke of Gloceſter, were given up and delivered theſe townes in the Countie of *Conſtantine*, that is to ſay, *Auranches*, *Briquevile*, *Cuventon*, *Chiergurge*, *Conſtance*, *Hambery*, *Hay du Pays*, *Pontorſon*, *Pont-done*, *S. Saviour*, *S. James*, *S. Clow*, *Vire*, and *Valoignes*: in all which the King and his brothers placed valiant Engliſh Captaines, and ſtrong garriſons to defend them, if the French ſhould attempt to regaine them to his owne power.

King Henry fortifieth all thoſe townes.

Cane is repaired and fortified.

The Citie of Cane alſo was newly repaired, fortified, and inhabited by Engliſh ſouldiers, and traders of all ſorts, Sir *Gilbert Umfreyle* being made Captaine of the caſtle, Sir *Gilbert Talbot* of the towne, and Sir *John Popham* was made Bailiffe there.

ANNO 6. 1417.

Roan is walled round.

Whileſt King *Henry* and his companies were thus buſied in *Normandy*, he was informed that the Citizens of *Roan* had compaſſed their City with a ſtrong wall, and had ſtrengthened it with extraordinary fortifications, towers, bulwarkes, and ditches, and that the whole wealth and treaſure of a great part of the countries round about it was brought thither. Whereupon he marched with his whole army towards that City, and in his paſſage, by ſtrong aſſaults he tooke *Pont l'arch*, *Louyers*, and *Eureux*, and came before the ſtrong Citie of Roan the laſt day of July, and compaſſed it round about upon the land parts with a ſtrong ſiege: and at *Pont l'arch* he placed over the river upon piles, a mighty chaine of iron, and a woodden bridge, which prohibited all ſuccours by water to come unto the City.

Roan is beſieged by land and water.

And the Earle of Warwicke having the command of an hundred gallant

lant ſhips, well manned, victualled, and provided for the warre, entred into the rivers mouth, and came before the towne of Cawdebecke, and ſo fiercely preſſed on it, that by way of compoſition they ſuffered him quietly to paſſe towards Roan; with faithfull promiſe to yeeld it into King *Henries* hands, if he fortuned to win Roan: but if he did not, then to give the ſaid Earle and his whole fleet a ſafe and a peaceable returne. And for the due performance thereof, they ſent him ſufficient hoſtages; whom he received lovingly, and carried them with him before Roan. Thus was this City girded round about on every part, ſo that no man could paſſe in or out.

Cawdebeck giveth paſſage to the Engliſh fleet.

At this ſiege there repaired voluntarily to the King, the Lord of Kylmay of Ireland, with ſixteene hundred tall, luſty, ſwift, and ſtrong men of that nation, they all being cloathed in coats of Maile, and armed with darts; whom the King entertained cheerfully, and was extraordinarily furthered by their helpe and aſſiſtance in thoſe his expeditions.

1600. Iriſhmen repaire to the King.

Daily the King gave terrible aſſaults unto the City, which with admirable reſolution and manlike valour, was bravely defended by the Normans. But when force and violence prevailed not, the King to ſpare his men, and becauſe he underſtood that there were above two hundred and ten thouſand men, women, and children within the towne, determined if he might to gaine it by famine, without blowes. For which purpoſe hee caſt a deepe ditch about the land parts of the City, and pitched it plentifully with ſharpe ſtakes, and guarded them with his Archers, ſo that the inhabitants could not iſſue out, either to offend him, or to relieve themſelves.

The towne aſſaulted and defended.

Thus this ſiege continued from Lammas, untill the whole Chriſtmas was ended: during wich time the famine ſo grievouſly encreaſed, that the Citizens dranke nothing but vinegar and water; and multitudes of them were enforced to prolong their lives, by eating of Rats, Mice, Cats, Dogges, Horſes, and ſuch like. Great numbers alſo of the poorer ſort uncharitably were thruſt out of the city, becauſe they ſpent their victuals, and could not fight: and becauſe they were not ſuffered to paſſe through the Engliſh army, they miſerably periſhed for want of food betwixt the gates and the trenches of their enemies. And upon new yeeres day, after the city had beene long viſited with this famine, there iſſued out at the bridge-gate certaine Commiſſioners, who craved conference with ſome man of authority in the Engliſh armie: unto whom the Earle of Huntingdon (who was quartered in that part of the city) ſent Sir *Gilbert Umfreville*. Their errand was, to procure ſpeedy acceſſe and free returne from King *Henry*.

A great famine.

Commiſſioners crave conference with the King.

The King was well pleaſed that twelve of them ſhould be kindly entreated, if they came. So the next morning, foure Knights, foure learned men, and foure of the choiceſt Burgeſſes of the towne, being all cloathed in blacke, repaired to the King; who beheld them with a countenance beautified with extraordinary Majeſtie and Grace: and unto him one of them boldly ſpake as followeth.

The Commiſſioners repaire to the King.

A proud

A proud Speech of a French-man to King HENRY.

RENowned and great Prince, the world is taught to know by good experience, that Kings and Noble Captaines doe win their chiefeſt reputation for their valour and for their fortitude, by maſtring and ſubduing of proud enemies and of valiant men, by martiall violence and with the ſword, and that it is, and ever hath been, a notorious badge of cowardly baſeneſſe in a Prince, to make them ſervile by Famine, and by the ſcarcity of food: in which kinde of cruelty there is neither found Manhood to praiſe him, nor Wit which may in any ſort commend him. To the end therefore that your Highneſſe may make your ſelfe equally famous with the greateſt Princes, for your generous diſpoſition, in taming us the Souldiery of this City by the ſword, ſuffer (I pray you) the multitude of our diſeaſed and ſicke folkes, and the weaker ſort of our men, women, and children, ſafely and charitably to paſſe through your Army: and then (if you dare) aſſault our fortreſſes, and our walls: and if by your valour you fortune to become our Lord, you may uſe us at your pleaſure, and make your ſelfe truly and heroically famous among great men, who doe ſcorne all baſe attempts, and can reliſh nothing but unſpotted honour.

When the King with a troubled mind had heard and conſidered of this bold bragge, he ſtoutly made this anſwer:

The KINGS diſcreet Anſwer.

FAntaſticall and fond Frenchmen, thinke you that I am ſo weak a Scholar in the Art of warre, that I have not yet learned the Principles in that Science. Are not the Sword, Fire, and Famine, the three Inſtruments with which worthy and renowned Kings, Princes, and the beſt Captaines ever have done, and doe ſtill endevour to ſubdue their enemies? Doe not all Hiſtories accord in one, That the greateſt Monarchs, and the Grand Commanders of the World, have ſtill atchieved their chiefeſt conqueſts by thoſe three? Is not either of them powerfull and able to torment and to afflict the proudeſt foes? and are they not all three, being joyned together, of ſufficient force to overcome and to overthrow the greateſt nation in the world? It was my clemency and gentleneſſe to forbeare to aſſault your walls, becauſe I would not willingly haſten the death of any, except they would wilfully further their owne deſtruction. Neither doe I entend to conſume ſo faire a jewell as this City is in the fire, becauſe I deſire to preſerve it, the ſame being mine owne inheritance and my right. If then I uſe the mildeſt of theſe three, namely, Famine to correct you, and to frame and faſhion you to my will, then may you redeem your ſelves from her ſeverity, if you be ſo diſpoſed, by ſurrendring of this mine owne city into my hands. Which thing if obſtinately you refuſe to doe, then would I have you know, That Kings may not be

inſtructed

inſtructed in Martiall Policies by every bold companion, who dareth impudently to ſpeake: neither may they permit a bookiſh unexperienced ſouldier to read unto them a Lecture of warlike proceedings, eſpecially if he be their enemy, as you are mine. You deſire, nay, ſawcily you require, that with my leave and favour your ſicke and ſtarved people may paſſe into the countrey through mine army; and that then I ſhould (if I dared) by meane aſſaults attempt the winning of your towne. The world will wonder at your cruelty, who have barbarouſly and uncharitably thruſt out of your gates multitudes of harmeleſſe, poore, and diſtreſſed people, being of your own blood, kindred, and countrey, to the intent that I ſhould mercileſly ſlay and conſume them: yet ſuch hath beene my clemency and gentleneſſe towards them, that often times I have relieved them with mine owne ſtore. But becauſe I doe now find that your obſtinacy is not yet qualified and corrected, I will from henceforth abſtaine from giving unto them any further comfort: and if they periſh with extreme famine, as they needs muſt doe, their blood will be required by God at your hands, who doe moſt wickedly expoſe them to thoſe calamities; and not at mine, who would willingly preſerve them, if my favours in that behalf would not hinder me from the recovering of my right. Reſolve your ſelves therefore, that ſeeing you remaine ſtill froward, they ſhall not paſſe through mine armie, but dye at your Gates, except your hearts being mollified, you will relieve them, and ſuffer them to ſpend ſome part of your victuals: and when I ſhall ſee cauſe your towne ſhall bee aſſaulted, to your paine. But your advice and directions ſhall not appoint the time, for it ſhall bee and reſt wholly and onely at my pleaſure. And in the meane time I would have you know, that hee who dareth to enter into, and thus to paſſe through all your countries: hee who hath already taken, though not as large, yet as ſtrong townes as this; and hee who by the deſtruction of your Nobles, Captains, and braveſt men at armes, hath opened the way thus to beſiege your towne, dares alſo to aſſault it, and little doubts to winne it when he will.

Thus when the King had ſpoken, and ended his ſpeech, he commanded that thoſe French Commiſſioners ſhould dine among his great Officers of State: and with a frowning countenance he departed from them, and went into his chamber.

When dinner was fully ended, upon a new conſultation had betwixt themſelves, the Frenchmen became humble Suitors to ſpeake once more with the King: who gently admitted them to his preſence. And then with much ſubmiſſion and humilitie they craved a ſtay from further violence, and a Truce for eight daies, that more deliberate advice might inſtruct them to reſolve what courſe was fitteſt for the towne to take; the King (who loathed all ſeverity, if mildneſſe might obtaine him victory) granted their requeſt: and then they departed (being thereby much comforted) into the city.

They deſire to ſpeak with the King againe.

A truce granted for eight dayes.

Daily and hourely throughout thoſe eight daies the Frenchmen reſorted unto the Engliſh army, and oftentimes conſulted of thoſe affaires with the Earles of Warwicke and of Salisbury, and with other Commiſſioners appointed by the King. Much was demanded, nothing granted nor concluded; and yet thoſe eight daies were ſpent.

The eight daies are ſpent.

The towneſ-men againe earneſtly entreated, That the Truce might be

be prolonged one day more: which was frankly yeelded to them. The ſame day the multitude and the baſer ſort of the people within the Citie, being informed that nothing was agreed on, with hideous ſhouts, and fearefull cries and exclamations, accuſed their Magiſtrates, Captaines, and Commanders, and threatned to cut their throates, becauſe as murderers of their Countrimen and brethren they ſuffered them to ſtarve like dogges, thereby ſupporting the ſtoutneſſe of their owne ſtomacks, and their owne particular eſtates.

The Magiſtrates and the Captaines fearing the evill event of this unruly tumult, entreated all the Citizens to repaire unto the Market place. Which when they did, they then required of them what they would have: with one conſent and with one voice they cried out, That they were reſolved to ſave their owne lives, by yeelding of the City to King *Henrie*.

Upon this motion a new petition was ſent unto the King, craving the continuance of the Truce for foure dayes more; which requeſt was granted to them: And in the fourth day, being about the nineteenth day of Januarie, all matters were ſo throughly concluded and agreed on, that the ſtrong and faire Citie of Roan, the Inhabitants themſelves, and all their goods and riches, were yeelded to the Kings mercie.

Roan is yeelded to King Henries mercie.

The rendring of this Citie, and of all the aforeſaid Townes, and many more, did much perplex and coole the courage of the Normans: and the Duke of Burgoine, who (with the diſcontentment of the Nobilitie) ruled both the King and his Countries, feared much leſt theſe diſaſters would be laid unto his charge. Wherefore to prevent enſuing dangers, which as he ſuſpected did ſecretly threaten his Eſtate, hee reſolved by his beſt meanes and endevours, firſt to reconcile the two Kings if poſſibly he could, and then to avenge himſelfe upon the Dolphin, upon the Conſtable, and alſo upon all ſuch others, as he ſuppoſed were moſt likely to doe him the greateſt harme.

Upon the Dukes motion, King *Henrie* with his Nobles and greateſt Commanders, and one thouſand brave and gallant ſouldiers, and the French Queene (becauſe the King was weake and unable) the Lady *Katherine* his daughter, and the ſaid Duke, with ſome other Noblemen of France, accompanied with the like number, met oftentimes, and conſulted much. But whatſoever King *Henrie* did demand, all was denied, and all their travels ſorted to no end. Whereat King *Henrie* was much diſpleaſed, and taking leave, hee told the Duke, That he would have the Kings daughter, the Ladie *Katherine* for his wife, with all ſuch Seigniories, Provinces, and Countries as he required: or otherwiſe, hee would (ere long) drive both his Maſter and him alſo out of that Kingdome.

The Duke replyed, That thoſe words were ſpoken with great eaſe; but that he muſt take much labour and toyle to make them good.

The Dukes anſwer.

Now when this practice failed, the Duke upon faire tearmes reconciled himſelfe to the Dolphin. And this their new amitie and friendſhip was by publike Notaries reduced into a formall Inſtrument in writing, confirmed with both their Seales; and was proclaimed with great ſolemnitie in many Townes in France: yet was it fained and unfirme, as ſhortly after it appeared.

The Dolphin and the Regent outwardly reconciled.

But this outward reconciliation contented not King *Henrie*, becauſe

he was right well aſſured, that their diſcord and their brawlings would have given an eaſie paſſage to his attemps in thoſe Countries: yet, like an undaunted Prince, he reſolved to trie his further Fortunes with them all. And, in hope of future ſervice to be honourably performed, hee created *Gaſcoyne de Foyes*, Earle of Longevyle; Sir *John Gray*, Earle of Tankervyle; and Sir *John Bourchier*, Earle of Ewe. And then in cloſe and in ſecret manner, he ſent Captain *Bueff*, brother to the ſaid Earle of Longevyle, with fifteene hundred approved men of warre, to the ſtrong Towne of Ponthoyſe; who, before the day appeared, with ſcaling Ladders reſolvedly entred into the Towne, and poſſeſſed the Market place without blowes. Which when the Lord *Liſleadame*, the Captaine of the Towne perceived, hee fled away with eight thouſand of the Inhabitants: who were received into Paris. And the next day King *Henries* brother, the Duke of Clarence, came unto the ſame Towne, with five hundred gallant and well prepared men of warre: and having fortified it, and divided the chiefeſt of the Spoiles thereof among the brave attempters of this Exploit, he marched unto Paris, and lay before it two daies. But being unable with ſo ſmall a number to aſſault, or much to trouble it, hee returned unfought with unto Ponthoyſe.

King Henrie createth Earles in France.

Ponthoys taken.

The winning of this Town immoderately vexed and appalled the Pariſians: becauſe (now) the French King had not, in his poſſeſſion, any ſtrong Towne betwixt him and the Engliſh Armie.

All Normandy won by King Henry, except Mount S. Michael.

The Duke of Clarence had alſo taken the ſtrong Townes of Gyſors and of Gallyard; and within few daies after, all the Townes, Cities, Caſtles, and Fortreſſes in Normandie excepting Mount S. *Michael* only (which never was beſieged nor aſſaulted) were either taken by force, or were voluntarily ſurrendred to King *Henrie*: who by Gods aſſiſtance, and his true valour, thus reduced the whole Dutchie of Normandie to his Crowne; and did injoy it as his Inheritance and Right.

7. 1418. John the proud Duke of Burgoine newly ſeeketh reconciliation with the Dolphin.

The foreſaid *John*, Duke of Burgoine, ſirnamed the proud, perceiving that the Kingdome of France was too too weakly underpropped, by reaſon that the friendſhip lately contracted betwixt himſelfe and *Charles* the Dolphin, was but ſuperficiall, and not heartie; determined, in a more ſubmiſſive manner, to humble himſelfe unto him, that thereby their love taking the deeper root, might bring forth riper fruits of Unitie and of Peace. But when they met, the Dolphin (whoſe malice was irreconcileable, and whom miſtruſtfull jealouſie did ſtill perſwade that the Duke would not be faithfull) procured him treacherouſly to be murdered: as the ſaid Duke himſelfe upon the like enter-view for friendſhip ſake, had cauſed *Lewis* the Duke of Orleance to bee ſlaine, in the tenth yeere of the reigne of King *Henrie* the Fourth.

The Duke is murdered.

A juſt puniſhment.

8. 1419. Philip Duke of Burgoine.

This horrible accident for a while tormented with inſupportable griefe *Philip* Earle of Carolois, the ſon and heire of the deceaſed Duke: inſomuch as that (in his dumpiſh and melancholy paſſions, and in the heat of his furie) he once determined to ſeparate himſelfe from the bed and companie of his guiltleſſe wife, onely becauſe ſhe was ſiſter to the Dolphin. But (being more gravely adviſed by his Counſellors) as his ſorrowes waxed faint, ſo his affection towards her encreaſed ſtrength, and ſhe was entertained with his beſt love.

This

This new Duke of Burgoine, and Earle of Flanders, being very wise and politicke, behaved himselfe courteously and friendly to King *Henrie*, and practised all meanes by which he might conclude a firme and a setled Peace betwixt the Kings of England and of France. And in those his endevours he was the more powerfull: He attemps to conclude a Peace.

First, because his wife was daughter to the said French King. His meanes to further it.

Secondly, because his wives sister, the Lady *Katherine* (who could doe all in all with *Isabell* the Queene her mother) passionately longed to be espoused to King *Henrie*. 1 2

Thirdly, for that the said Queene (who by the Dolphin was deprived of all her Treasure, as formerly you have heard) could not endure to heare of him, nor could abide his presence. 3

Fourthly, because the Dolphin was more subtile, cunning, craftie, and revengefull, than politicke, wise, and valiant. 4

And lastly, because this late horrible and inhumane murder made him odious and infamous, yea to his owne friends. 5

This Peace being againe and againe consulted and debated on, betwixt the Queen, the Duke, and divers of the greatest Nobilitie in France upon the one part, and the Embassadors of King *Henrie* upon the other part; and being brought to some maturitie and ripenesse, it was resolved, that King *Henrie* should meet with *Charles* the sixt the French King, Queene *Isabel* his wife, and with the Lady *Katherine*, and their Nobility and Councell, at Troys in Champaigne: which with all expedition hee did, being accompanied with his two brothers, *Thomas* Duke of Clarence, and *Humfrey* Duke of Glocester, and with the Earles of Warwick, Salisbury, Huntingdon, Longevile, Tankervile, and Ewe, and divers other noble and great men. But, to prevent the worst, and to foresee dangers before they happened, hee was soundly guarded with fifteene thousand men. And within few daies after their enter-view, a firme Peace was proclaimed: and the King with honourable solemnitie and triumphant sportings was married to the said Ladie *Katherine*; and was published to be the onely Regent and Heire Apparent to the Crowne of France, in both those Kingdomes. The King is married, and proclaimed Regent and Heire apparent of France.

The chiefest Articles in briefe were these.

The Articles on which the Peace was concluded.

1. *FIrst, That the two Great, High, and Mightie Princes, King Charles and Queen Isabell, should bee entitled the Father and the Mother of King Henrie, and should bee by him and by his wife honoured and respected with that reverence which such an alliance did require.*

2. *Item, That the said King Charles, during his life, should hold*

and enjoy quietly, and in peace, his Royall Dignity, Crowne, and Revenewes of all France: And that all Writs, Proceſſes, Commiſsions, and all ſuch like Proceedings, ſhould paſſe under his Name and Seale as King: And that the ſaid Queene Iſabell (if ſhe ſurvived her husband) ſhould hold and enjoy, during her life, her Title and Eſtate; and all ſuch Lordſhips, Rents, and Revenewes in France, as of late were holden and enjoyed by Queen Blanch, ſometimes the Wife and Dowager of King Philip, great Grandfather to King Charles.

3. Item, That Queene Katherine ſhould have in England a Dower of twentie thouſand Markes by the yeere, unto which ſhe ſhould be enabled and aſſured with all convenient ſpeed.

4. Item, That during the life of King Charles, King Henrie ſhould not in any wiſe bee ſtiled with the name and dignitie of the King of France; and that the French King, whileſt he lived, ſhould write him and entitle him in French thus: Noſtre trechier filz Henry, Roy Dengleterre, Heretere de France, And in Latine thus: Præclariſſimus filius noſter Henricus, Rex Angliæ, & Hæres Franciæ.

5. Item, That after the death of King Charles, the Crowne and Kingdome of France ſhould wholly and entirely come, be, and remaine, to King Henrie and to his Heires for ever.

6. Item, That in regard that King Charles (by reaſon of his manifold infirmities, occaſioned by much ſickneſſe) was made unapt and unable to adminiſter, by his owne directions, the affaires and buſineſſes of his Kingdome, King Henrie ſhould be Regent, and ſhould rule and governe France as hee pleaſed, for the Kings honour, and for the profit and commoditie of that Region and Common-weale.

7. Item, That the Court of Parliament of France ſhould be kept and be ordered in like ſort, and ſhould be ſupported with the ſame Priviledges, Cuſtomes, Eſtate, and Power, as in all former times had beene uſed and accuſtomed.

8. Item, That King Henrie ſhould carefully and faithfully doe his beſt endevour to aſsiſt as well the Peeres as the People, in the attaining & getting of all ſuch things, as in right, & by the Lawes and Cuſtomes of that Kingdome, did belong unto them: and ſhould protect and defend all the Rights, Preheminences, Lawes, and Poſſeſsions of the Clergie of the Kingdome of France.

9. Item, That King Henrie ſhould ſupport and preſerve all the ſubjects of France againſt all forraine Enemies; ſuppreſſe and beat

beat downe all inteſtine and in-bred Quarrells, Debates, Inſurrections, and Civill Warres; encreaſe the proſperitie and peace of France, and adminiſter Juſtice, without partialitie, unto all ſorts and degrees of People whatſoever.

10. Item, That King Henrie ſhould place into the Roomes and Offices of Juſtice, and of Receits, and of Government, ſuch perſons as ſhall bee wiſe, diſcreet, faithfull, and ſufficient to miniſter and to manage thoſe things which ſhould be committed to their charge.

11. Item, That King Henrie ſhould ſpeedily endevour, with his beſt helpes, to reduce the Dolphin and the Earle of Arminacke, late Conſtable of France, to the obedience of King Charles; and all ſuch others, as did with them rebelliouſly maintaine civill diſſentions in the Common-weale.

12. Item, That King Henry ſhould cauſe all the Peeres, Nobles, Gentrie, Clergie, Townes, Cities, and Burgeſſes of France, to take a corporall Oath for their obedience to King Charles during his life: And after his death, to King Henrie, and to his heires: And to admit none other Regent, or King; nor to conſpire any thing againſt his or their Perſons or Eſtates: but ſhould reveale all miſchiefes which ſhould be contrived and practiſed for his or their hurt or deſtruction.

13. Item, That ſuch Poſſeſſions as King Henrie ſhould win from any perſon diſobedient to King Charles (excepting onely in Normandie) ſhould be employed and converted unto the onely uſe and benefit of the French King. But if the offendours doe voluntarily and chearefully take the aforeſaid Oath, then the ſaid Poſſeſſions to be frankely and freely reſtored unto them.

14. Item, That after the death of King Charles, the Dutchie of Normandie, and all others conquered by King Henrie, ſhould bee obedient and bow under the command of the Scepter and Crowne of France.

15. Item, That King Henrie ſhould not burthen the ſubjects of France with any Taxes or Impoſitions, but in caſes of great and urgent neceſſitie: and then onely the ſame to bee aſſeſſed and levied according to the cuſtome and manner of France, and not otherwiſe.

16. Item, That after the death of King Charles, the two Kingdomes of France and of England ſhould alwaies ſoveraignely be ruled and commanded by one Man, and not by two Kings: and that neither of thoſe Kingdomes ſhould be ſubject the one to

the other, but each of them should still retaine, use, and enjoy their particular Customes, Liberties, Priviledges, Preheminences, Immunities, and Lawes.

17. *Item, That all care should bee taken, and all provision made, that the subjects of each Kingdome, as brethren and friends, should live in mutuall love, amitie, and peace; and each of them to procure, by their best meanes, the welfare and prosperitie of the other.*

18. *Item, That neither the said French King, nor King Henry, should conclude any Peace, nor make any Truce with the falsely entitled Dolphin, except they both, and the said Philip Duke of Burgoine, did all three consent and agree in one so to doe.*

19. *Item, That none should bee appointed to attend the Person of King Charles, but Frenchmen, and such as himselfe or his owne Counsell should make choice of; And that from time to time he should be resident and dwell at his pleasure in the most eminent places of his Kingdome.*

20. *And lastly, That both the said Kings under their Letters Patents, and all their Nobilitie, Clergie, Gentrie, Cities, and Communalties, by Instruments in writing under their hands and seales, should ratifie and confirme the said Articles and Agreements: And that they should solemnly sweare and vow to maintaine them in all points, to the uttermost of their abilitie and power.*

The Articles are proclaimed in England and in France.

These Articles and these Agreements being thus concluded, were ordered accordingly; and then, with all convenient expedition, were proclaimed both in England and in France. The two Kings, and their Nobles, and other subjects of account, were solemnely sworne to observe and to maintaine them. And then they both, being accompanied with *James*, the young, but valiant King of Scots, the Duke of Burgoine, the Prince of Orange, one and twentie Earles, fortie and five Barons, and a multitude of Knights, Gentlemen, and brave souldiers of France, of England, and of Ireland, wasted such Countries, and besieged and tooke such strong and well defenced Townes and Castles within the Dutchie of Burgoine, as sided and sorted with the Dolphin: As first of all, the Town of Seyne, after it had beene besieged fifteene dayes; and the Castle there, after it had held out six weekes: then Molyn, upon the River of Seyne; which they tooke, after they had environed it full seven months: and in it were apprehended the Lord *Barbason*, the chiefe commander there, and divers others, who were agents and actors in the murdering of *John*, the proud Duke of Burgoine: all which were by the French King sent from thence unto Paris, under the guardship of *Thomas* Duke of Clarence; who was newly made chiefe Captaine of that Citie by King *Charles*. And within few daies after, the said offenders were legally

gally tried, convicted, sentenced, and put to death for the said Murder.

Then the two Kings, with their two Queenes, and their Nobilitie and Companies, went unto Paris; where King *Henry* was proclaimed Regent and Heire apparent to the Crowne of France, and so was he not long after in London.

King Henrie is proclaimed Regent, and Heire apparent to the Crowne of France.

In Paris the two Kings kept their *Christmas*. The French King being very sickly and weake, maintained small hospitalitie. But King *Henrie* with such heroicall Magnificence, rich Plentie, and liberall Entertainement, so feasted the Nobles, Gentrie, and Citizens of both the said Kingdomes, and was so open-handed to all sorts and degrees of people, that his State and Majestie was admired: and his Princely courtesie fast bound unto him the hearts of the Frenchmen, to yeeld unto him all manner of obedience and of service.

Whilest the two Kings thus remained in Paris, a great Assembly (by their Authoritie) was convocated thither: in which they both sate as Judges; and before them the Dutchesse of Burgoine, late wife to her slaine husband, by her advocate appealed *Charles* the late Dolphin, and seven others, as murderers of her Lord. But no defence was made for them. And not long after, a Court of Parliament was kept there: in which a solemne Processe was awarded against the Dolphin, and the rest of the accused, to appeare at the Marble Table in Paris at an appointed day. But they all failed to observe that command; and thereupon they were by the said Court banished the Realme, and all the Territories of France; and were also deprived of all honours, names, titles, dignities, preheminences, and possessions whatsoever.

When the late Dolphin had intelligence thereof, he went into Languedocke, and comforted himselfe with his old friend the Earle of Armiacke, sometimes Constable of France: who not onely assisted him in his great distresse with money, munition, and with men; but also in his owne person did him all reverence, and tooke his part against all such as professed themselves to be his Enemies.

These things being thus accomplished, the two Kings, their Queenes and Nobles, sorrowfully departed each from other; and King *Henrie*, with his Queene went unto Roan; where he received Homage of all his Nobles in the Dutchie of Normandie: and among others, of the Earle of Strafford, to whom he had given the Earledome of Perch: and of *Arthur* of Britaine, upon whom hee had bestowed the Country of Iurie.

King Henrie setteth the state of France.

Hee also made his brother *Thomas* Duke of Clarence, Lievtenant Generall both of France and of Normandie: and of that Dutchie, hee made the Earle of Salisburie Deputie to the said Duke. And then hee, with Queen *Katherine* his wife, departed unto Amiens, and from thence to Callice, and so came into England; where they were received and entertained with as much triumph and true joy as could bee by subjects expressed towards their Prince. And in Februarie following, the Queene was crowned at Westminster, with great solemnitie and much honour.

The Duke of Clarence is made Lievtenant Generall of France and of Normandy.

The Noble and the valiant Duke of Clarence being advertised, that the Duke of Alanson, entitling himselfe the Lievtenant Generall of the Dolphin,

Dolphin, with divers other Noblemen, had livied an armie; aſſembled the greateſt part of his garriſons in Normandie, and marched ſtrongly into the Province of Anjou, and pitched not far off from the Citie of Angiers, and ſpoiled and burnt the Countrie round about it.

To performe this enterpriſe with honour and with ſafety, the Duke of Clarence had ſtrengthened himſelfe with ſufficient Forces and proviſions, if they had beene well and wiſely ordered. But having in his armie a falſe and a trayterous Lombard, named *Andrew Forguſa*, whom he too too much loved and truſted, he ſent the ſaid Lombard to diſcover the preparations and the power with which hee was reſolved to encounter: who brought him word, That their number was but ſmall, their proviſions defective, and their order, orderleſſe; and that the Duke of Alanſon was altogether unable and too too weake to contend with him.

The Duke of Clarence firmely and ſtrongly replying upon the faith and the truſt which he repoſed in this Traytor; and being deſirous with a ſmall number to win the honour of that day: marched forward with his horſemen onely, leaving behind him his luſtie and his ſtrong Archers. But when he was entred within the ſecret ambuſhments, which purpoſely were placed to diſtreſſe him; and ſaw that his enemies were in number foure for one, and were well provided, well armed, and arranged in good order of battell, and that no militarie diſcipline or art was wanting; and that himſelfe was villainouſly abuſed and betraied by the Lombard whom he truſted: hee could not flie, nor make any ſafe retreit; but was enforced to adventure his fortunes, with too much inequalitie on his part. So the fight began: and though it was long maintained by the Engliſhmen, with as much conſtancie and reſolute valour as any men living could performe; yet they being every minute oppreſſed with new ſupplies and multitudes, which ſtill came ruſhing in upon them, tiring, oppreſſing, ſpoiling, and havocking of them waſtefully on every ſide, they were at length over-maſtred and overthrowne.

The battell of Blangy.

In this battell there were ſlaine on the French part more than twelve hundred of their choiſeſt men: and of the Engliſh there were ſlaine the brave Duke of Clarence, the Earle of Tankervile, Sir *Gilbert Umfreyle*, Earle of Kent, a prudent man and a worthy Commander; the Lord *Roſſe*, and almoſt two thouſand others. And there were taken priſoners, the Earles of Somerſet, Suffolke, and Perch, the Lord *Fitz-water*, and many others.

The Engliſhmen ſlaine, and taken priſoners.

Sir *Thomas Beauford*, ſirnamed the Baſtard of Clarence, who had the direction of the Archers which were left behind, being informed (but all too late) that the Duke of Clarence was betraied; and that the numbers of the Frenchmen, and their Power, did farre exceed the Lombards report, and that the Engliſh were diſtreſſed: with incredible ſpeed marched forth to ſuccour them with his beſt helpes. But the French men perceiving his approach, and contenting themſelves with the honour of the day, and with their priſoners they had taken, with poſting haſte and ſpeed fled and ranne away as faſt as they were able, letving the new Forces of the Engliſhmen to performe ſad Exequies for their ſlaine Friends: the bodies of whom they buried. But the Duke of Clarence was carried into England, and honourably interred

Cowardly Frenchmen.

terred at Canterburie, by his Father King *Henry* the Fourth.

The heavie newes of this unexpected overthrow, and especially the death of the Duke of Clarence (occasioned by the aforesaid treacherie and treason) much grieved the King his brother; who purposing to revenge himselfe, if he might, upon the Duke of Alanson, and the late Dolphin and his adherents, sent into Normandie the Earle of Mortaigne, brother to the late taken Earle of Somerset, and gave to him the same authoritie and place which the Duke of Clarence formerly had. He also assembled his High Court of Parliament; in which he substantially discovered in what sort the Estate of both his Kingdomes stood: and how convenient, nay, how necessarie and how needfull it was, that the Dolphin and his adherents should speedily be pursued. Hee likewise told them, That he wanted neither men, munition, nor courage, but that mony was too scarce with him to undertake that businesse. Whereupon the Temporaltie with all cheerefulnesse and alacritie, gave unto him one fifteene, and the Clergie gave him two. And because much time would be spent before it could be levied, therefore the Kings Uncle, the Bishop of Winchester, disbursed unto him in ready coine twentie thousand pounds, which he received againe out of the said Fifteenes.

The Earle of Mortaigne succeedeth the Duke of Clarence.

The King having levied a gallant armie, which consisted of foure thousand men at Armes, and of foure and twenty thousand Archers; sent, and with all speed prosperously landed them at his owne Towne of Callice, under the command of his worthy brother, *John* Duke of Bedford: whom himselfe in his owne person followed. And understanding that the Dolphin with seven thousand men had besieged and much distressed the Citie of Chartieres, which was valiantly defended by the Bastard of Thyan, hee marched swiftly unto Paris, and from thence toward his enemies: and in his journey hee was met by his heartie and true friend *Philip* Duke of Burgoine, and Earle of Flanders; who brought unto him foure thousand men, and diligently attended him in that Negotiation and Service.

John Duke of Bedford carrieth an armie into France.

The King was now informed, that the Dolphin distrusting his owne strength, had raised his Siege; and was retired unto Tours in Towrayne. Wherefore to represse the rage and violence of Sir *Jaques Harcourt*, who wasted the Country of Picardie, he sent the Duke of Burgoine thither: and with other Forces hee caused the young and courragious *James* the King of the Scots, to lay siege unto the Towne of Direx: which hee performed accordingly, and daily with such violence and valour so assaulted it for the space of sixe weekes, that with maine strength hee compelled it to be yeelded into his hands, to King *Henries* use.

The Dolpin raised his siege.

James the King of Scots winneth Direx.

And whilest this Siege did thus continue, the King himselfe passed over the River of Loyer, intending to have encountred with the Dolphin. But hee (distrusting his owne strength) fled from Tours unto Burgys in Berrye, and there expected a change of his frowning fortunes.

The Dolphin flieth from place to place.

The King perceiving his flight from place to place to bee so quicke and hastie, hee thought it not convenient, to tire out his armie to pursue him: wherefore he returned over the river of Loyer, and tooke either

either by force or by voluntary yeelding, many townes and caſtles unto his owne uſe.

Prince Henry is borne.

About the ſame time Queene *Katherine* was delivered of a ſonne at Windſor, who was named *Henry*. Of whoſe birth as ſoone as the King had notice, hee ſaid unto the Lord *Fitz-Hugh* his Chamberlaine: *I* HENRY *borne at Monmouth ſhall remaine but a ſhort time and gaine much: but* HENRIE *borne at Windeſour ſhall reigne long and loſe all.*

The King, who for many weekes together had beſieged the well defended towne of Meux in Bry, enforced it to be yeelded into his hands; and thereupon all the townes and fortreſſes in the Iſle of France, in Lanvoys, in Bry, and in Champaigne, did the like.

When the Dolphin underſtood that the King with his army was departed farre away from him, he raiſed another army, and entred into the Duke of Burgoines countrey, waſting and conſuming it with ſword and fire: and ſtraitly beſieged the city of Coſney; which by compoſition was to be yeelded to him, if it were not reſcued within ten daies. Of this agreement notice was ſent by the Duke of Burgoine to the King; with a requeſt, that he would ſend a power convenient for the remove of the ſaid ſiege. Whereupon the King in his owne perſon, being accompanied with a gallant company, marched towards that city, to ſet it free. But as he travailed on the way, he fell ſo ſicke that he was unable to travell any further. So the charge of that expedition was committed to his brother *John* Duke of Bedford: whoſe paſſage forth was noiſed to the Dolphin to be with ſuch an high courage and ſouldier-like reſolution, that the Dolphin fearing to grapple with him, raiſed his ſiege, and moſt diſhonourably retired himſelfe and his army into Berry. And thus was that city reſcued and delivered by the Engliſh.

Coſney is beſieged.

The King falleth ſicke.

The King by reaſon of his encreaſing ſickneſſe waxing more weake and feeble, was carried unto Boys in Vincennes; where within few daies he was ſummoned by death to depart into another world.

The Kings ſpeech before he dyed.

But before he died, he called unto him his two brothers, *John* Duke of Bedford, and *Humfrey* Duke of Gloſter: the former he made Lievtenant Generall of Normandy, and Regent of the kingdome of France: and the other he made Protector of England, and of his ſonnes owne perſon. Hee embraced his approaching end comfortably, in regard that though his time had been but ſhort, yet it was beautified with matchleſſe fame and honour, which longer continuance (being the profeſſed enemy of ſtability) might have changed. Hee exhorted them and his Nobles, who then were preſent, to maintaine true and heartie love and friendſhip with his noble and faithfull friend *Philip* Duke of Burgoin, and never to be at variance with him. He perſwaded them to nouriſh and to cheriſh an unſeparable unitie and faithfull friendſhip among themſelves: to be faithfull and loving to his young infant ſonne, and their ſucceeding King, *Henry*: and by all meanes to be helpfull, aiding, and aſſiſting, to his moſt ſad, dolorous, and mournfull Queene: to preſerve and to maintaine by wiſedome, policie, and armes, thoſe things which hee by valour and Gods furtherance had honourably won and gotten: Never to conclude any peace or amity with the late Dolphin and Duke of Alanſon, untill they

they were enforced to ſubmit themſelves to his ſonnes grace and mercy. Finally, he thanked Almighty God, who had made him religious, vertuous, honeſt, and victorious: and died the laſt day of Auguſt, in the yeere of our Lord God, 1422. in the eight and thirtieth yeere of his age; when he had reigned but nine yeeres, five months, and foure and twenty dayes: And his body being conveied into England, was buried among his noble Progenitors at Weſtminſter, with extraordinary ſolemnity and great pompe.

The King dyeth. 1422.

THE

HENRY the VI borne at Windsor being of the age of eight Monthes. beganne his reigne the 31 of August 1422. and crowned King of England at Westminster. the 6 of Nouember. 1429. and of Fraunce the 7 of December 1432. he reigned 38 yeres. 6 monthes, he died by violence, May 21. aged 52. Ano 1471. first buried at Chertsey Abbey. thence remoued to Windsore. wher he was solembley interd.

R E. sculpsit

THE HISTORIE OF KING HENRIE THE SIXTH.

HEnrie the fifth died when his ſon *Henrie* was but nine moneths old; yet was he ſo fortunate in his beginning, that his youth and government were worthily ſupported by his three Uncles, *Humfrey* Duke of Gloceſter, who when the King was crowned was made Protectour both of his Perſon, and alſo of his Realm; *John* Duke of Bedford, who was eſtabliſhed Regent of France; and *Thomas* Duke of Exeter, who graced all his actions with much wiſedome and great valour. 1422. I. A young King but well governed.

Needfull it was that the new Protectour and the Regent ſhould make the utmoſt triall of their ſufficiencies to the world. For whereas in the end of the Kings fathers dayes the Nobilitie of France incorporated themſelves to the Engliſh Nation, and heartily envied the Dolphin, King *Charles* about this time died, and the unconſtant Frenchmen began to play an Iriſh game. For on a ſudden many of thoſe diſſembling and fained friends renounced their duties and obedience to King *Henry*, and utterly neglecting the performance of Oathes of Allegeance made unto him, they revolted, and not only adhered to *Charles* their new King, but by all ſiniſter practices and meanes they endevoured to extirp the Engliſh Nation among them, if they might. France is unwilling to remaine Engliſh.

The Protectour at home (by the advice and counſell of the Statiſts) plotted many projects for the retaining of the Kings inheritance in Normandie and in France: and for that purpoſe he furniſhed the Regent with ſtore of Souldiers, Silver, and of Gold. The Regents Policie.

The Regent alſo levied a ſtrong Army in Normandy among his choiceſt and chieſeſt friends, whom by ſubſtantiall arguments and ſound reaſons he perſwaded to perſevere and to continue loyall to his maſter, and not to be wearied with any labour, or daunted with any danger, becauſe a peaceable and a bleſſed concluſion ſhould make them rich and fortunate, and win to them the love and favour of their young King, as he encreaſed in wiſedome and in yeeres.

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And on the other ſide, *Charles* the new King ſpared not any paines, but did the like; in ſo much that nothing but tyrannizing Warre, and the unchriſtian effuſion of much bloud, was thought upon. And to begin thoſe troubles, the French King ſent the Lord *Grandevile* with a ſelected Company to Pont-Melance, which ſtandeth on the River of Seyne, which he ſurprized, and ſlew the moſt part of them whom he found there, before any notice of his approach gave any warning to the Engliſh Garriſon to defend it.

Pont-Melance taken.

Thomas Montacute, the Earle of Salisburie, for his admired courage and expert managing of martiall actions was at that time more fitly to be compared to a choice Roman, than to any other who lived in his daies. To this Earle the Regent commended the regaining of that Towne; in the ſiege whereof he ſpent three moneths, but at length it was yeelded into his hands, and the Lord *Grandevile* by a ſolemne oath promiſed his faithfull and perpetuall ſervice to King *Henrie*, but revolted a ſoon as he was ſet at large.

Pont-Melance regained.

From thence the ſaid Earle marched into Champaigne, beſieged and tooke the Towne of Sens, and devoured the ſurpriſed Souldiers with the ſword.

Sens is taken.

The unconſtant Pariſians, more coveting to make an outward ſhew of their fidelitie to the Engliſh, than to be true indeed, ſent divers of their greateſt and graveſt Citizens into England, to crave protection and defence againſt King *Charles*; who were received not only with a cheerfull welcome, hearty thankes, and bountifull entertainment; but alſo were promiſed the fruition of much happineſſe, if they perſiſted loyall unto King *Henry*.

The Pariſians crave protection.

1423. About that time the Regent meeting at Amiens with the Dukes of Burgoine and of Britaine, renewed the League formerly concluded betweene them: and to make it the more firme and ſure, he married the Lady *Anne* of Burgoine, ſiſter unto the Duke.

2. A League renewed. The Regent marrieth.

The triumphant ſhewes and paſtimes which were prepared to augment the honour of this Match, perſwaded the Pariſians in his abſence that the Regent attended nothing but jollity and mirth: which conceit of theirs made them trecherouſly to invite their longed-for King *Charles* to come unto them, and to receive that City into his hands.

The Pariſians are unfaithfull, and conſpire with the French King.

This newes brought comfort to his ſoule; ſo that he appointed the day when his deſire ſhould be effected in that buſineſſe. But, as it ever falleth out, where many are of counſell nothing can be ſecret; ſo ſome of thoſe Conſpiratours acquainted the Regent with every particular of this plot, who with his Armie poſted unto Paris with greater expedition than may well be credited, and entred into the Citie gates before any notice was given of his repaire thither. For this conſpiracy many of the chiefeſt confederates were executed publikely with ſundry kinds of death. And from thenceforth he maſtered the Pariſians with Engliſh Garriſons, and repleniſhed their Caſtle, Towers, Fortreſſes, and places of defence and ſtrength, with ſuch Engliſh Souldiers as ſolaced themſelves in being froward Commanders and imperious Rulers of the inhabitants of that Citie.

The trecherie diſcovered.

The Regent curbeth the Pariſians.

And likewiſe by ſtrong aſſaults and enforced compoſitions he won

won the two Caſtles of Pacy and Courſay, which were not farre from it, both which he ſtrengthened in like manner. Pacy and Courſay won by the Engliſh.

Whilſt theſe things were thus acted, the Lord *William Steward* Conſtable of Scotland, the Earle of Ventadore, and many others, with a ſtrong Armie beſieged the ſtrong Towne of Cravant, within the Territories of Burgoine. But the Earle of Salisburie with an Armie of fifteen thouſand men ruſhed fiercely upon the beſiegers, and with the loſſe of one and twenty hundred of his companie, and with the ſlaughter of eight thouſand of his enemies, he raiſed the ſiege, and gained liberty to the Towne. The ſiege of Cravant is raiſed.

The Earle, upon his returne to Paris, was ſubſtituted Vice-Regent of the Countries of France, Bry, and Champaigne; and Sir *John Faſtolfe*, an approved Knight in Arms, was appointed to be Deputy in the Dutchy of Normandie. Which worthy Captaines performed ſuch noble deeds of Chivalrie, and obtained ſuch unexpected victories, as made them famous, their followers rich, and their Countrey renowned in all Kingdomes.

In the meane time, whileſt the Protectour providently endevouring to prevent the encreaſing ſtrength of the Kings enemies in France, and to ſecure the tranquilitie and peace of this Common-weale at home, for a ſmall ranſome he enlarged *James* the young and martiall King of Scots, who for many yeeres had beene a priſoner: and receiving of him, in the Kings behalfe, his homage and his fealty for Scotland, he gave to him in marriage (by the conſent of all the Engliſh Nobility) the Lady *Jane*, daughter to the deceaſed Earle of Somerſet, and Couſin german to the King. The King of Scots ranſomed.

This gallant Prince, by meanes of his excellent learning and education in feats of Armes under the laſt King *Henrie*, was better enabled to rule a Kingdome than any of his Progenitors did before him: in ſo much, that making the beſt uſe of thoſe heroicall vertues with which he was adorned, he reduced that Realme into extraordinarie civility, made his ſouldiers expert in warlike diſcipline, and his Nation more learned than ever they had beene before his dayes. Yet was hee altogether unfaithfull and unthankfull to England, his neereſt and his deereſt friend. He is an excellent Prince, but unfaithfull and unthankfull.

The Protectour (who was wiſe and induſtrious) never ſuffered the Regent in France to complaine of any want. For as in former times, ſo now he ſent unto him an Army of ten thouſand men, with much treaſure. The Regent and his aſſiſtants daily won Towns, Citie, Caſtles, and Forts, with provident policie and true valour. But the French King, by groſſe flattery, cunning devices, ſecret trechery, and covert dealings (among others) poſſeſſed himſelfe of the ſtrong Townes of Crotoy, and ſome others, which were ſuddenly regained: for true manhood was encountred with ſubtlety, and approved valour with trechery and craft. Proviſion and an Army ſent into France.

The Duke of Britain, fearing leſt the Regent growing ſtrong, would at length be Lord of his Countrey, baſely and perfidiouſly revolted to the French King: and ſo did his brother *Arthur*, Earle of Richmond, who by King *Henrie* the Fifth was created Earle of Yurie in Normandy, and made Governour of that Towne. Whereupon the Regent beſieged it, The Duke of Britaine and his brother doe revolt.

Yurie in Normandy beſieged.

and with many ſecret Mynes, violent batteries, and fierce aſſaults, made it ſo ſubject to apparent dangers, that the beſieged concluded to yeeld it up, if at an appointed day they were not relieved by the French King. For the Regent, being throughly reſolved to purchaſe his peace with a ſhort and with a ſharp warre, determined to abide battell, what force ſoever ſhould be ſent to relieve the miſeries of that diſtreſſed Towne. And to further his purpoſe in that behalfe, he freely permitted meſſengers to be ſent unto his enemies, to informe them of the concluſion which he had made.

A cowardly French Army.

Within few daies after, the Duke of Alanſon, with ſixteene thouſand Frenchmen, approached neere to the Engliſh Camp, who did put themſelves into a readineſſe to receive him. But, according to the French faſhion, he made many bragging ſhewes to performe much: but on a ſudden he cowardly quitted the place, not giving any one blow, and pitched with his whole ſtrength before the Towne of Vernoyle in the Province of Perch; where he falſely informed the Inhabitants, That at Yurie he had fought with the Regent, deſeated his Armie, ſlaine thouſands, taken many priſoners, freed that Towne, and had compelled him by ſwift riding to provide for the ſafety of his owne life.

Vernoyle beſieged and won by a falſe report.

Yurie won.

This falſe report ſoone made the Duke owner of that Towne, and his retreat made the Regent Lord of Yurie: and as ſoone as ſound proviſions were made to ſtrengthen it, the Regent with his whole Armie marched unto Vernoyle, where meeting with the French cowards, and with divers Scots who did aſſiſt them, he compelled them to engage their fortunes by a bloudie battell in a pitched field. The fight was cruelly maintained for the ſpace of three houres. But in the end, the Engliſhmen, with the loſſe of one and twenty hundred of their common ſouldiers, won the honour of that day, and ſlew of their Enemies, five Earles, two Vicounts, one and twenty Barons, and more than ſeven thouſand other men, beſides two thouſand and ſeven hundred Scots, who were ſent thither by their King. But the Duke of Alanſon himſelfe, with many Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen of name, were taken priſoners: and the Towne of Vernoyle without aſſault or battery was ſurrendred into the Regents hands: who having fortified it with a ſtrong Garriſon, commanded by their worthy Captaine Sir *Philip Hall*, marched to the City of Roan, where he was received with many triumphant ſhewes. And from thence he came to Paris, where his kind entertainment proclaimed his welcome and his honour.

The battell of Vernoile.

The Frenchmen are overthrowne.

Vernoile is regained.

This overthrow ſo weakened the French King, that none other Provinces or Territories, but only Burbon, Alverne, Berry, Poytou, Towraine, part of Anjou and Languedoc, could give unto his Royall Perſon any warrant of ſafety and aſſurance. Yet, leſt he ſhould want the true honours belonging to a King, in the Citie of Poytiers he eſtabliſhed his High Court of Parliament, and his Chancery, with the publike uſe of his broad Seale, and of all other things needfull and requiſite for the due adminiſtration of his Lawes, and the diſtribution of Juſtice.

The Engliſh doe prevaile.

The Regent taking the advantage of his late victory, ſent into the Countrey of Mayne an Army of ten thouſand men, which with great reſolution were bravely conducted by the valorous and prudent Earle of

The Earle of Salisbury winneth many Townes.

of Salisbury, who quickly won the ſtrong Citie of Mauns; and the Townes of Saint *Suſan,le Fort* Saint *Bernard*, and many others. And from thence he went into Anjou, where with the Sword he performed ſuch and ſo many wonders, that the very name of *Salisburie* became terrible in all France. The Earle of Salisburie winneth many Townes. His name is feared.

1425

The perfidious Earle of Richmond, whom King Charles had newly made High Conſtable of France, intending to make himſelfe famous in the minority of his Government, raiſed an Army of forty thouſand men, which conſiſted of Britans, French, and Scots; with which he beſieged the ſtrong Towne of Saint *James* in Bevyon, which was defended only by ſix hundred Engliſhmen: who having reſolutely endured many ſharp aſſaults and hard bickerings, upon a ſudden iſſued boldly out of the Towne, and proclaimed their approach with an hideous ſhout of Saint *George, Salisbury*; Saint *George, Salisburie*; and fell upon the multitude of their enemies like a ſtorme. This terrible cry, and the inconſolable feare and terrour which made them thinke that the Earle of Salisburie with his Armie had ſecretly conveyed himſelfe into the Towne for their reſcue, ſo amazed and daunted the faint-hearted multitude, that caſting away their Armour, abandoning all order, and entertaining nothing but deſpaire, they leapt headlong into the River; in which many of them were drowned, more were ſlaine, ſome were taken priſoners, and the reſt who ranne away left unto this little handfull all their Tents, fourteen Pieces of Ordnance, fortie Barrels of Powder, three hundred Pypes of Wine, two hundred Pipes of Bisket and of Flower, and two hundred Pieces of Raiſins and Figges, five hundred Barrels of Herrings, much Armour, and many other things. The ſiege of Saint James. A miraculous overthrow.

The new Conſtable intending to redeeme his honour with ſome better fortune, re-collected and furniſhed his Armie; with which he marched into the Countrey of Anjou, where (without reſiſtance) he burnt a few of the ſmalleſt, pooreſt, and moſt unworthy Villages of that Province. A poore revenge.

This childiſh ſervice puſt him up with much pride, and made him to imagine that he was now a warlike man, though his owne Nation, and all others, did publikely mocke and ſcoffe at his groſſe folly.

Whileſt thus the Regent and his Captaines daily triumphed in France, a dangerous and an unkind jarre brake forth at home betwixt the Protectour and his Uncle *Henrie* Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Lord Chancellour of England, which threatned the breach of the peace and tranquilitie of this Kingdome and Common-weale. For the appeaſing whereof, the Regent, having made the Earle of Warwick his Lievtenant Generall, and having ſet his affaires and buſineſſe in good order, came into England; where in a Court of Parliament the differences betwixt them were diſcovered, arbitrated, and the quarrell ended, to the great comfort and contentment of their friends. In honour whereof the King kept a ſolemne Feaſt, in which the Regent dubbed the King a Knight. The King alſo inveſted many of his great ſubjects with the ſame Dignity, and created his couſin *Richard*, ſon to *Richard* late Earle of Cambridge, Duke of Yorke; and reſtored *John Mowbray*, who was Earle Marſhall, to his fathers Dutchie of Norfolke. Variance betweene the Protectour and his Uncle the Biſhop of Wincheſter. The King is dubbed knight

And in this meane time the Earle of Warwick approved himſelfe to be a worthy Commander over his great charge, and conquered many things in Mayne, and prepared to fight a ſet battell, whereunto he was challenged by the French. But their threatnings were but braggs, and their courage fell downe into their heeles: for a little before the appointed time they baſely and cowardly ranne away.

1426. When all things were thus quieted at home, the noble Regent, being accompanied with his uncle the Biſhop of Wincheſter, returned into France, and (upon the requeſt of his brother-in-law the Duke of Burgoine) he ſet at liberty the Duke of Alanſon for the ranſome of two hundred thouſand Crownes: the moſt part of which money he would have given backe againe, if the ſaid Duke would have ſworne his homage to King *Henrie*: which he refuſed to doe; and did affirme, That the whole world ſhould not alienate his faith from King *Charles*, nor his dutie from his owne Countrey.

5

The Duke of Alanſon is ranſomed.

Wincheſter is made a Cardinall.

At this time the rich and proud Biſhop of Wincheſter, being at Calice, according to his ambitious deſires, was inveſted with the Hat, Habit, and Dignity of a Cardinall, and received from the Pope a Bull, which gave him meanes, in a ſhort time, to heape together a great part of the treaſure of this Land: ſo that all men wondered at him for his wealth, but no man had cauſe to commend him for his learning, or to reſpect him for his vertue.

A notable victory.

After the Regents returne into France, the Lord *Ruſtian*, Marſhall of Britain, having ſtrongly fortified Pontorſon, pitched with his Armie before the Towne of Auranches, in the Province of Conſtantine, within the Duchie of Normandie, purpoſing to have beſieged it. But ſuch was the reſolute valour of the Engliſh Garriſon there, that like unto Lions greedy of their prey, they iſſued ſuddenly out of the Towne, and ſet upon the Marſhall ſo ſucceſſefully, that he was taken priſoner, and the greater part of his followers as they fled were ſlaine.

Pontorſon beſieged by the Engliſh.

This victory gave freſh hopes of good-ſpeeding elſewhere: ſo that the Earle of Warwicke and the Lord *Scales* being ſent with ſeven thouſand men to Pontorſon, beſieged it a long time; where, being much enfeebled through many wants, the Lord *Scales*, for the reliefe of their neceſſities, taking with him three thouſand of their companies, grievouſly forraged the Countries of his enemies. But in his returne with plentie of proviſions, he was encountred by ſundry French Lords, and ſixe thouſand other fighting men; againſt whom ſo luckily he prevailed, that moſt of thoſe Nobles, and a thouſand more, were taken priſoners, many hundreds were ſlaine, and the reſt by a quick flight procured their owne ſafetie.

The Lord Scales defeateth the Frenchmen.

Ramfort taken.

The Garriſon alſo at Saint Suſan made ſuch a ſudden roade into Anjou, that they ſurprized the Caſtle of Ramfort, before any newes gave notice of their comming. But they no ſooner poſſeſſed it, but that they were beſieged by twenty thouſand men, who were appointed to raiſe the ſiege at Pontorſon. To theſe the Caſtle yeelded upon compoſition: ſo that the Frenchmen, being much elated with this poore conqueſt, imagined that they were brave men, and that they had done ſervice ſufficient for that time. And this conceit made them altogether careleſſe to relieve

Ramfort regained.

the

the diſtreſſed eſtate of Pontorſon: whereupon it was yeelded to the Earle of Warwick, who fortified it with good proviſions, and with a ſtrong Garriſon, and came with great honour to the Regent. Pontorſon won by the Engliſh.

Whileſt things were thus in hand, ſome of the Clergie, and ſome of the Magiſtrates of the Citie of Mouns (knowing that the Duke of Britaine was revolted, and that his brother, the Earle of Richmond, now wholly adhered to the French King) offered by trecherie to yeeld it to King *Charles*, if a convenient and an able Force might be ſent thither to worke that feat. This Citie was eagerly longed for on the French part: Wherefore, that it might be gotten, the Lords *Delabreth* and *Fayet*, Marſhals of France, with ſundry moe Barons, Captaines, Gentlemen, and old Souldiers, to the number of five hundred, came in the depth of the night to the Caſtle walls; and then the Conſpiratours within, without any compaſſion or manlike pity, maſſacred all ſuch Engliſh Guarders as then maintained the firſt Watch; and ſetting wide open all the Gates, the Surprizers, armed with barbarous cruelty, entred into the City, murdering and killing their enemies as they preſſed forth. Lamentable was the fearfull cry which ſo ſuddenly amazed the Engliſh Garriſoners within the Citie. And it was the more full of terrour, for that the cauſe thereof was not unto them perfectly knowne. Mouns is betrayed.

The Earle of Suffolke, who was chiefe Governour of the Towne, and the greateſt part of the Engliſh ſouldiers, entred into the Caſtle, and were betimes in the morning ſharply aſſaulted by the Frenchmen. And though they were altogether unprovided of all neceſſaries for a long defence, yet their luſtie courage againe and againe gave their enemies the repulſe; who making no doubt but through Famine, or by violence, to be owners of the Caſtle, careleſly diſpoſed themſelves to all eaſe, jollitie, and mirth. Whereof when the Lord *Talbot* was advertiſed, he forthwith marched thither in the night with ſeven hundred men. The Earle of Suffolke, to whom ſecret intelligence was given of his comming, left the Caſtle, and with his companies, unlooked for, and unthought upon, ruſhed into the Towne, luſtily crying and ſhouting, Saint *George*, *Talbot*; Saint *George*, *Talbot*. Which unexpected noiſe ſo wonderfully amazed the lazie, ſleepie, and drunken Frenchmen, that ſome of them, unclothed, in their ſhirts, leapt over the Towne walls to ſave their lives, but loſt them: ſo that, within and without the Towne, foure hundred Gentlemen being ſlaine and taken priſoners, and the raſcall peaſants being enlarged, thirty Citizens, twenty Prieſts, and fifteene Friars (by whoſe conſpiracie the towne had beene trecherouſly betrayed) were as Traitors tortured with miſerable deaths. And thus was the Citie of Mouns bravely regained to King *Henry*. Mouns is recovered by the Lord Talbot. 1427. 6

Not long before this time died the Tutour of the Kings Royall Perſon, the right noble *Thomas* Duke of Exeter: ſo that the Earle of Warwicke was ſent for into England to undergoe that charge. And in his ſtead the renowned and moſt valiant Captaine *Thomas Montacute*, Earle of Salisbury, whoſe former ſervices ſo appalled and daunted the hearts and courages of the Frenchmen, that they feared no man more, was ſent into France with five thouſand men. To which number as many more were added. And with them all the ſaid Earle marched to beſiege A new Armie ſent into France.

Orleance is beſieged by the Earle of Salisburie.

beſiege the ſtrong and warlike citie of Orleance, which ſtandeth upon the River of Loyer. This citie was newly fortified, and incredibly ſtrengthened, by the baſtard, & by the Biſhop of that place, with Towers, Bulwarkes and Forts: and the Suburbs, together with twelve other Pariſh Churches, foure Abbies, and all Houſes and Vines, being within five leagues of the Towne, they cauſed to bee ruinated, defaced, and cut downe; becauſe they ſhould not afford any help, ſuſtenance, or ſuccour to the Engliſhmen. When this ſiege was ſtrongly planted, the Baſtard of Orleance, intending to make famous his haughty courage to his enemies; bravely iſſued out of a ſtrong Bulwarke, which was erected upon the Bridge. But being unable to maintaine his bold challenge, hee was compelled with the loſſe of that Fort, and with the ſlaughter of the greater number of his Souldiers, to flie into the towne. Within this Bulwarke there was raiſed an high Tower, with a window in it; at which the Engliſhmen uſually pried into the towne, taking the view of the greater part of the citie. And thereby from time to time did informe themſelves in what caſe, and in what plight the Townes-men ſtood. And at the ſame window (about two Moneths after the firſt beſieging of the citie) the noble Earle of Salisbury, looking into the towne, was with a great ſhot unfortunately ſlaine; and with his death, the triumphs of the Engliſh Nation in France waxed more thin, and the Frenchmen became more victorious than they had been.

The Baſtard of Orleance defeated.

The valiant Earle of Salisbury ſlaine.

He being dead, the Earle of Suffolke was made Generall in that ſiege: who finding that all proviſions waxed exceeding ſcant, ſent Sir *John Faſtolfe* to the Regent for new ſupplies; who furniſhed him at the full, and diſpatched him and his companies with all ſpeed. But in his returne towards the ſiege, the Lord *Delabreth*, with ſundry other Barons, Knights, and common Souldiers, to the number of nine thouſand at the leaſt, intending their overthrow, preſented themſelves unto their view: who, placing their carts and carriages fartheſt backe, their Horſes next, and themſelves before, and pitching their ſtakes behind their Archers, upon the firſt encounter retired behind their ſtakes; on which the Frenchmen on horſe-backe were received, goared, and miſerably ſlaine. And by theſe meanes, their armie being diſordered began to flie: ſo that in the fight, and in the chaſe, the Lord *Delabreth*, and the Lord *William Steward*, Conſtable of France, with two thouſand and five hundred men were ſlaine, and eleven hundred were taken priſoners: with whom and with rich ſupplies, the valiant Knight and his companions repaired honourably unto the ſiege. And this battell was by the Frenchmen called the battell of Herrings, becauſe the chiefeſt proviſions which thoſe Engliſhmen then had, were Lenten ſtuffes.

The French-men are defeated.

The Battell of Herrings.

Orleance is offered to the Duke of Burgoine.

When the beſieged heard of this newes, and were hopeleſſe of any ſuccours to bee ſent for their reliefe from the French King, by letters they entreated the Duke of Burgoine to receive them into his protection, as his owne: who made them anſwer, That he would ſo doe, if the Regent would thereunto agree. This motion pleaſed many of the Regents friends and counſellours, becauſe thereby the Dolphin, ſirnamed the French King, ſhould not onely be diſpoſſeſſed of ſo rich and of ſo ſtrong a Citie, but alſo becauſe it ſhould be enjoyed by their chiefeſt friend.

But

But the Regent himſelfe, and ſome others, were of another mind, and returned this anſwer to the Duke, That ſeeing for ſo long a time ſuch great expences and charges had beene conſumed by King *Henry*, to bring that Citie into ſuch extremities, as that the beſieged became weary any longer to be troubled, it would ſound much to his diſhonour and diſgrace if any Prince beſides him ſhould enjoy the Lordſhip and the Seigniorie thereof.

The Duke of Burgoine falleth from the Engliſh.

This anſwer pierced the Duke of Burgoine to the heart: ſo that from thenceforth his affections daily waxed cold, and occaſioned him in ſecret to become a well-willer unto the French King.

The Duke of Alanſon relieveth Orleance.

When this project was revealed, and became fruitleſſe, the Citizens of Orleance craved preſent ſuccours from the Duke of Alanſon; who did his beſt to inſpire a new ſpirit of courage into the French King. And ſo ſenſible was he of their extremities, and ſo ready to relieve them, and ſo extremely negligent was the Engliſh Army to attend their Watches in the night, becauſe they daily expected the ſurrendring of the Citie, that in the depth and darkneſſe of the night he conveyed many thouſand men, and ſtore of all ſorts of proviſions into the Town. And within few daies after, the beſieged iſſued forth, being bravely reſolved to attempt much.

The Frenchmen prevaile, and are beaten.

Theſe men with ſtrong blowes won the Bulwark at the Bridges end, and one more, and ſlew ſix hundred men whom they found there. They alſo aſſaulted the Baſtile, wherein the Lord *Talbot* was: but with ſuch a wonderfull courage and reſolution he iſſued out upon them, that he maſſacred their companies on every ſide, and enforced them to flie like Sheepe before the Wolfe: ſo that with much loſſe they hardly recovered into the Towne.

The ſiege of Orleance abandoned.

But the next day the Earle of Suffolk quitted the ſiege, ſevered his Armie, and ſent each company to his owne Garriſon. And in their returne the Lord *Talbot* by maine aſſault won the ſtrong Caſtle and Towne of Lavall. And thus was the faire and the ſtrong Citie of Orleance delivered from a long and from a ſharp ſiege.

The Earle of Suffolke taken priſoner.

And within few daies after, the Duke of Alanſon beſieged and won the Towne of Jargeaux, wherein, among others, he tooke priſoners the Earle of Suffolke, and one of his brothers, and ſlew Sir *Alexander Poole*, another of his brethren. All which priſoners, except the former two, were ſlain by the Frenchmen, who contended among themſelves to whom thoſe priſoners did in right belong.

1428. 7

The Engliſhmen are overthrowne.

To the Dukes Army (which conſiſted of three and twenty thouſand men) there repaired *Arthur* of Britaine, the Earle of Vandoſme, and ſundry other Noblemen, with great and ſtrong troups. All theſe fortuned to meet with the Lords, *Talbot*, *Scales*, and *Hungerford*, who conducted five thouſand men to fortifie the Towne of Meum. Betwixt them there were exchanged many bloudie blowes: ſo that in the end the ſaid three Engliſh Lords were taken priſoners, twelve hundred of their companies were ſlaine, and the reſt which eſcaped haſted into Meum, and repleniſhed that Towne with ability of ſtrength to reſiſt future dangers.

This unfortunate diſaſter was accompanied with another miſchiefe. For no ſooner was it publiſhed and known abroad, but that divers Cities,

Townes,

Revolts to the French King.

Townes, Caſtles, and ſtrong holds, treacherouſly fell off and ſubmitted themſelves to the French King: whom theſe unexpected good chances not onely elated and made proud, but alſo augmented his good hopes of a ſpeedie end of all his troubles; eſpecially becauſe the Earle of Salisbury was ſlaine, and the Earle of Suffolke, and the Lords *Talbot*, *Scales*, *Hungerford*, and manie other valiant Engliſh Captaines, were then his priſoners, and could not aſſiſt the Regents part.

Troys won. Challons, Rhemes, &c. yeelded.

The French King being thus ſtomached and put in heart, would not any longer retaine any meane or baſe thoughts, but inſtead of them hee now conſulted and deviſed how he might recover the Citie of Rhemes, that in it he might with all Solemnities and Prince-like Requiſites bee crowned King, according to the manner and cuſtome of his Anceſtors, Kings of that Kingdome. And to effect thoſe his deſires, with all convenient ſpeed he forthwith paſſed into Champaigne with a great armie: where he beſieged, and by compoſition won Troys, the chiefeſt Citie in that Province. And the Inhabitants of Challons being thereof informed, perfidiouſly did rebell, and compelled their Captaine to yeeld the Towne. By which example, the Citizens of Rhemes being induced, did the like. And thus King *Charles* obtained his hearts deſire, and was crowned there. And as by that high title hee was chiefely dignified, ſo was hee thereby exceedingly furthered in all his future attempts. For upon the firſt report that hee was crowned King, it cannot eaſily win credit, how many Forts, Cities, Townes, and Caſtles, were, without blowes, delivered into his hands.

Charles is crowned King of France.

The Regents brave reſolution.

The Regent perceiving that his proceedings would be but vaine, except he ſpeedily checked this good fortune, reſolved, that a pitched field ſhould make him proſperous or unhappy. For which purpoſe, he marched with a ſtrong Armie from Paris towards the new King: and by his Heralds he proclaimed *Charles* to be an Uſurper, and a counterfeit King, and an arch-Traytour to King *Henrie*, and ſummoned him to a battell, that thereby he might receive puniſhments agreeable to his deſerts.

The Regent ſummoneth, the French King to a pitched field.

The French King not acknowledging any ſuch offence, ſeemed willingly to accept of this Challenge: yet for a while, hee trifled and lingered up and downe; and in the end diverted his courſe, and marched another way. But the Regent ſo cloſely followed after him, that, to defend himſelfe, he was enforced to marſhall his companies, and to make bragging ſhewes of reſiſtance. But outward appearences of valour were his beſt performances for two daies ſpace: for in the depth of the night with great ſilence he raiſed his Campe and ran away. But when the morning had diſcovered this his cowardly departure, the Regent with much travell and great paine endevoured to enforce him to looke backe. But becauſe hee alwaies fled, and would not adventure the exchange of blowes, therefore he returned to the Citie of Paris, to ſhew himſelfe carefull of his charge there: and ſo much the rather, becauſe thoſe Citizens were ever unconſtant, variable, wavering, perfidious, and untrue.

He runneth from the Regent.

Daily after the Regents returne, his eares filled with freſh reports of traiterous revolts, which made him (once more) to attempt to make his eſtate more ſtable and more ſure, by expoſing of himſelfe and his unto ſome preſent danger. For which cauſe, he marched againe towards the

French

French King, with an armie of ten thousand gallant men: who met him with more than that double number. But when all outward appearance presented good assurance of a deadly fight, the French King did once more shamefully run away. And neere about the same time, King *Henrie* (with all Princely Honour and Solemnitie) was crowned King. King Henrie is crowned. 1429 8

And albeit that daily experience made it manifest, that King *Charles* was a dastardly and a fearefull coward, yet the Townes of Champaign, Senlys, Beavois, Gaylard, and many others, trecherously yeelded themselves into his hand: whereupon the Regent resolved to cast his anchor in Normandy, and to secure the fidelitie and love of the Inhabitants of that Province, howsoever the game should chance to runne elsewhere. For which purpose he went thither, and in an honourable and full Parliament he related artificially the lineall Discent of his Lord and Master King *Henrie* the sixt, from *Rollo* the Hardie, who was the first Duke of that Countrey. He also minded them of those miseries, which too too commonly, and with over-much severity, had been inflicted on their Nation by the natives of the Kingdome of France. And remembred them of those immunities and royall priviledges, which (under the English Government) they had long and liberally enjoyed, by which they were made fortunate and rich: whereof he promised them, not only a sure and a firme continuance, but also a daily enlargement, with all favour. Thus, and by these meanes, hee confirmed and ratified to King *Henrie* and to himselfe the affections and friendship of that people. Revolts to the French King. The Regent establisheth Normandie.

But whilest the Regent thus busily employed himselfe in Normandie, the French King attempted (by all subtle and cunning meanes) to lessen and to weaken his power. For the effecting whereof, first of all he endevoured to dissolve that knot of love and amitie which conjoyned the Regent and the Duke of Burgoine in an indifferent liking of each other, by excusing himselfe to the said Duke touching the murdering of his Father: and by solemne promises and oathes vowing to give unto him mountaines of wealth, many honours, and his inward favour, if hee would be firmely reconciled, and become his friend. And albeit, that the Duke was not well pleased, for that the Regent would not consent that the citie of Orleance (when it was besieged and grievously distressed) should be yeelded into his hands, yet in a friendly manner hee acquainted the Regent with this cunning Plot. So when King *Charles* perceived that this device was fruitlesse, he brought his whole armie before the citie of Paris: of whose revolt, if the multitude had dared, the Regent had beene right well assured. But when hee perceived that nothing but blowes could make him hopefull of good successe, he battered and scaled the wals, and assaulted the Citizens with sharpe furie: but (by the brave valour and courage of the English Garrisons, which were well assisted by such of the Townesmen as were faithfull to King *Henrie*) he was repulsed many times with great losse, and slaughter of his men; and at last was compelled shamefully to depart from thence. The French King wooeth the Duke of Burgoine. The French King assaulteth Paris, and is beaten.

The Regent (at his returne) thanked and praised them exceedingly: but especially such of the Parisians as had well testified their faith and loialtie to King *Henrie* in his absence. Whereat they seemed publikely to take so much joy, that hypocritically they stiled themselves thus,

Friends

Friends to the Engliſh, and friends to the Pariſians; Enemies to the Engliſh, and enemies to the Pariſians: yet were they trecherous and unconſtant, as in this future diſcourſe it ſhall manifeſtly appeare.

It will be too tedious to make an ample relation of every light skirmiſh that was made, and of every revolt, and marſhall gayning; which ſtrengthened the Engliſh in ſome places, and weakned them in others: wherefore it ſhall ſuffice, that we be well informed, that either part did ſometimes win, and ſometimes loſe. But to ſay the truth, the Engliſh forces and ſtrength in France did not encreaſe; becauſe ſuch was the inconſtant levitie of the French Nation, that they gladded their hearts at every opportunitie which enabled them to revolt, and yeeld to King *Charles*. By meanes whereof King *Henrie* (as he was counſelled) ſailed with a puiſſant armie from Dover, and arrived at Callice: and taking Roan in his way, he marched unto Paris; where he was (with all beſeeming requiſites) annointed and crowned King of France, and received homage and fealty upon the Oathes of the Nobles, Gentlemen, and common people of that Citie.

1431
10
King Henry crowned in Paris.

England admired at.

Theſe French wars were famous in all the Weſtern parts of the World. And the more were they ſpoken of, becauſe men generally did wonder, how it was poſſible, that ſo ſmall an Iland as England was, ſhould for ſo many yeeres together, ſo grievouſly torment and ſcourge ſo large, ſo populous, and ſo potent a Kingdome as France was, and put it to the worſt.

An unperfect Truce.

At length, and after frequent mediations, uſed by *Eugenius* the Fourth, then Pope of Rome, and by many other Chriſtian Princes, ſuch great hopes, as made the faireſt ſhew of an happy peace, vaniſhed quite, and came to nothing; ſaving that an unperfect truce for ſixe yeeres was conſented unto, which laſted but a while: for ſhortly after King *Henries* returne into England, unfortunately it hapned, that the Ladie *Anne*, wife unto the Regent, and ſiſter to the Duke of Burgoine, died. And not long after, he married the faire and freſh Ladie *Jaquet*, daughter unto *Peter*, Earle of Saint *Paul*, and thereby allied himſelfe to the ancient and honourable Family and Houſe of *Luxenbourgh*, and from thenceforth the great love, which for many yeeres had made the Regent and his brother in law, the Duke of Burgoin, fortunate and happy, waxed faint and feeble: by meanes whereof the Duke won nothing, and the Regent became leſſe powerfull than he had beene in former times.

The Regents wife dyeth.

The Regent newly married.

1432
11
The Truce broken.

The ſolemnities of this marriage were no ſooner finiſhed, but that the ſixe yeeres truce, which was ſo lately concluded, was quite broken, and warre began to threaten the effuſion of much bloud: for the adverſe part (by ſecret underminings and trecherous perſwaſions) poſſeſſed it ſelfe daily of many of the Regents Caſtles and Townes; and juſtified that manner of proceeding, by affirming, that politike gainings without blowes, infringed not any truce: and ſo farre off were the Frenchmen from reſtoring thoſe things, which by thoſe ſubtleties they had gained, that to procure more, they ſecretly conveyed two hundred ſouldiers into the Caſtle of Roan, hoping to have ſurprized it: but the treaſon was revealed, and the Conſpirators were (with maine ſtrength) beaten into the Dungeon: from whence they were ſentenced, ſome to the Gallowes, others to death by cruell torments, others to ſharpe impriſonment,

Treaſon diſcovered.

ment; and ſuch of them as ſped beſt, were for great ranſomes and ſummes of mony ſet at large.

These coales quickly kindled the fire of rage, in ſo much that either partie made it ſelfe ſtrong by the ſpeedie ſupply of a new Armie. And the Regents forces were much augmented by *John* Lord *Talbot*, who was of late redeemed out of Priſon, who though he brought with him out of England but onely eight hundred choſen men at Armes, yet his name and his preſence more terrified the Frenchmen, than halfe the Engliſh Army beſides. Oftentimes the two Armies by their neere approach, ſtrived to out-face and to daunt each other; and twice the Regent boldly challenged the Frenchmen to entertaine the fight: but they onely made faire ſhewes to performe much, and ſeemed as if they thirſted to make themſelves famous by their manhood: yet in two ſeverall places, and at two times, they fled in the night, and would not in any ſort hazzard their fortunes in the field. 1433 12

Talbots name was terrible in France.

Now whileſt the Regent was thus carefully employed abroad, the Ruſticks of Normandy trecherouſly attempting to ſhake off the Engliſh yoake (which was never burthenſome unto them) rudely armed themſelves, and marched towards Cane; exerciſing much violence and cruelty in all places where they did prevaile. But they were ſpeedily encountred and overthrown by the Earle of *Arundell* and the Lord *Willoughby*, who ſlew more than a thouſand of them, and tormented their rebellious Leaders and Captaines with ſundry ſorts of deaths, but permitted the baſer ſort to returne home.

A Rebellion in Normandy.

The Rebels are ſubdued.

This noble and courageous Earle purpoſing to reſeize for King *Henrie* the Towne of Rue, which grievouſly puniſhed the Countries of Ponthew, Arthois, and Bolenois, perceived as he marched, that an old decayed Caſtle, called Gerbory, neere unto Beavois, was newly re-edified and made ſtrong. This Caſtle he aſſaulted with great courage: but being mortally wounded on the ancle with the ſhot of a Culvering, he was taken Priſoner from the ground, but within few daies after he dyed.

The Earle of Arundell ſlaine.

About the ſame time, the Duke of Bourbon, who about eighteene yeeres before was taken priſoner at the battell fought at Agencourt, paid his ranſome of eighteene thouſand pounds, but dyed in London the ſame day in which he intended to ſet forwards towards France.

The Duke of Bourbon is ranſomed, and dieth.

In the end of the reigne of King *Henrie* the Fifth, wee may review or remember, what a preciſe charge and command that King gave to his brethren, and to his Nobles, never to loſe the amitie and friendſhip of *Philip* Duke of Burgoine; and this Hiſtorie maketh mention how carefull they have beene ever ſince, to obſerve his counſell in that behalfe: but the buſie tongues of tell-tales, and of foiſting flatterers, obtaining credit where reprehenſion was more fitting, prevailed in ſuch ſort, that the ſaid Duke cauſlefly waxed jealous, and his love was cold towards the Regent; yet through the perſwaſions, and by the mediation of their honorable friends, an enterview to revive their friendſhip was procured, and S. Omers was the place appointed for that purpoſe. But when they both had made their entrance into that Town, the Duke of Bedford, becauſe he was Regent, and the ſon, brother, and Uncle unto Kings, expected the prioritie of viſitation by the Duke: but hee, becauſe he was the Lord and

The Regent and the Duke of Burgoine have ſtout ſtomachs.

Soveraigne of that Towne, ſuppoſed that hee ſhould be checked for diſhonourable baſeneſſe, if he ſhould firſt repaire to the Regents lodging. Theſe conceits touching their preheminence and ſuperioritie, were very likely to diſtemper their humours, more than formerly they had beene. For the preventing whereof, their friends endevoured to perſwade them both to meet together in ſome indifferent place. But the Regent refuſed to yeeld thereunto. So they departed and left the Towne, being both diſpleaſed and diſcontented with each others haughtineſſe of ſpirit and great ſtomach. And forthwith the Duke of Burgoine entred into league and friendſhip with the French King, who had before murdered his Father; which falling off from the Engliſh advantaged not him, nor founded to his honour.

The Duke of Burgoine forſakes the Regent.

1434

About the ſame time, the Towne of Saint Dennis neere unto Paris, was treaſonably yeelded to the French King, by the ſecret practice of the baſtard of Orleance; who was ſirnamed the Earle of Dumoys. But the Lord *Talbot*, and ſome other Lords, accompanied with five thouſand men, compaſſed it round about with a ſtrong ſiege. Whereof when the Earle of Dumoys was informed, to remove the ſiege he collected a ſtrong power of choſen horſemen. But ere he came thither, the Town by compoſition, was ſurrendred, and the Wals and Towers thereof were beaten to the ground. And though in this place the Engliſh gained, yet the inhabitants of Ponthoys (which ſtandeth on the river betwixt Normandie and Paris) did rebell, and thruſt the Engliſh Garriſon out of the Town: which from that time forward animated the inhabitans of Paris to thinke on nothing more, than how they might by treaſon, or by violence, reduce themſelves to the ſubjection of the French King.

Saint Dennis treacherouſly betrayed.

Saint Dennis is recovered.

Ponthoys revolteth.

But behold, a greater miſhap than the loſſe of many Townes and Cities, did (unexpectedly) weaken King *Henries* part. For now the moſt renowned, wiſe, politike, and worthy Regent of France, died, and was with all Princely Ceremonies and Solemnities, buried in a ſtately Monument, which was erected for him in our Ladies Church, within the Citie of Roan. Whereat the mutable and unconſtant Nobilitie of the Dutchie of Normandie (who had received from him many benefits and favours) much repined. And within few yeeres after, they inſtantly requeſted the French King *Lewis* the Eleventh (who was the ſonne of King *Charles* the Seventh) to plucke it downe, and to caſt the Regents carcaſſe into the open fields; alledging, That it was much diſhonourable, and a great diſgrace for them, to ſuffer ſuch an enemie as hee was to them and to the Kings of France, to be ſo richly interred within the Metropolitan Citie of that Province. But King *Lewis* (who worthily withſtood their baſe attempt) affirmed, and did publikely proteſt, That a more ſumptuous Sepulchre was too too bad to cover the dead corps of him, who in his life time ſcorned (upon any occaſion whatſoever) to ſtep one foot backe for all the power and ſouldierie of France: and who, in all his proceedings, and in all his Government, had approved himſelfe to be ſo wiſe, politike, faithfull, and hardie, that all heroicall and generous ſpirits ſhould rather endevour to immortalize his Fame, and with the trumpet of Honour to proclaime his manlike acts, than in the leaſt meaſure, labour to ſhadow or to eclipſe them with envie or diſgrace. And that there was no

The Regent dyeth.

He was buried in Roan.

His Sepulchre envied.

A Kingly Speech.

ſtronger

ſtronger an argument or proofe of baſeneſſe and of cowardiſe, than to inſult over the dead bodie of him, who whilſt hee lived, was amiable and courteous in time of peace, but bold and terrible in Armes.

1435
14

The death of this renowned Prince was the cauſe of infinite alterations and changes within the Kingdome of France, and elſewhere. For after his death, *Richard* Duke of York was made Regent, againſt the liking and good will of *Edmund* Duke of Somerſet, couſin to the King; who for himſelfe inwardly affected that authoritie and place.

Richard Duke of Yorke made Regent.

The treacherous Citie of Paris alſo, and many other Townes, Caſtles, and Forts, rebelliouſly yeelded themſelves, and wholly became French. And not onely ſo, but villainouſly they murdred, taunted, and ſcoffed the Engliſh Nation, whom in outward ſhew & with faire words, they ſeemed not long before, to honour, and extraordinarily to reſpect.

Paris revolteth, and is cruell to the Engliſh.

The Normans alſo revolted, and tyrannized over the Engliſhmen; whom with the ſword, and by a thouſand meanes, they conſumed, untill by the ſlaughter of five thouſand of their companies, they were ſubdued by the Lord *Talbot*, the Lord *Scales*, Sir *Thomas Kyriel*, and by ſome others.

The rebellious Normans are ſubdued.

When Paris, Saint Dennis, Saint Germains in Ley, and many more Cities and Townes were loſt, the new Regent, with eight thouſand ſouldiers, landed at Harflew; and from thence came to the Citie of Roan: where his Preſidents for Juſtice were much admired and commended. But in the whole courſe of his government hee effected nothing elſe to bee wondered at, by reaſon that the Duke of Somerſets ſecret grudgings hindered thoſe expeditions which might have made him famous, and his Countrie fortunate and happy.

Private envie hindered the publike good.

The revolted Duke of Burgoine (who not long before had falſified his oath and promiſe to King *Henry*, and to his Father) pretending a right full title unto the Towne of Callice, beſieged it with an Armie which conſiſted of fortie thouſand men.

The Duke of Burgoine beſiegeth Calice.

This Towne was newly ſtrengthened with many hundreds of brave ſouldiers, who by *Henrie* Earle of Mortaine, and by the Lord of Cammoys, from England were brought thither. The Duke attempted to win the Towne by three terrible aſſaults, but hee was a great loſer by them all; And the incredible ſtrength of the place, and of his enemies, deprived him utterly of all hope to win it by any other meanes, than onely by famine and ſcarcitie of food. But that courſe he was not able to purſue, becauſe the Engliſh Navie was maſter of the Sea. But yet to ſhut up the Haven, and then for a while to attempt what might be done, he prepared foure great Hulkes, and filled them with ſquare and maſſie ſtones, cemented and joyned cloſe together with Iron and with Lead, becauſe they ſhould (as a Rock) remaine together, and not be beaten in ſunder by the Sea. But ſo unskilfull were they who had the charge to ſinke them, that they miſſed the Channell: for that when the water was at an ebbe, the ſhips lay dry, and were by the Callicians rowed all abroad; and the ſtones and timber being taken in, ſerved for the proviſion and fortifications of the Towne.

The Duke alſo built a ſtrong Baſtyle, which he furniſhed with foure hundred fighting men: which, though for a few dayes it prejudiced the

beſieged, yet it did them no memorable harme. For not long after it was erected, certaine troupes of horſemen iſſued out of the Towne, who fought proudly with the Dukes Forces; and in the meane time the Baſtyle was aſſaulted and won by others, who tooke all ſuch priſoners as were not ſlaine therein, burned the Fort, and returned with very little loſſe into the Towne.

The Dukes Baſtyle taken by the Engliſh.

The Duke of Burgoine flieth in the night.

The Duke of Burgoine, who ſeemed much to rejoice, becauſe the Protectour had promiſed to attempt the raiſing of the ſiege within few daies, made great preparations to withſtand it: but being ſurprized with a ſudden feare to be ſwallowed up betwixt the Engliſh Armie and the Towne, he removed from thence in the night, leaving to the Protectour, who landed with his companies the day before, all his Tents, Ordnance, Armour, and Proviſions, being of great worth.

The Protectour, who brought with him thither five and twenty thouſand men, entred into the Dukes Countries of Flanders and Arthois, where he ſlew, burnt, ranſacked, and won rich booties at his owne pleaſure. And without reſiſtance he returned unto Callice, and (with ſuch ſuperfluity as he had gotten) aboundantly and plentifully he ſupplied it with all things which they wanted; and then he returned into England, where he found the State much troubled. For *James* the firſt, being King of Scots, forgetting quite the manifold favours and Princely education which, being a priſoner, he found within the Kingdome of England, with thirtie thouſand men had for many weekes beſieged the Caſtle of Roſborough, which was valiantly defended by Sir *Ralph Grey*. But the Earle of Northumberland (as he was appointed) prepared to give him battell, and to remove the ſiege. Whereof when notice was given to the Scottiſh Armie, they removed, and fled with extraordinarie ſpeed into their own Countrie.

Roſborough beſieged by the Scots.

The Scots flie.

1436. 15

About the ſame time died Queene *Katherine*, mother to the King, who after her husbands death (fancying more her owne pleaſure and contentment, than the ſupporting of her high and honourable eſtate) married a goodly Gentleman, named *Owen Tuthar*; who though his meanes were but ſmall, yet was he deſcended from *Cadwallader*, the laſt King of the Britans: and by her he had iſſue two ſons, halfe brothers to the King, that is to ſay, *Edmund* and *Jaſper*. This *Edmund* was by King *Henrie* created Earle of Richmond, and tooke to wife the Lady *Margaret*, ſole daughter and heire unto *John* Duke of Somerſet, and begot on her King *Henrie* the Seventh. And *Jaſpar* was created Earle of Pembroke.

Likewiſe the Lady *Jaquet*, ſiſter unto the Earle of Saint *Paul*, and Dutcheſſe Dowager to *John* Duke of Bedford, the late Regent of France, contrary to her friends liking (yet to pleaſe her ſelfe) married a gallant Gentleman, who was much inferiour to her eſtate, named Sir *Richard Woodvile*, whom afterwards the King made Baron Rivers, and then Earle Rivers: and by him (among many other children) ſhe had iſſue *Elizabeth*, who was after the wife of King *Edward* the Fourth, and was mother to the Lady *Elizabeth*, whom King *Henrie* the Seventh eſpouſed and tooke to wife.

Sir Richard Woodvile made Baron Rivers, and afterwards Earle Rivers.

It pleaſed the Kings Councell of this Realme to diſcharge *Richard* Duke

Duke of Yorke of his Regencie in France, and to eſtabliſh the Earle of Warwick in his place; who embarked himſelfe ſeven times before he could ſet one foot in Normandie. But at laſt his arrivall was fortunate and happy. And having intelligence that the Duke of Burgoin with ten thouſand men lay ſtrongly entrenched before Crotoy, he ſent the Lords *Talbot* and *Falconbridge*, Sir *Thomas Kyriel*, and many other valiant Captaines, with five thouſand Engliſhmen, to raiſe that ſiege. But the Duke fearing with his double number to encounter with his enemies, fled with his whole Armie unto Abevyle. From whence he being eagerly purſued, and hourely dared to make a ſtand, and to play the man, he poaſted unto Amiens, where the Engliſhmen, who daily hunted after him, found him and his companies ſtrongly encloſed within the walls. But becauſe he played the coward, and would not fight, the Lord *Talbot* entred into Picardy and Arthois, where (unreſiſted) he waſted and conſumed the whole Countrie, the walled Townes, Caſtles, and Forts onely excepted, and enriched all his Army with cattell, money, plate, and many other things of great worth and value.

1437. 16. The Earle of Warwicke is made Regent. Crotoy beſieged.

The Duke of Burgoine will not fight.

Sir *Thomas Kyriel* alſo ſurprized the Dukes Carriages and his Ordnance; all which booties were brought unto Crotoy, with as much victualls as would maintaine ſixe hundred men for one whole yeere. And all the reſidue of thoſe ſpoiles he ſent to the Earle of Warwicke, which abundantly ſupplied his great wants.

The Earle of Mortayne, ſon to *Edmund* Duke of Somerſet, by violent aſſaults tooke the Caſtle of Saint Avyan in Mayne, and ſlew therein three hundred Scots, and hanged all the Frenchmen whom he found there, becauſe having once beene ſworne to King *Henry*, they revolted, and became French.

Perjurie puniſhed.

Thus Fortune every day turned her Wheele, making him who yeſterday won much, to day to loſe all; and ſuddenly advancing thoſe to great honour, whom former diſaſters had made miſerable and bare. But the Frenchmens treaſons and trecheries daily betrayed more Cities, Towns, and Caſtles, to the French King, than either the Engliſhmen could hold by policie, or gaine by ſtrength.

And albeit that by reaſon thereof he comforted himſelfe, and proſperous ſucceſſe accompanied moſt of his attempts, yet was he on a ſudden checked by the open Rebellion of his eldeſt ſon, the Dolphin of Vyen; who, being aſſiſted by the Dukes of Alanſon and of Burbon, uſurped the government of France, and by publike Edicts divulged the inſufficiencie of his father to rule that kingdome.

1438. 17. The Dolphin rebelleth againſt his father.

This cloud threatned a ſhrewd ſtorme, and begat this Queſtion in his Father and in his Counſellours of State, *Whether it were better to attempt the curing of this maladie by civill warre, and by letting of bloud; or by diſcretion and by policie, without blowes?* The latter project being entertained, publike Proclamations were made in the French Kings Name, by which he prohibited all his ſubjects, upon the paines of death, to yeeld any ſubjection to the Dolphins commands, and pardoned all ſuch as by his perſwaſions had devoted themſelves to his ſervice. And moreover, ſundry Letters were written, divers Meſſengers were ſent, and many powerfull Mediatours ſo prevailed, that the Dolphin, with his

The rebellion is appeaſed.

confederates, were quickly reconciled, and joyfully received into the Kings favour.

The regaining of Paris attempted.

Whileſt theſe unnaturall broiles breathed freſh hopes into the Engliſh Nation that Paris might be regained, they prepared a great Armie for that purpoſe. But by meanes of the ſaid reconciliation and agreement, thoſe their deſignes were ſtrangled in their birth, their Armie was diſſolved, and being enforced to ſaile by a ſmaller Compaſſe, they endevoured to effect ſuch things as were proportionable to their ſtrength, and to win thoſe things which were within their reach.

1439 18 Ponthois ſurprized.

About the ſame time (the ground being covered with a thicke Snow, which was much hardened by a ſudden Froſt) *John* Lord *Clifford*, clothing himſelfe and his followers all in white, paſſed in the night ſeaſon over the ditches of Ponthois, which not long before was trecherouſly yeelded to the French King: the walls they ſcaled, entred in, ſlew the Watch, won the Towne, killed the greater part of all the men found there, and tooke many priſoners, which yeelded them good ranſomes in a ſhort time.

The French King beſiegeth Ponthois.

This bold attempt ſo paſſionately vexed the French King, that in his owne perſon he came before the Town with a great Armie, with which, and with many Trenches, Baſtiles, Forts, and Rampiers, he compaſſed it round about, and gave unto it many fierce aſſaults: in all which he loſt much, and was ſcorned by the beſieged.

A new Regent.

And whileſt he thus lay before the Towne, *Richard Beauchamp*, Earle of Warwicke, and Regent of France, died; and *Richard* Duke of Yorke was the ſecond time made Regent of that Kingdome: who being accompanied with the Earle of Oxford, the Lord *Bourchier* Earle of Ewe, the Lord *Talbot*, and many others, raiſed a great Armie, repaired to the ſiege, and dared the French King into the field. Which he refuſed; and leaving his Ordnance in the ſtrongeſt Baſtile of Saint Martin, which he had erected, he raiſed his ſiege in the midſt of the night, and went unto Poyſie. But in the morning, when the Engliſh Armie perceived that their enemies had fearfully abandoned the place, and had left their Tents behind them, they poſſeſſed them with much joy, & found much riches, and ſtore of all proviſions, with which they comforted themſelves and the Towne. And leaving there Sir *Gervaſe Clifton* with a thouſand valiant men to defend it, and neglecting the Baſtile, which neither could without much loſſe be ſuddenly gotten, nor was able to doe any harme, the Regent, with all his companies, directed his journey towards Poyſie: and being come thither, he ſet his Armie in a warlike manner, nothing doubting but that the French King (whoſe ſtrength was much encreaſed by the repaire of the chiefeſt Lords and gallantrie of France) would have anſwered him in the open field; but he kept himſelfe cloſe within the Towne. In ſo much that when the Regent perceived that no bold bragging nor ſcornfull tauntings could move his patience, nor make him valiant, he left him there, and by eaſie Marches he came to Roan.

He runneth away in the night.

He is dared, yet playes the Coward.

Ponthois beſieged the ſecond time.

The French King, as ſoone as he heard that the Engliſh Armie was ſo farre off; entred into a ſerious conſideration of his eſtate. And being mindfull that the Pariſians by often ſcandalls had reproved his faint heart, and that the Towne of Ponthoys was an evill enemie to that Ci-

tie,

tie, to regaine his reputation and honour by winning of that Towne, he uſed extraordinarie expedition, and with a puiſſant Army he beſieged it round about. And becauſe he feared leſt ſmall delayes might deprive him of his hopes, he aſſaulted it almoſt every houre, and loſt before it above three thouſand men. But in the end he won the Town, and ſlaughtered foure hundred Engliſhmen, the reſt of them were taken priſoners, and ordered according to the French Kings will. And when he had thus prevailed, divers other Cities and Townes (greedily embracing all reports of their Kings valour) trecherouſly revolted, and became French.

It is valiantly defended. It is taken.

Naturaliſts have taught us, that when two Lions have by combate tired themſelves, they doe depart proudly each from the other, neither of them ſeeming to yeeld, and both of them expreſſing many ſignes of much triumph. And our Hiſtories doe report, that both King *Henrie* and King *Charles*, being wearied with the infinite vexation of their wars, and with their daily travels, ſeemed both of them to be Conquerours; yet were they both eaſily perſwaded to hearken to ſuch indifferent motions for a Truce as were propoſed by their friends. For this conference Callice was appointed the place to meet in: which Town was choſen before any other, becauſe *Charles* the noble Duke of Orleance, who ever ſince the battell of Agencourt had continued a priſoner in England, was to be conveyed over, that for his ranſome of three hundred thouſand Crowns, if it could be gotten, he might be enlarged and ſet free. The Embaſſadours which met there about this buſineſſe conſulted oftentimes, but at length adjourned thoſe negotiations untill ſome other time, becauſe the demands of King *Henrie* were thought to be unreaſonable in three points.

A Parley.

FIrſt, in regard of the over-great ſumme of money which was demanded for the Dukes Ranſome.

Secondly, for that the peaceable and the quiet poſſeſsion of the whole and entire Dutchies of Aquitaine, and of Normandie, was required, and to be enjoyed freely, without any acknowledgement of Homage or of Soveraignty of the Crowne of France.

And thirdly, becauſe the ſurrendring and yeelding up into King Henries hands was urged of all ſuch Cities, Townes, Caſtles, Forts, and Territories in France, as the Engliſh Nation had enjoyed at any time within the ſpace of thirtie yeeres then laſt paſt.

King Henries demands.

Yet not long after this meeting was diſſolved, *Philip* Duke of Burgoin, pitying the enthralled eſtate of the Duke of Orleance, and remembring *John* his father had cruelly murdered *Lewis* the father of the ſaid Duke, paid his Ranſome, and at his owne charge tranſported him with honourable attendance into France.

The Parley is diſſolved. The Duke of Orleance is ranſomed.

And now the Regent, purpoſing to prevent the Frenchmens warres, with which they intended to diſturb the Peace of the Dutchie of Normandy,

1440. 19 Cruell Wars.

mandie) divided all his companies into foure troupes, which were ſeverally commanded by himſelfe, by the Duke of Somerſet, by *Robert* Lord *Willoughby*, and by *John* Lord *Talbot*. All theſe in ſeverall places invaded the Territories of France and of Britaine, and prevailed every where, ſaving at the Towne of Deepe, which though they long beſieged, yet was it cleered in the end. And in the meane time the French King, with his ſon the Dolphin of Vyen, with the Baſtard of Orleance, ſirnamed the Lord *Dumoys*, entred into Aquitaine and Guyan with an Armie of threeſcore thouſand men, and received many Caſtles, Towns, and Cities, into their hands, which voluntarily, and without blowes, were yeelded unto them; but they were not long enjoyed: for the French Army, being very great, and pinched with extreme famine, and divers wants, was broken up. And immediately after their departure into France, the Engliſhmen recovered whatſoever was formerly gotten by the French King.

1441. 20. Diſſention betweene the Protector and the Cardinall.

About the ſame time the good Duke of Gloceſter, Protectour of the Kings perſon, and of this Kingdome, diſliked much the undue proceedings of his Uncle the rich Cardinall of Wincheſter, and of the Archbiſhop of Yorke; who (without his conſent, or the Kings warrant) attempted and did many publike things for their owne profit and private gain. For the reformation whereof he preferred unto the King certain Articles againſt them: the conſideration of which was referred to the Privie Councell. But becauſe the moſt of them were Clergie-men, they afforded no maner of redreſſe; whereat the Protectour was much diſpleaſed. But to requite him with more vexation, and a greater trouble, they cauſed the Lady *Eleanor* his wife to be accuſed and convicted for conſpiring of the Kings death with Witches, and ſuch like graceleſſe people: for which ſhe was enforced three times to doe publike penance in the Citie of London, and afterwards ſhe was committed to perpetuall impriſonment. But divers of her condemned aſſociates were executed, and put to ſundry kinds of death.

The Protectours wife condemned for witchcraft.

1442. 21. John Talbot created Earle of Shrewsbury

And now to return to the French wars. King *Henrie*, in regard of former ſervices, and of future hopes of the like performance, created the Lord *John Talbot* Earle of Shrewsburie, and ſent him into Normandie with three thouſand ſelected men, for the better ſecuring of that Dutchie. In which expedition he worthily demeaned himſelfe, and won much honour.

This yeere the Counteſſe of Coming in Guyan died without iſſue; and her inheritance was claimed by the French King. And likewiſe the Earle of Arminacke pretended himſelfe to be her next heire. And to ſtrengthen himſelfe the better to gaine his right, he offered his daughter in marriage to King *Henrie*, with the gift of much money, and with the ſurrendring into his hands of all ſuch territories and poſſeſſions within the Dutchie of Aquitaine and Guyan, as either by conqueſt or by deſcent did belong unto him.

A marriage offered to King Henry.

This offer was willingly hearkened unto, and accepted by the King, who by his Embaſſadours was publikely offered to the ſaid Lady. But the French King, minding rather to prevent dangers before they come, than to remove them after they were hapned, ſo ſuddenly invaded the ſaid

ſaid Earles Countries and Dominions with an Armie, that with ſmall or no reſiſtance he quickly made himſelfe the owner of them all. The newes whereof ſo altered and changed the mind and the affections of King *Henry* towards his offered Ladie, that he would never after be perſwaded to hearken unto, or thinke upon that match.

1443. 22

The grieved compaſſion which forrain Princes took upon the lamentable diſtreſſe of poore France, becauſe the bloud of Chriſtians was ſo unmeaſurably and ſo unmercifully ſhed in thoſe warres, incited them to mediate both theſe Kings to make a friendly peace; which was not effected according to their endeavours and deſires, but a Truce only was concluded for eighteene moneths. In the handling whereof the Earle of Suffolke (not warranted by his Commiſſion, nor making his aſſociates acquainted with his purpoſe) ſolicited a marriage betwixt his Lord and Maſter King *Henry*, and the Lady *Margaret*, couſin to the French King, and daughter unto *Reyner* Duke of Anjou, being the titularie King of Sicilie, Naples, and Jeruſalem. With her he made no demand for any money, becauſe her father was but poore; nay, which was much worſe, he conſented, that if the ſaid marriage might be effected, King *Henrie* ſhould freely and frankly releaſe unto her father all his right and title to the ſaid Dutchie of Anjou, and to the Countrey of Mayne.

The Earle of Suffolke ſolicit-teth another marriage for King Henry without authority given to him.

The Lords of France were quickly won to hearken to this motion, and King *Henry* was glad at the heart that he ſhould have for his wife ſuch a faire and freſh Lady as the Earle of Suffolke could never praiſe enough. But the Protectour ſtrongly oppoſed himſelfe againſt this Match, terming her deſcent to be but titularie, and urging much the poverty of her father; and told the King that his honour and reputation would receive many ſcandals, if he ſhould reject the Earle of Arminacks daughter, unto whom with all due ceremonies he was publikely affied; and alſo that his loſſe would be lamentable, if he releaſed his lawfull and juſt title to the Dutchie of Anjou, and to the Countrey of Mayne, according to the Earle of Suffolks unadviſed offer. But all his reaſons (as frivolous) were rejected, and his counſell was not cared for. But the King, to gratifie and to pleaſe ſuch of his Noblemen as therein enclined themſelves to his humour, beſtowed on them new Dignities and Honours. For *John* Lord *Holland*, Earle of Huntingdon, was created Duke of Exeter, as his father had beene; *Humfrey* Earle of Stafford was made Duke of Buckingham; *Henrie* Earle of Warwicke was made Duke of Warwicke; and the ſaid Earle of Suffolke was created Marqueſſe of Suffolke. Which Marqueſſe, being very honourably accompanied with great troupes of Lords, Ladies, and other Perſonages of great worth and honour, went richly provided into France, and, according to his condition, received the Lady *Margaret* from the French King, and from *Reyner* her father, and conveyed her with great pomp and Princely magnificence into England; where, within few daies after, ſhe was married to the King, and crowned Queene. Now as the prefixed time for the Truce drew towards an end, ſo King *Henry* perceived that this his new alliance with the French King promiſed him not any certainty that it ſhould be enlarged, or that hee ſhould have peace. For in France freſh ſupplies were hourely provided to revive the former warre, and every day offered evident demonſtrati-

Reaſons why this match was diſliked.

1444. 23

The new Marqueſſe fetcheth the young Queene.

The King is married.

ons

ons, that nothing was more to be expected than blowes. Wherefore to encounter thoſe preparations with the like proviſions, the King aſſembled his High Court of Parliament: in which the Marqueſſe of Suffolke (in a powerfull, glozing, and tedious Oration) extolled his owne deſerts above the skies, as well in his ſervice in the French warres, as alſo in moving and in concluding the late Truce, and the Kings marriage. He alſo admoniſhed his Highneſſe, and the two Houſes there aſſembled, what preparations for warre were made in France; and how behoovefull it was for the King to doe the like. And upon this motion (proceeding from his haughty pride and ambitious minde) the whole aſſembly became humble ſuiters to his Majeſtie, that not only his ſaid admonition and advice, but alſo all his ſaid former ſervices & doings, might in moſt ample ſort be regiſtred among the Rolles of Parliament, for the perpetuallizing of his honour and of his Name; which with wonderfull applauſe was conſented unto: and ſhortly after he was created Duke of Suffolke. Yet for all this, before many yeeres were expired, he was in the ſame place accuſed, convicted, and condemned for ſundry treaſons, miſpriſions, and offences; for which he was exiled, taken, and without law put to death, as hereafter we ſhall ſee.

The Marqueſſe of Suffolks Oration.

A Record made of his acts.

He is made a Duke.

Humana caduca.

Such is the continuall uncertainty and the aſſured inſtability of worldly glory, and the vanitie thereof, that when men doe imagine, that they doe ſecurely ſleepe on the bed of honour, then is their reſt moſt diſeaſefull, and their ſoundeſt ſleepe is but an unquiet ſlumber, troubled with fearefull and ſtrange dreames; rather informing them of approaching dangers, than aſcertaining them of the long continuance of that ſuppoſed felicity, which ſo unmeaſurably they doe deſire.

1446
25

It will bee worthy of our labour, in this place to obſerve that from henceforth the affaires of France proceeded worſe and worſe: ſo that within few yeeres that whole Kingdome, with the Dutchies of Aquitain and Normandie, were utterly loſt. The cauſes of which miſfortunes are principally noted to be theſe.

The cauſes of the loſſe of France, Normandie, and Aquitaine.

1. The firſt was, the releaſement of *Lewis* the noble Duke of Orleance for his ranſome. For his wiſdome inſtructed the weake Councell of France, his perſwaſions reconciled all ſuch jarres as were too too common among the nobilitie of France, and his valour was put into execution with ſuch excellencie of diſcretion, that by his example the French cowards became valiant.

2. The ſecond was this unhappy and this unfortunate mariage betwixt the King and his Queen: for by meanes thereof the Earle of Armiack, his kinſmen, and his friends, became mortall enemies to the Engliſh Nation; hating them for their Kings ſake, becauſe hee had unfaithfully forſaken his affied wife. And beſides that, the King had not one penny with the Queene for her marriage portion; but ſpent on her many thouſand pounds before he enjoyed her as his wife. And by this match alſo the King did not ſtrengthen himſelfe with any new friends: for her fathers penury and wants enforced him to live almoſt as a private man.

3. Thirdly, the releaſement of King *Henries* right to his Dutchie of Anjou, and to the Countrey of Mayne, which bordered upon Normandie, ſo weakned the Kings Army in that Province, that ſhortly after hee

was driven out and expulsed from that Dutchie, and all Aquitaine by reason thereof was quite lost.

4. The fourth was the guiltlesse death and murder of the most noble and good Duke of Gloucester, whose advice and counsell were the sinewes of those warres.

5. To these also may bee added the divers dispositions and qualities of the King and of the Queen. For King *Henrie* was exceeding milde, courteous, and gentle, patient in all adversities, moderate in prosperity, a despiser of covetousnesse, and hater of oppression, a lover of quietnesse and of peace. He loathed warres, and the toile and troubles of the world. He spent much time in his private studies, and in his religious exercises unto God. He was not desirous to meddle much with publike affaires, nor with the government of his Kingdome. He desired not to revenge any wrong which was done unto him. Hee was more mercifull to such as transgressed, than willing to extend the rigour of Justice against such as had offended his lawes: yea, so little respectfull was hee of his owne greatnesse, and of his Kingly dignity and honour in regard of his soules health, that he loved rather to be ruled than to governe as a King. The description of King Henry.

But the young Queen (who was faire and beautifull, strong and lustie, proud and haughty, stout and revengefull, crafty and politicke) was not well pleased with the soft nature and flexible disposition of the King: neither could her ambitious spirit endure, that he being more than of full yeeres, should as a pupill, be ruled and directed by another man. Being therefore clearely resolved to dismisse the Duke of Gloucester of his Protectorship and command, and making a publike shew of her inward intention to supply his place, shee was encouraged and furthered therein by her trusty friends the Duke of Buckingham and the Duke of Suffolke, who (by the secret instigation of the rich Cardinall of Winchester, and of the Archbishop of Yorke, who mortally hated the Protector) not onely removed him from his place, but called him to a strict account for the expence of the treasure of this Kingdome: which justly and honestly was disbursed by him, for the maintenance and furthering of the French warres. The description of Queen Margaret. The Queene dismisseth the Protector of his office and charge.

And when they perceived that they were unable by that course and practice to attaine unto their purpose, they procured the Queene in the Kings name, to assemble his High Court of Parliament at Bury, where the said Duke (sirnamed for his surpassing and heroicall vertues, with which he was adorned, *The good Duke of Gloucester*) was attached, and arrested for high treason, and committed unto prison: and the next day he was found dead and breathlesse in his bed, being cruelly and inhumanely murdered, without doubt. Assoone as he was thus dispatched out of the way, *Richard* Duke of Yorke secretly conspired with his great allies and trusty friends, to set on foot his title to the Crowne. And likewise the Duke of Suffolke (who with the Queen ruled all the rost) respected more his owne profit, than the benefit of the Common-weale, and used sundry devices and cunning practices to oppresse the people, that with their coine he might fill up his owne purse. By meanes whereof, no provision of mony was made for the supporting of the Kings warres in France, no Army was newly raised to assist such as were then abroad, no The Duke of Gloucester is murdered.

wages

A weake Councell.

wages were paid to ſouldiers, or unto Captaines: which made them diſcontentedly to murmure. Neither was the Kings Councell of Eſtate ſufficiently able to rule and to direct as was needfull and neceſſary for the Kings profit at home, or for his honour or advantage abroad.

The truce is broken.

Before the laſt prefixed time of truce was ended, Sir *Francis Surrayne* (an Arragonoys, but a Captaine over ſome Engliſh troupes) by a ſodden ſurpriſall in the night, tooke the Towne of Fongyers, which ſtanding in the Frontier of Normandie, belonged to the Duke of Britaine, where he ſlew the Inhabitants, and rifled all at his pleaſure: for which no recompence was yeelded to the Duke; for he was anſwered, that the fact was committed by a private Captaine, without the conſent of the King, or of the Duke of Somerſet, who was then Regent or Lievtenant of the Dutchie of Normandy, in which the ſaid *Surrayn* at that time lived.

Fongyers is taken.

The Frenchmen likewiſe by the ſubtle policie of a Waggoner, who with his Cart ſtopped the Draw-bridge untill they were entred with their Companies, tooke from the Engliſhmen the towne of Pont-larch, which is diſtant from Roan about twelve miles, and is the Key of entrance from France over the river of Soame into Normandy, where the Engliſhmen were ſlaine without pity or compaſſion: and the goods and ſubſtance of the Inhabitants was taken away in like ſort, as it was done at Fongyers.

pont-larch taken.

Thus was the truce violated on both parts: and thus were thoſe bloody warres renewed, which were daily fed with the ſlaughters of the braveſt, and of the moſt valiant men. The French King perceiving that the Engliſhmen were not now as puiſſant in thoſe Countries, as they had beene in former times: and being minded to hold faſt his good fortune, which drew him by the hand into great hope of proſperous ſucceſſe, divided his huge Armie into three parts, with which in few daies

1448 27

hee tooke the townes of Lovyers, Gerbory, and Vernoyle. The Inhabitants alſo of Conſtance, Gyſours, Caſtle, Gayllard, Ponteau-du mere, S. Loy, Feſampe, and many others in Normandy, and in Guyan, who were ſwayed by their Garriſons, ſurrendred themſelves into his hands. The Duke of Somerſet likewiſe, and the Earle of Shrewsbury (being thereunto violently enforced by the Roaniſts) by compoſition yeelded unto him that City, and departed with all their goods and ſubſtance to the City of Cane, upon Hoſtages left behind them, that ſundry other Caſtles and Townes (according to their agreement and promiſe) ſhould alſo be given up without blowes to the French King. So that within few daies, the Caſtle and Towne of Harflew, and many others, became French.

Roan is yeelded to the French King.

Harflew is yeelded.

1449 28

The unhappy newes of daily loſſes in Normandy, and in Aquitaine, much appalled King *Henrie*, and troubled his Councell, who (being unable to direct, as they had done whilſt the good Duke of Gloceſter lived and did aſſiſt them) knew not what courſe was beſt to be taken: and they were the more perplexed in thoſe affaires, by meanes of a lewd & dangerous rebellion, which at the ſame time hapned in Ireland. For the ſpeedy ſuppreſſing whereof, King *Henrie* was conſtrained to tranſport the Duke of Yorke with an Armie thither. In which ſervice he ſo ſucceſſefully prevailed, that hee not onely appeaſed that tumult, but by his wiſdome, courteſie,

A Rebellion in Ireland.

The Duke of Yorke appeaſeth it.

courteſie, and valour, won the favour, and the hearty love of that Nation.

This expedition much hindred the Kings preparations for the defence of his Dutchie of Normandie; yet he ſent thither Sir *Thomas Kyriel*, a prudent, and a valiant man, accompanied with foureteene hundred ſouldiers, who (with ſo ſmall a handfull) did as much as could in reaſon bee expected. For he recovered divers Towns and Caſtles which had been loſt: and (had his ſtrength conſiſted of a greater number) he would aſſuredly by his valour, have performed much more.

This worthy Captaine, finding himſelfe to bee too weake to encounter many thouſands of his enemies, united his forces with *Matthew Gough*, Sir *Henrie Norbery*, Sir *Robert Vere*, and ſome others: ſo that their Army conſiſted of five thouſand approved valiant men; all which with haughty courage and reſolved minds to win honour, encountred with an army of ſeven thouſand of their enemies, as they marched ſtrongly to the ſiege of the citie of Cane. In the beginning of this fight the Engliſhmen prevailed according to their hearts deſire: but in the midſt of all their hopes, they were deceived. For being grievouſly oppreſſed by *Arthur* Earle of Richmont, high Conſtable of France, *James* of Luxenburgh Earle of Lavalt, and by many other Noblemen of France, who travelled with many Cornets of Horſemen towards the ſame ſiege, and finding their Countrie-men beaten downe, fainting, and on the point to run out of the field, relieved them with their freſh ſupplies, and ſo furiouſly aſſaulted the tyred Engliſh Armie, that it was quickly overthrowne, foure thouſand of them being ſlaine: Sir *Thomas Kyriel*, Sir *Robert Norbery*, with eight hundred more were taken priſoners: but *Matthew Gough*, and Sir *Robert Vere*, and the ſurvivors of their companies, ſaved themſelves by flight.

Cane is beſieged.

The Engliſh are overthrown.

Thus were the Engliſhmen overthrowne and miſerably waſted: and this was the firſt battell in open field, which the Frenchmen won of the Engliſh in many yeeres before, whereof their Hiſtorians doe not a little bragge. This victory being thus obtained, the city of Cane in Normandy was cloſely beſieged by the French King: and oftentimes her walls were adventerouſly ſcaled. The aſſaylants made many brave and bold attemps, but were manfully repulſed and beaten backe, with the loſſe of their limbs, and of their lives. Then were the walles daily battered, and the Frenchmen eagerly endevoured to enter in: but their preſumption was ſharply checked by the beſieged, who did caſt them off as faſt as they enterprized to come in. Thus every man contended to buy Honour, but none other paiment for it but blood was currant in that place. The Duke of Somerſet (being daily importuned by the fearefull exclamations of his wife and children to ſurrender the towne) debated thereof ſeriouſly with Sir *David Hall*, who was appointed to be the chiefe Captaine and Commander of that citie, by the Duke of Yorke, whoſe town it was. But the couragious Knight would not in any ſort conſent to the Dukes will: whereat he was much diſpleaſed, and demanded whether the Kings Lievtenant Generall of that Dutchie had not ſufficient authority and power of himſelf (without his leave) to diſpoſe of the towns and caſtles of that Province? No, quoth the Knight, the Kings Lievtenant here may not, nor can ſell, or yeeld up any mans right, but his only, whoſe

The firſt victory in open field which the French in many yeares obtained.

The Duke of Somerſet would ſurrender Cane.

Sir David Hall will not ſuffer it.

perſon hee doth repreſent: and this City being my Lord the Duke of
A Mutinie. Yorks, quoth he, you have no power to ſurrender it to the French King,
nor ſhall, on any compoſition whatſoever: The Duke being highly diſ-
pleaſed with this bold and peremptory anſwer, informed the inferiour
Captaines, common Souldiers, and the poorer ſort of the Inhabitants, of
the approaching dangers, which would undoubtedly be the deſtruction
of them all: and adviſed them, not to be deprived of their lives, and of
their liberties, through the deſperate folly and wilfulneſſe of their ob-
ſtinate and indiſcreet Captaine. This caveat made them clamorous,
and this counſell ſo hardned their hearts againſt Sir *David Hall*, that they
reſolved (in deſpight of him) to yeeld the Citie upon compoſition to the
Cane is loſt. French King. Thus was the peoples obedience ſevered and divided from
him: and thus was their courage converted into feare: and on a ſudden,
upon certaine Articles agreed on, the City was abandoned, and became
French: ſo that Roan and Cane (being the chiefeſt Cities of the Dutchie
All Norman- of Normandie) being loſt, all the whole Dutchie in a ſhort time after,
die is loſt, and revolted from King *Henry*, and was loſt likewiſe.
ſo is France.

The noble Captaine Sir *David Hall*, being thus wronged and diſ-
graced, forſooke Normandie, and ſailed into Ireland, where he informed
the Duke of Yorke what the Duke of Somerſet had done: whereat hee
The Duke of was ſo highly diſpleaſed, that hee never ceaſed privately and openly to
Yorke mali- practice, untill the ſaid Duke of Somerſet deſervedly had loſt his head.
ceth the Duke of Somerſet. For this inſupportable and unfortunate loſſe of the Dutchie of Norman-
die, the Queen and the Duke of Suffolke were firſt ſecretly blamed by
the whiſpering common people of this Kingdome, who afterwards by
open ſlanders, and with publike reproachfull ſpeeches, exclaimed, and
accuſed the ſaid Duke of many notable treacheries and groſſe treaſons,
1450 29 which chiefly conſiſted of theſe particulars.

Treaſons objected againſt the Duke of Suffolke.

FIrſt, That by his wicked and ungodly meanes the Duke of Gloceſter was deprived both of his Protectorſhip and of his life.

2. *Item, That by his appointment ſuch Counſellours of State were placed about the King and Queene, as adviſed all things for their gaine, and not for the profit of the Common-weale.*

3. *Item, That the Queen and the ſaid Duke ruled the whole Kingdome as they liſted: ſo that by reaſon thereof all things ſucceeded ill and hurtfull to this Kingdome.*

4. *Item, That the ſaid Duke was the meanes and occaſion that the Kings right to Aquitaine and Guyan were yeelded up, which weaknes*

weakened, and at length loſt all the Dutchies of Aquitaine and of Normandie.

5. Item, That he had married his ſon John to the Lady Margaret, ſole daughter and generall heire to John Duke of Somerſet; and had reported, that ſhee was the next heire to the Crowne of England, if King Henrie hapned to die without iſſue.

6. Item, That he had perſwaded the Earle of Dumoys, and other great Lords and Officers of France, to tranſport an Armie into this Realme, to deſtroy the King, and conſequently to make his ſaid ſonne John Succeſſour to this Crowne and Kingdome.

7. Item, That he procured the Duke of Orleance to be ſet at libertie for a ranſome, contrary to the commandement and the laſt Will and Teſtament of King Henry the Fifth: by whoſe meanes afterwards the affaires of France were made more powerfull and fortunate than formerly they had beene, and King Henries forces were daily enfeebled, and made more weake thereby in thoſe Countries.

8. Item, That he had counſelled the ſaid Duke before his departure out of England, to perſwade the French King to augment and to increaſe his Armie, and to make ſharper wars both in Normandie and in France againſt King Henry; who ſo did: by which meanes the King loſt all his poſſeſſions in thoſe Countries.

9. Item, That as ſoone as he came Embaſſadour into France, he ſecretly informed King Charles of the chiefe points of his Commiſſion and inſtructions: by meanes whereof he grew obſtinate, and refuſed to conclude any peace.

10. Item, That the ſaid Duke at his laſt being in France revealed to the French King the weakneſſe of King Henries proviſions to withſtand him: by meanes whereof the Frenchmen became more bold and hardy in thoſe wars.

11. Item, That boaſtingly and fooliſhly he had reported, in the preſence of many noble and honourable perſonages, that he had as high a place in the Councell houſe of France, as he had in England; and that, by reaſon of his eſpeciall intereſt in the French Kings love, he could diſpoſſeſſe the neereſt and the greateſt of the French Kings Counſellours, if he were diſpoſed ſo to doe.

12. Item, That when men, money, and munitions were in a readi-

neſſe to be tranſported into France, to aid and to aſsiſt King Henries forces there, the ſaid Duke (being wickedly corrupted, and being a ſecret friend to the Kings enemies) cauſed them to be kept at home: by meanes whereof the Kings Armies in thoſe Countries, wanting due and neceſſarie ſupplies, were vanquiſhed both in Normandy and in France.

13. *And laſtly, That by meanes of his great favour with the Queene, he had deceitfully and fraudulently enriched himſelfe with the Kings lands and treaſures, and had procured to himſelfe a Monopolie of all the greateſt offices for his owne gaine.*

Theſe and many more foule and treaſonable Articles were in full Parliament, publikely objected againſt him, and laid unto his charge: all which hee faintly denied, but could ſcarce cleare himſelfe of one of them.

The Queenes pollicy to help the Duke of Suffolke.

The Queene (to prevent the Duke of Suffolkes further perill and danger, becauſe ſhee entirely loved him) cauſed him to bee committed to the Tower, where he had liberty at his owne will: and then concluding the Parliament upon a ſudden, ſhee not onely enlarged him, but reſtored him into high favour with the King; ſo that he proudly jetted and ſwaggered, as formerly he had done.

The common people repined much thereat, and ſpake ſcandalouſly and reproachfully of the Queene, and of her government: and ſome of them wickedly rebelled, making a turbulent mate (nicknamed *Blew beard*) their chiefeſt Captaine. But this inſurrection was quickly nipped in the bud, their Ring-leaders were put to death, and the reſt of them received friendly admonition, and the Kings gracious pardon.

The King and Queen intending to reconcile all diſcords, and to give ſome better contentment to the Commons, held a Parliament at Leiceſter. But their purpoſe failed them: for the lower houſe inſtantly importuned the King that Juſtice might bee done upon the Duke of Suffolke, and alſo upon his aſſociating Conſpirators, *James Fines* Lord *Say* and Lord Treaſurer of England, *John* Biſhop of Salisbury, and upon ſome others.

The Duke is exiled. He is taken at Sea, and beheaded.

The King (to pacifie this broile, and to weaken their importunitie by doing of ſome thing wherewith he thought he ſhould pleaſe them) exiled the ſaid Duke for five yeeres. But as hee ſailed towards France, hee was taken by an Engliſh man of warre, who landed him upon Dover Sands, and chopt off his head on a boats ſide. And thus was the guiltleſſe blood of *Humfrey* the good Duke of Gloceſter in ſome meaſure revenged: and the reſt of thoſe delinquents were ſequeſtred from their Offices, and impriſoned by the King.

The Duke of Yorke intendeth to claime the Crowne.

Whileſt theſe things were thus in handling, the Duke of Yorke (albeit reſiant in Ireland) ſolicited and procured his allies and friends in England (by ſome ſecret plottings, pretending ſome other ends) to ſet on foot his claime and title to the Crowne; hee being lineally deſcended from

Philip

Philip the daughter and heire of *George* Duke of Clarence, who was the elder brother of *John* of *Gaunt*, great grandfather to King *Henrie* the Sixth. And firſt of all it was whiſpered, and privately reported, that the Kings wits were weake, the Queenes heart ambitious, the Kings Councellors of State not wiſe enough to rule: and that all France, Normandie, and Aquitaine were loſt, becauſe God bleſſed not the uſurped ſucceſſion of King *Henrie*.

A Rebellion in Kent.

Upon theſe ſpeeches, too too commonly divulged, a Kentiſh Rebell named *Jacke Cade*, but falſly nominating himſelfe *John Mortimer*, made an Inſurrection in that Countrey, and with his rudely-armed crew, and banners diſplayed, hee marched towards the King, who was then at Greenwich. But before he came unto him, by meſſengers he informed him, that he intended not any hurt againſt his Royall Perſon, but would diſplace and puniſh ſome of his evill Councellors, who were his flatterers, and partiall to their owne friends, bitter to their enemies, enrichers themſelves, oppreſſors of the common people, greedy of too much honour, and who for rewards corruptly ordered (or rather diſordered) all things as they pleaſed.

His meſſage to the King.

When the King and his Councell had maturely conſidered of this undutifull and inſolent meſſage, hee was adviſed to encounter them, not with faire words, which might breed further contempt, but with the Sword, for enſample ſake, that others might (by their puniſhment) afterwards take better heed. And thereupon a ſtrong Armie was ſuddenly prepared: of which when the Rebels were informed, to gaine advantage by their valour, under a falſe pretence of cowardly feare, they retyred many miles. The King (who was reſolved that this retreat rather proceeded from baſeneſſe, than from policie and wit) ſent after them Sir *Humfrey Stafford*, and *William Stafford* his brother, they being accompanied with many luſtie Gentlemen and brave Souldiers. But moſt of them were quickly ſlaine by the Rebels, who boldly and couragiouſly confronted them when opportunity and place gave them good advantage to returne.

The Kings Armie purſueth the Rebels.

Some of the Kings forces are overthrowne.

This Victory being thus obtained, *Jacke Cade*, to whom multitudes of rude and graceleſſe people from many ſhires daily reſorted, preſſed forth againe, and boldly came into Black Heath, and from thence to London, where they did much harme. But at length the Kings generall pardon was proclaimed by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and by the Biſhop of Wincheſter, to all ſuch as were not the Ring-leaders of that ungodly rebellion: by meanes whereof the inconſtant and fearefull multitude left their Captaine, and returned home. Then was *Jack Cade* proſcribed by the King, and proclamation was made, by which a reward by the gift of one thouſand markes was promiſed to him that could take him alive or dead. The hope of this payment occaſioned very many to make good inquiries and narrow ſearches after him: ſo that in the end being found, he was ſlaine as he fought deſperately for his life, and his head was preſented to the King, who willingly paid the reward which was promiſed. Thus was this caitiffe deſtroyed, and thus was this commotion appeaſed, which threatned deſtruction to the King and Common-weale.

The Rebellion is appeaſed.

Jacke Cade is proſcribed and ſlaine.

Such of the Nobility, and ſuch of the Commons, as could no longer endure 1451 30

endure or digeſt the evill government of the Queene, and of her adherents, advertiſed the Duke of Yorke (who remained in Ireland) that a Parliament was neere at hand, and prayed him to conſider what was fitteſt to be done for the redreſſe thereof, and for his own good. Whereupon he left his deputation in Ireland, and returned home; and openly conferred with his beſt friends, *John* Duke of Norfolke, *Thomas Courtney* Earle of Devonſhire, *Richard* Earle of Salisbury, *Richard Nevell* his ſon Earle of Warwicke, *Edward Brooke* Lord *Cobham*, and with divers others, how and by what meanes he might ſoberly, without uſurpation or treaſon, ſet forth his right and title to the Crowne.

The Duke of Yorke commeth into England.

After this matter had beene long debated, it was concluded, that the Duke of Yorke ſhould raiſe an Armie, under pretence to remove the Duke of Somerſet from the King and Queene, becauſe he ruled them both, and the Common-weale too: and againſt him it was publikely alledged, that he was an oppreſſor of the people, a deceiver of the King, a ſecret friend to his enemies, a principall occaſion that England had loſt France, Normandie, and Aquitaine, and had by his manifold treacheries and treaſons deſerved ill of the Prince, and of his Country.

The cauſes for which he levied an Army.

The King alſo (fearing the worſt) raiſed another Armie; but being certified from the Duke of Yorke, that he intended nothing againſt his Royall perſon, nor againſt his State, but only craved that in a Parliament the Duke of Somerſet might receive his triall, hee committed the ſaid Duke (for a ſhew onely) to the Tower: and thereupon the Duke of Yorke, expecting fitter opportunity, diſſolved his Armie, and privately repaired to the King, where (contrary to his expectation) hee met with the Duke of Somerſet, who accuſed him of treaſon, for that without the Kings leave or commandement, he had raiſed an Armie, with which he intended to have murdered the King, and to make himſelfe the inheritor and poſſeſſor of his Crowne. And though the Kings jealouſie, being grounded upon ſtrong preſumptions that it was true, cauſed the King to detaine and keepe the Duke of Yorke as a priſoner, yet within few dayes after he was enlarged, becauſe it ſeemed unlikely to the Kings Councell, that his aime was directed to the Crowne, ſeeing that (without compulſion) he had diſſolved his Armie upon the Duke of Somerſets commitment unto priſon, when hee was ſtrong enough to have made his party good againſt the King by force of Armes in the open field.

The King raiſeth an Armie.

The Duke of Somerſet accuſeth the Duke of Yorke of high Treaſon.

1452

This buſineſſe was the more eaſily paſſed over by the King, becauſe that in the middeſt of thoſe diſturbances the Lords of Aquitaine, upon whoſe fidelities, the French King being departed into France, King *Henry* much relied, by ſecret meſſengers had made offer to ſurrender all that Dutchie againe into his hands, if hee would ſpeedily ſend unto them a convenient Armie to defend and keepe it as his owne. And thereupon the Lord *Talbot*, Earle of Shrewesburie, was ſent thither with three thouſand ſelected and valiant men, who received that Dutchie to the Kings uſe, as it was promiſed. But aſſoone as the French King had notice of this revolt, hee marched thither with an Armie of two and twenty thouſand men, fought with the Engliſh, ſlew the moſt renowned and brave Earle, and almoſt all his followers, and in few daies regained

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Guyan and Aquitaine yeelded to King Henry, but regained by the French King.

John Earle of Shrewsbury ſlaine.

regained all Aquitaine, and almoſt all Guyan into his owne hands.

The Queene was now delivered of a faire ſonne, who was afterwards named *Edward*, and lived almoſt untill he came to a mans eſtate. And neere about the ſame time King *Henry* created his two brothers by the mothers ſide, *Edmund Tuthar*, who was father to King *Henry* the Seventh, Earle of Richmond, and *Jaſper Tuthar* Earle of Pembroke, but hee died without iſſue. Prince Edward borne. Creation of Lords.

France, Normandy, and Aquitaine being all loſt, and no warres now buſying the Nobilitie of this Realme, franke and free libertie was thereby given to the Duke of Yorke grievouſly to complaine to divers Lords of the greateſt power, of the manifold treacheries and treaſons of the Duke of Somerſet, as formerly he had done. And at the ſame time *Richard* Earle of Salisbury, being the ſecond ſonne of *Ralph Nevill* Earle of Weſtmerland, whoſe daughter the Duke of Yorke had married, and *Richard* his ſon, who having married *Anne* the ſiſter and heire of *Henry Beauchampe*, firſt Earle, and afterwards Duke of Warwick, and in whoſe right hee was created Earle, were men of prime honour, and of great power, and for their valour and their vertues were eſpecially obſerved and regarded both of the Nobles and alſo of the Commons of this Kingdome: but chiefly *Richard* the ſon, Earle of Warwick, whoſe courteſie, wiſdome, and true manhood, had gained him much love. 1453 32 The Yorkiſh Conſpiracy.

Theſe two Earles (among others) faithfully joyned themſelves and their fortunes with the Duke of Yorke, and his: and chiefly by their meanes and good aſſiſtance he prevailed, as in the ſequell of this Hiſtory it ſhall appeare.

When the Duke of Yorke had thus ſtrengthened himſelfe with theſe noble and powerfull friends, he cauſed the Duke of Somerſet to bee arreſted of high treaſon in the Queenes great Chamber, from whence he was drawne and conveied to the Tower: and ſhortly after in the Parliament the Duke of Yorke accuſed him of all thoſe treaſons which are formerly mentioned. 1454 33 The Duke of Somerſet is arreſted for treaſon.

But becauſe the King indeed fell ſicke, or fained himſelfe, for the Dukes good, to be diſeaſed, the Parliament was ſuddenly adjourned, and the King by many proteſtations faithfully promiſed, that hee ſhould anſwer thoſe accuſations at ſome other time. But within few daies after he was not onely by the Queene ſet at liberty, but was graced with the Kings eſpeciall and publike favour, and was made chiefe Captaine of the Town and Caſtle of Callice; whereat the Nobility and the common people grudged much, and exclaimed upon the unjuſt proceedings of the King and Queen. The Duke of Somerſet is made Captaine of Callice.

The Duke of Yorke and his aſſociates ſuppoſing that their project would ſtill be croſſed if they remained quiet, and expected faire proceedings againſt the Duke of Somerſet by the ordinarie courſe of Law; reſolved once againe to ſhew themſelves with an Armie in the field, and by open warre not onely to revenge themſelves upon their enemies, but alſo to ſettle the Crowne upon the Duke of Yorkes head. For which purpoſe they raiſed a puiſſant Armie within the Marches of Wales, and confidently directed their march towards the City of London. The Duke of Yorke levieth an Army.

The King and his Councell fearing leſt the Duke of Yorke and his complices

The King meeteth him with an Armie.
The battell of S.Albons.
The King is overthrowne.

complices would finde too many friends if they came thither, met them with another Armie at S.Albons: and betwixt them a doubtfull and a bloody battell was fought, from which the Duke of Buckingham, and *James Butler* Earle of Ormond and of Wiltſhire, fled: and *Edmund* Duke of Somerſet, *Henrie* the ſecond Earle of Northumberland, *Humfrey* Earle of Stafford, ſon and heire to the Duke of Buckingham, *John* Lord *Clifford*, and more than eight thouſand Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, and common Souldiers, were ſlaine on the Kings part, and the King himſelfe was taken priſoner and brought to the Duke of Yorke.

He is taken priſoner.

The King is uſed reverently.

And albeit hee might then have put him to death, and by that meanes might quietly have poſſeſſed himſelfe of the Crowne, yet becauſe his riſing in Armes pretended none other thing but the reforming of ſome great abuſes in the Common-weale, he reverenced him with all duty, and brought him with great honour unto London, where hee praied him to aſſemble his High Court of Parliament; which he did, and by that great Councell and honourable eſtate the Duke of Yorke was made Protector of the Kings Royall perſon, and of his Realme, the Earle of Salisbury was made Lord Chancellor of England, and his ſon the Earle of Warwicke was made Captaine of Callice.

The Earle of Salisbury is made Chancellor.
The Earle of Warwicke is made Captain of Callice.

And thus all the Regiment of the civill eſtate of this Common-weale was ſettled in thoſe former two, and the diſpoſing of warlike affaires and buſineſſe was conferred on the third. In the adminiſtration of which Offices, they ſhewed no injuſtice, uſed no bribery, oppreſſed no man, were indifferent to the poore and rich, and ordered all things in a moſt commendable and praiſefull faſhion, to the good contentment of moſt of the Nobility, Gentry, and Commons of this Realme.

1455 34

But *Humfrey* Duke of Buckingham, who in the battell at S. Albons had loſt his eldeſt ſon, and *Henrie Beauford* the new Duke of Somerſet, who then alſo loſt his father; with revengefull mindes and inraged ſpirits informed the Queene, that this faire and glozing ſhew was uſed but as a ſubtle meane to ſet the Crowne of England upon the Duke of Yorkes head: That the Kings life and his ſonnes was ſecretly conſpired: That her unfortunate miſeries approached neere unto her, And that all would be ſtarke naught, except the ſubtilty and cunning of thoſe three Lords were wittily prevented, and their haughty and ambitious ſtomachs were with force and violence ſubdued and beaten downe.

The Duke of Yorke and the Earle of Salisburie are removed by the Queen.

Hereupon the Queene and they aſſembled a great Councell at Greenwich, by the authority whereof the Duke of Yorke and the Earle of Salisbury were removed from their government. This ſudden alteration bred many broiles in the Common-weale. For the Engliſh Merchants in London, perceiving that the Common-weales government was unſettled, quarrelled with the Venetians and Italians who dwelt among them, and by their trading in merchandizing, and by their parſimonie and ſparing waxed rich, and deprived them of their chiefeſt meanes to live. Thoſe ſtrangers they riſled and robbed: for which offence (not without much trouble and difficulty) the principall offenders were corrected or put to death.

1456 35

The Frenchmen alſo being divided into many warlike Fleets, landed, robbed and burnt ſome frontier Townes within this Realme. And the

the Scots, being conducted by *James* their King, did much harme to the Duke of Yorkes Countries in the North. Againſt whom the Duke himſelfe marched with a brave Armie. But the Scots (fearing the ſequell of their unadviſed invaſion) ſuddenly fled, and returned into their owne Country.

The Queen, who now ruled the King and almoſt all other things at her pleaſure, could not be contented untill the ſaid three great Lords (either by ſtrength or policie) were cut off: yet outwardly ſhe ſeemed in ſome meaſure to affect them, and with her cheerefull countenance and ſmoothing words ſhe made them a little to be credulous of her love. The Queen diſſembleth with the Yorkiſh faction.

But to effect what earneſtly ſhe intended, ſhee cauſed the King for recreation, and for his healths ſake, to make his progreſſe towards the North, hunting, hawking, and uſing many other paſtimes and delightfull ſports: in the middeſt of all which, pretending buſineſſes of great import, ſhee cauſed letters to be written to thoſe three Lords, requiring them to come to a ſpeedy conference with the King: whereupon thoſe Lords (not ſuſpecting any guilefull treachery to bee conſpired againſt them) did as they were commanded, and were with all cheerefull familiarity received by the King and Queen. But being ſecretly informed by their friends, that their deſtruction was neere at hand, the Duke of Yorke fled from thence into Wales, the Earle of Salisbury to his owne Countrey, and his ſonne (the Earle of Warwick) unto Callice: and yet by their daily meſſengers and letters ſent mutually the one to the other, new projects were deviſed and put in practice ſhortly after. A ſubtle policie, but diſcovered.

The King being adviſed by his Councellors, that theſe mortall jarres at home would incite his enemies abroad to attempt much miſchiefe againſt him and his Kingdome, endevoured by gentle perſwaſions to reconcile his diſcontented Nobles, and to unite their hearts in true friendſhip and in love. 1457 36 The King laboureth for unity and peace.

For this purpoſe he appointed a generall meeting of all his Lords at London, whither they reſorted, but were attended on by multitudes of their meniall ſervants, and by ſuch as for that time were deſirous and willing to ſtrengthen them with their beſt ſervice. How both the factions met at London.

The Lancaſtrian faction lodged themſelves in the Suburbes, and conſulted daily what courſe was beſt for them to take. The Yorkiſh Confederates ſojourned within the walls of the City, and met daily, and adviſed themſelves how all things ſhould be ordered in this buſineſſe. But neither of the adverſe parties came neere unto the other. And the Citizens of London being Neuters, and fearing the event of blows, furniſhed every ſtreet with armed men both by day and night, to maintaine and to preſerve the Kings peace.

Thus whileſt every houre bred much ſuſpicion, and when jealouſie among the Noblemen made the hearts of the Commons to be unſtable, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and ſundry other Clergie men, by fitting perſwaſions, and arguments of great force and conſequence, ſo prevailed, that the King, the Queene, and all the Lords were pleaſed, in friendly and in kinde ſort to meet and to entertaine each other; and all jarres and diſcontented humours were outwardly in words, but not inwardly in heart, reconciled: and inſtruments in writing (for future amity and love) were A diſſembled friendſhip.

were mutually ſubſcribed, ſealed, and delivered. And for the greater ſolemnity of this new friendſhip, a religious proceſſion was made thorow the citie of London; in which the Kings head was adorned with the Imperiall Crowne (whereon the Duke of Yorke oftentimes looked with a ſcornefull eye) and one Lord of either faction marched together hand in hand. The Duke of Yorke led the Queene, and with great familiarity and gracefull honour ſeemed to be highly reſpected and eſteemed by her. The King likewiſe rejoyced much at this union. The Lords made ſhew of much applauding: and the multitude, being ignorant that ſecret rancour was dawbed over with counterfeited diſſimulation, skipped, leaped, and gave great ſhouts for joy.

1458 37

But within few dayes after it hapned, that upon a ſudden debate and falling out betwixt one of the Kings ſervants and a gentleman belonging to the Earle of Warwick, an affray was made neer unto the Kings Court, in which the Kings ſervant was grievouſly wounded, and the other fled. Hereupon, the Yeomen of the Kings Guard with Halberds and ſwords, and the Skullerie with Spits and Forkes, aſſaulted the Earle and his followers as he came from the Councell Boord to take his Barge. Betwixt them many a rude blow was given, much bloud was ſhed, but no man ſlain. The Queen, who was forward to picke a quarrell with the Earle upon any ſmall occaſion, and knowing that in a wherrie he was paſſed into London, gave ſtrait command for his apprehenſion and commitment to the Tower. But by reaſon that his ſecret friends had forewarned him to looke unto himſelfe, hee poaſted with all expedition into Yorkeſhire, where hee diſcovered to his father, and to the Duke of Yorke, the great injury and wrong which was done unto him by the Kings ſervants, and the intention of the Queene, notwithſtanding the late reconcilement and friendſhip which was concluded with great proteſtations and much ſolemnity betwixt them.

A dangerous affray.

The Earle of Warwicke is aſſaulted.

He poſteth into Yorkſhire.

He ſaileth unto Callice.

And leſt ſome Carpet-favourite might expulſe him for his place of truſt and Captainſhip of Callice, hee forthwith ſailed thither: and aſſoone as he was gone, his father the Earle of Salisbury marched towards the Kings Court with an Army of five thouſand men, to complaine unto his Highneſſe, not onely of the violence and wrong which his meniall ſervants had done unto his ſonne, but alſo of the ſugred and ſecret diſſimulation of the Queene. But when the Queene had certaine notice of his reſolved purpoſe, ſhee commanded the Lord *Awdley* to encounter him on his way with ten thouſand men which ſhee had levied: and peremptorily ſhee required him to bring unto her the ſaid Earle quicke or dead. Her ſelfe alſo with another Army came after him, and in Shropſhire in Bloar-heath the ſaid Earle and the Lord *Awdley* met each other; where the one fought for honour, but the Earle for his life, neither of them intending to yeeld, or to ſtep backe. But at length the Earle and his followers (being in deſpaire of good ſucceſſe or pardon, if they maintained not the encounter with bold hearts and ſtrong armes) fought with ſuch reſolution and unconquerable ſtomackes, that the Lord *Awdley*, with foure and twenty hundred of his ſouldiers and aſſociates, were ſlaine: the reſt fled, and the Earle of Salisbury was Lord and maſter of the field.

An Armie raiſed.

The Lord Awdley is overthrowne by the Earle of Salisburie.

1459 38

By theſe practices the Duke of York perceived plainely, that the lives of

of him and of his Complices were ſecretly hunted for: and therefore he now determined no longer to hide and cover his purpoſe, as formerly he had done, but by armes in the open field to maintaine his claime and title to the Crowne. And therefore himſelfe with the Earle of Salisbury marched into Wales, and thither the Earle of Warwicke repaired to them, and brought with him for their aſſiſtance, *Andrew Trollop*, and *John Blunt*, two of the moſt approved Engliſh Captaines which then lived, and had beene beſt exerciſed in the warres of France. And when they had plentifully increaſed their army, partly in Wales & in the Marches thereof, and partly by ſuch companies as reſorted daily out of the North unto them, they ſet onwards, and came unto a little Town called Lud-low, where the King and divers of his Nobility preſented a ſtrong Armie to the view of the Yorkiſh faction, ſo that they lay not farre aſunder that night. But in the evening the two brave Captaines (*Trollop* and *Blunt*) ſurveying the Kings forces, eſpied a certaine way and meanes to endanger the King and all his; ſo that it was reſolved by the Duke and Earles, that their advice and counſell ſhould fiercely bee executed the next morning, before the King ſhould be able to ſet his Armie in a readineſſe to fight. But in the firſt watch thoſe two Captaines (making it a matter burdenſome to their conſciences, not onely to fight againſt their Soveraigne Lord and King, but alſo to betray him into the hands of his owne ſubjects) ſecretly fled, and came unto the King, to whom they plainely diſcovered the project and the intention of his enemies, and adviſed him of the beſt and chiefeſt meanes, how not onely they might bee reſiſted, but driven to the worſt. And for this ſervice they were gently received, and pardoned, and rewarded by the King.

The Duke of Yorke raiſeth an Armie, and claimes the Crowne.

The Kings armie.

Andrew Trollop and John Blunt flie into the Kings armie, and diſcover all.

The Duke and Earles being certified of their revolts, began to be diffident of their good ſucceſſe: and not daring to ſet up their reſt on the next dayes fight, they determined to expect another time, which might afford them more ſurety and better hopes. And taking advantage by the darkneſſe of the night, they departed from their Armie into ſeverall places: for the Duke with his younger ſonne *Edmund* Earle of Rutland, retired into wales, and from thence they ſailed into Ireland. The other two (with *Edward* Earle of March, eldeſt ſonne to the Duke of Yorke) came into Devonſhire, and being ſafely ſhipped in Ex-mouth Haven, by the favour and procurement of a worthy Gentleman named *John Dynham*, they ſailed to Callice, where (notwithſtanding their misfortunes) they were received with much joy.

The Lords flie in the night.

The King, who rejoyced much at their departure, coaſted the Countries with multitudes of horſemen to overtake them: but all their labours were in vaine: for the preſent feare which alwaies remained with them, gave them wings to flie. He alſo pardoned the ordinary ſouldiers of the Yorkiſh faction, which were forſaken by their chiefeſt guides, and as ſheepe were expoſed to a ſlaughter. But their Captaines who were delivered up into the Kings hands, were executed in ſundry places within this Realme.

He alſo proclaimed the ſaid Lords to be Arch-traitors to him and to his Kingdome, confiſcated their goods, offices, and their lands, committed

The Lords are proclaimed Traitors.

ted the government of the Northerne parts to the Earle of Northumberland, and to the Lord *Clifford*, his truſty friends, and made *Henry* the young Duke of Somerſet Captain and chiefe Commander of his Towne and Caſtle of Callice, and of the Marches thereof; who ſailing thither with a purpoſe to take poſſeſſion of his new charge, and not ſuſpecting that his enemies were there, was at his firſt arrivall well beaten and battered with the great ſhot and Ordnance which from the Caſtle played on him, and by thoſe meanes he was compelled to retire and to keepe off.

Henry Duke of Somerſet is made Captain of Callice. He was courtly entertained.

The Queen having intelligence of this rude and unkind entertainment of her new Captaine and great favourite, reſolved to ſend unto him freſh and new ſupplies: for which purpoſe ſome ſhips of the Navie Royall were made ready within the Haven of Sandwich. But the before-named *John Dynham*, diſpoſing himſelfe to all ſervices which might ſupport the Yorkiſh faction, and being furthered by the Mariners, who highly favoured and inwardly loved the young and luſtie Prince *Edward* Earle of March, and being accompanied with many gallant ſpirits, and brave men, boorded the ſaid ſhips as they lay there at anchor, tooke the Lord *Ryvers*, who was appointed Admirall to conduct them, and carried him and thoſe ſhips to Callice; from whence the Earle of Warwicke ſailed in them into Ireland, and conferred largely with the Duke of York concerning thoſe affaires. But in his returne the Duke of Exeter being Admirall of the Seas, and having under his charge a warlike and a ſtrong Fleet, making no doubt to have taken him, was much deceived: for his owne Mariners more adhered to the Yorkiſh faction than to the Kings, and ſhewed themſelves to bee exceeding cold and ſparing in the performance of their duties, when neede required their ſervice; ſo that the Earle of Warwick returned backe againe ſafely unto Callice.

John Dynham taketh ſome of the Kings ſhips.

The Earle of Warwicke ſaileth into Ireland.

He returneth to Callice.

And now the King upon good advice aſſembled his High Court of Parliament, in which he cauſed all the Lords of the Yorkiſh conſpiracie to be attainted of high treaſon. And leſt this Realme might bee diſturbed by their invaſion or ſecret entrance, divers Captaines with their companies were lodged in all Townes and Ports which neere adjoyned to the Sea, and were the beſt likely places for their landing. Sir *Simon Mountford* likewiſe, who was a right worthy and a valiant Knight, having under his charge divers of the Kings ſhips, was appointed to keep and to defend the Cinque-ports.

Attainders for Treaſon. Preparations againſt the landing of the Lords.

But nothing was done in the Kings Chamber, or in any other place of greateſt ſecrecie or counſell, whereof the Earles had not certaine and quick intelligence at Callice: wherefore they provided, furniſhed, and ſtrongly manned ſuch of the Kings ſhips as formerly by the ſaid *John Dynham* had bin brought thither, in which they ſayled, & ſafely arrived within the Haven of Sandwich, and ſuddenly they tooke Sir *Simon Mountford* priſoner, vanquiſhed the Towne, and carried away with them ſuch of the Kings ſhips as they found there. And having received good intelligence from their friends, that nothing was more expected than their returne into England, they prepared for their journey, and arrived the ſecond time at Sandwich, and were within few daies aſſiſted by the Lord *Cobham*, and by many Gentlemen and brave ſouldiers, inſomuch that their Armie conſiſted of more than five and twenty thouſand

The Kings Fleet taken in Sandwich.

The Lords do land at Sandwich.

men,

men, with which they marched towards London. But the Lord *Scales* was ſent againſt them with a ſmall companie to that city to defend it, and to ſecure the King of the fidelity of the Inhabitants thereof when time ſhould ſerve. But the Lord Maior refuſed to receive them, and told the Lord *Scales*, that he was able enough (without his helpe or counſell) to keepe that City, which by the King was committed unto his charge; whereat he was much diſpleaſed, and went to the Tower, from which he much wronged and damnified the Inhabitants of London.

The Londoners refuſe to receive the Lord Scales.

The King to defend himſelfe, and to maſter his rebellious enemies, being accompanied with the Dukes of Somerſet and of Buckingham, and many other Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, and a ſtrong Armie, marched towards them. And though the King himſelfe, for neceſſities ſake, was perſonally preſent, yet his minde and cogitations were more religiouſly bent to his prayers, and his deſires affected nothing more than quietneſſe and peace.

The King marcheth towards the Lords.

But the Queen (whoſe heart was manly, and whoſe anger threatned death) with ſouldier-like termes and ſpeeches cheared up her followers, debaſed their enemies, promiſed rewards if they deſerved well, and the ſevereſt of all puniſhments to ſuch as fled.

The Queen encourageth and threateneth.

At length neere unto the Towne of Northampton the two Armies met. The Earle of March, being very frolicke, and in the heat and flower of his youth, by the advice and counſell of the Earle of Warwicke, ordered his Armie for the battell. The Queen and her adherents did the like.

The battell of Northampton.

The fight quickly began, and fiercely continued ſomewhat more than two houres: but at length the Earles became Victors, ſlew more than two thouſand men on the Kings part, among which were *Humfrey* Duke of Buckingham, *John Talbot* Earle of Shrewesbury, *Thomas* Lord *Egremont*, *John* Viſcount *Beamond*, and many others.

The King is overthrown.

The Queene, with the Duke of Somerſet and divers others, taking with them the young Prince, fled into the Biſhopricke of Durham, where they hoped to raiſe a new Armie, or reſolved (in default thereof) to goe into Scotland, and to remaine there untill fortune and their friends ſhould inable them to recover what they had loſt.

The King (who was left behind) was taken priſoner, and conveied by the Earles with great pompe and much honour unto London, and at their comming thither the Tower was delivered into their poſſeſſion by the ſouldiers, againſt the liking and good will of the Lord *Scales*, who attempted to flie from thence diſguiſed a in Wherrie. But being diſcovered by the Water-men, he was by them taken, and made ſhorter by the head, and his body was negligently left upon the ſands. And *Thomas Thorpe*, the ſecond Baron of the Exchequer, who mortally hated the houſe of York, purpoſing in the habit of a Monke with a ſhaven Crown to flie unto the Queen, was taken, and brought to the Earle of Warwick, who ſent him to the Tower, where he remained long after.

The King taken priſoner. The Tower is delivered to the Lords.

The Lord Scales beheaded by the Watermen.

Tho. Thorpe taken and impriſoned.

The Duke of Yorke being ſpeedily informed of this victory, left Ireland, and came to London, and procured a Parliament to be aſſembled in the Kings name: and in the preſence of all the Lords in the Upper Houſe, he ſate himſelf down in the Imperiall Seat, and in an eloquent and powerfull Oration hee diſcovered to the Nobles his rightfull claime and title

to the Crowne; he being the ſonne and heire of *Anne* the daughter and heire of *Roger Mortimer* Earle of March, ſonne and heire to *Philip* the ſole daughter and heire of *Lionel* Duke of Clarence, the third ſon of King *Edward* the Third, and elder brother to *John* of *Gaunt*, who was father to the Uſurper King *Henry* the Fourth, who was father to King *Henry* the Fifth, who was father to the King who was untruly named King *Henry* the Sixth.

What the Duke of York did and ſaid in the Parliament houſe.

He alſo related unto them, that becauſe God bleſſed not his unlawfull government, therefore the Common-weale of England had beene plagued with many miſchiefes: As firſt, by the murdering and by the executing of many honourable and great Lords. Secondly, by the ſlaughter of thouſands of the common people in France, Normandie, and elſewere. Thirdly, by civill and bloody warrs at home. Fourthly, by the loſſe of all Territories beyond the Sea belonging to the Crowne of England, excepting Callice and the Marches thereof. Fifthly, by ſudden incurſions made by the Frenchmen and by the Scots. And laſtly, by all manner of violence, extortion, and oppreſſion practiſed upon the poorer ſort. And in his concluſion hee craved no favour, unleſſe that Juſtice gave them warrant; nor quiet poſſeſſion of the Crowne, except they found his deſcent and title to be infallibly true.

Englands plagues.

1460
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When the Lords and the Commons there aſſembled had with mature deliberation and good advice debated ſoundly of this important buſineſſe, it was by them all enacted, that King *Henry* ſhould ſo long as hee lived retaine the name and honour of a King, and that the Duke of Yorke ſhould be proclaimed to be the heire apparent of the Crown, and ſhould be the Lord protector both of the Kings perſon, and alſo of his dominions and countries; and that the ſaid Duke ſhould have the preſent poſſeſſion of the Crown of this Realme delivered unto him, if at any time King *Henrie*, or his friends, allies, or favourites, in his behalfe, attempted the infringing of the ſaid Acts, which were agreed and confirmed by their oathes.

The title to the Crowne ſettled by act of Parliament.

The Duke of Yorke having by theſe meanes gotten the government of the Kings perſon and of all his dominions into his hands, diſpatched his letters into Scotland in the Kings name, requiring the Queene, the Dukes of Somerſet and of Exeter, the Earle of Devonſhire, the Lords *Clifford* and *Roſſe*, and ſuch other great men as were fled, and remained in that Kingdome, to repaire with all expedition to the Kings preſence. But they all not onely refuſed to obey this peremptory command, but with an Armie of eighteene thouſand Engliſhmen and Scots they marched boldly towards the Kings Court.

The Lords in Scotland refuſe to come to the Duke of Yorke.

Whereupon the Duke of Yorke, with his younger ſonne the Earle of Rutland, and the Earle of Salisbury, leaving the King in the cuſtodie of the Duke of Norfolke, and of the Earle of Warwick, and being accompanied with no more than five thouſand men, directed his journey towards the Queen, and met her neere to the Towne of Wakefield, where no perſwaſions or good advice could prevaile, but the Duke of Yorke, who every houre expected the approach of *Edward* Earle of March, his eldeſt ſon, with a ſtrong Armie, would forthwith fight; which unfortunately he did: for in leſſer time than the ſpace of one houre, himſelfe, with

The battell of Wakefield.

with almoſt three thouſand of his company were ſlaine; and his younger ſon, *Edmund* Earle of Rutland, being but twelve yeeres old, kneeling upon his knees, and deſiring mercie, was cruelly and wickedly ſtabbed to the heart by the Lord *Clifford*, who horribly did ſweare, that by that act hee would bee revenged for his fathers death. And the reſt of that ſmall Armie being diſcomfited, confuſedly ran away, and ſaved themſelves by flight.

The Duke of Yorke overthrowne and ſlaine.

The Queen, who had taken the Earle of Salisbury priſoner, cauſed his head to bee ſtricken off, and executed many others; all whoſe heads (to deſpight the Yorkiſh faction) ſhe cauſed to be ſet upon the Walls of the citie of Yorke. Which revengefull deed not long after was requited by the ruine and deſtruction of the King, the Queen, the young Prince, and of the greater number of ſuch as favoured and aſſiſted the houſe of Lancaſter, and oppoſed themſelves againſt the rightfull and juſt claime of the Duke of Yorke, as hereafter we ſhall heare.

The Earle of Salisbury beheaded.

The new and brave Duke of York being informed of this overthrow, and of his fathers death, augmented his Armie, which was but ſmall, and conſiſted onely of three thouſand men, with which hee fought with the Kings halfe-brother *Jaſper* Earle of Pembroke, *Owen Tuthar* his father, *James Butler* Earle of Ormond and of Wiltſhire, and their companies. And almoſt at their firſt encounter thoſe two Earles fled, foure thouſand of their friends were ſlaine, many others were taken priſoners, and among them *Owen Tuthar*, father-in-law to King *Henry*, was one, who with ſome others were incontinently put to death. But the Queens Armie neere about that time having fought with the Duke of Norfolk and all his forces, compelled them to flie, and to leave King *Henry* behinde them, whereat ſhe conceived much joy.

Owen Tuthar beheaded.

The Quenes Armie prevailed.

The King is enlarged.

This victory at the firſt made her inſolent and proud: but when ſhee underſtood how well the young Duke of Yorke had prevailed, and that his Army was now winged with the Earle of Warwickes Regiments and Companies, ſhe with her adherents retired backe into the Northerne parts of this Realme, and raiſed a huge Armie of threeſcore thouſand men: and neere unto a Towne called Towton, *Edward* Duke of Yorke, the noble and victorious *Richard* Earle of Warwick, and almoſt nine and forty thouſand men, met with the Queenes Armie, where they fought a cruell and a fierce battell, in which more than ſixe and thirtie thouſand Engliſhmen were ſlaine; among which were the Earles of Northumberland and of Weſtmerland, the Lords *Dacres*, *Welles*, and *Clifford*, Sir *John Nevell*, *Andrew Trollop*, and many others. The two Dukes of Somerſet and of Exeter ſaved themſelves by flight: but the Earle of Devonſhire with ſundry moe were taken priſoners.

The Queenes Armie of 60000 men.

The Duke of Yorkes Army of 49000 men.

Towton field.

36000 Engliſhmen ſlain.

The Dukes victory.

The King and the Queen, with Prince *Edward* their onely ſon, fled to the Caſtle of Barwick, and from thence into Scotland, where they were courteouſly received and friendly entertained by the young King.

In recompence of which favours, and in hope of future aſſiſtance, King *Henry* delivered unto him the Caſtle and Towne of Barwicke, which the Scots not only much deſired, but with exceeding great loſſe and detriment had oftentimes (but ſtill in vaine) attempted to make their owne.

Barwicke delivered to the King of Scots.

This victory being thus happily obtained, the Duke of Yorke rode triumphantly to the citie of Yorke, from whoſe Walles he tooke the heads of his deceaſed father, and of his friends: and cauſing the Earle of Devonſhire and ſome others to be executed, hee ſet up their heads in the ſame places.

The Duke of Yorke commeth triumphantly into London.

King *Henrie* being hopeleſſe of all other helpe and affiſtance, ſent the Queen his wife, and the young Prince their ſonne, to her father *Reyner*, the titularie King of Sicilia, Naples, and of Jeruſalem, praying to uſe his beſt endevours and diligence to procure him aide and ſuccour from the French King. And in the meane time he himſelfe remained in Scotland, patiently expecting the event of his future Fortunes.

THE

right noble Prince EDWARD the 4th King of England, and Fraunce Lord of Ireland. He raigned 22 yeares and 5 weekes. Died at the age of 52 yeares: buried at Windsor, 1483.

R. Elstracke sculpsit

THE HISTORIE OF KING *EDWARD* THE FOURTH.

Edward Duke of Yorke having overthrowne the King and Queene, and having slaine and executed many of his greatest enemies at Towton field, returned triumphantly to the citie of London, and was proclaimed King of this Realme the 4th. day of March, and was crowned the 19th. day of June then next following. 1461 I Edward the Fourth proclaimed and crowned King.

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1461
1
Edward the Fourth proclaimed and crowned King.

In the beginning of his reigne he removed from all Offices all ſuch as were voyced to be the oppreſſors of his people, and carefully provided that all things might bee ordered well for their commoditie and profit. And in his High Court of Parliament many things were eſtabliſhed and enacted for the peace and welfare of the Common-weale. And all former ſtatutes which had been made by the laſt King (and convicted him and his adherents of high treaſon) were defaced, cancelled, and made void. The Earle of Oxford, and Sir *Awbrey Vere* his ſon, and ſome other Councellors to King *Henry* the Sixth, being attainted of ſundry treaſonable practices, loſt their heads.

Lords created.

And to ſtrengthen his part with powerfull and with faithfull friends, he created his two brothers, *George* Duke of Clarence, and *Richard* Duke of Gloceſter: and Sir *John Nevill* brother to the Earle of Warwick, he created Lord *Montacute*: and *Henrie Bourchier* (who had married the Lady *Elizabeth*, Aunt unto the King, and was brother unto *Thomas Bouchier* Archbiſhop of Canterbury) was created Earle of Eſſex: and *William* Lord *Fawconbridge* was made Earle of Kent.

1462
2.

Some of the Kings enemies ſubmit themſelves, but afterwards doe revolt.

The Duke of Somerſet, Sir *Ralph Percie*, and divers others being the Kings inveterated enemies, perceiving this ſettlement of the State, and finding no hope for reliefe, but onely in the Kings grace and mercie, voluntarily and humbly ſubmitted themſelves to his Highneſſe; whereupon they received his pardon, and were entertained with his love. Queen *Margaret*, who with the Prince her ſonne was abiding in France, by her fathers meanes procured from the French King certaine ſhips, and an aide of five hundred men, with which ſhee arrived ſafely in England at Tyne in the North Country. But her ſucceſſe was unfortunate: for by the Kings friends foure hundred of them were taken priſoners, and ranſomed, and the reſt were ſlaine: and the Queen her ſelfe fled, and with much difficultie went into Scotland, where ſhee found ſuch favour and ſuch friendſhip, that many a luſtie Scot accompanied her, the King, and the Prince their ſonne, to the Caſtle of Barwick, where ſhe left her ſon, and with the King began once more to levie a ſtrong armie in Northumberland, and in the Biſhopricke of Durham; whereof when the Kings reconciled enemies, the Duke of Somerſet, Sir *Ralph Percie*, and ſome others, had intelligence, they treacherouſly ſlunke away, and came unto the Queenes aide.

The Queen landeth, and flyeth into Scotland.

The Queen raiſeth a new Armie.

The Kings reſolution.

The Lord Montacutes brave victory.

Now when King *Edward* perceived, that neither his eſtate nor his ſucceſſion could bee eſtabliſhed without blood, hee ſent a gallant and a ſtrong Fleet of ſhips well furniſhed into the Northern Seas: and raiſing a puiſſant Armie, hee ſent the Lord *Montacute* with ſome part thereof before him, and with the reſt he himſelfe ſpeedily followed after. The ſaid Lord boldly ſeeking adventures, and longing much to make himſelfe famous by his valour, courageouſly did ſet upon the Lords *Hungerford* and *Roos*, and upon Sir *Ralph Percie*, and their troupes. Theſe Nobles in the beginning of the fight, fearing their owne ſhadowes, quickly ranne away: but Sir *Ralph Percie* and ſome others, preferring an honourable death before a cowardly and a ſhamefull flight, diſdained to turne their backes, fought ſtoutly, and were ſlaine like valiant men of warre.

From

From this victorie the Lord *Montacute*, with much confidence and true magnanimitie, marched towards the King and Queenes armie, and met with them in Exhamſhire. Many provocations he uſed to dare them to fight, whereof they ſeemed to take no notice: whereupon he furiouſly preſſed them in their owne Campe, ſo that deſpaire depriving them of all good hope, except they fought like men, they confronted their aſſailants with ſuch courage, that nothing (for a while) was more uncertaine, than unto whom the honour and victorie of that day would fall. But in the end, the Lord *Montacute*, determining to enlarge his fame with the hazzard of his life, before King *Edward* ſhould enter into the field to ſuccour him, ruſhed with ſuch violence into the Kings battell, that he diſordered it wholly in a moment. The Lord Montacute ſetteth on the Queenes armie.

Then blowes were exchanged (with deſperate reſolution) on both ſides; and either partie fought in blood. But in the end the Kings Armie was diſcomfited and overthrowne, and ſuch as were unſlaine, fled. But in the purſuit there were taken theſe priſoners, *Henrie* Duke of Somerſet, *William Taylboyes* (who enſtiled himſelfe Earle of Kent) the Lords *Roos*, *Molynes*, and *Hungerford*, Sir *Henry Nevell*, Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, and Sir *Richard Tunſtall*: all which were beheaded in ſundry places, and ſeven and twentie others ſuffered the like execution ſhortly after. But King *Henry* with faſt riding eſcaped into Scotland: ſo did his halfe brother *Jaſper* Earle of Pembroke, Sir *Ralph Grey*, and ſome others. And King *Edward* when he came forth with his Armie, and underſtood perfectly what was done, humbly thanked Almightie God, and then praiſed the Lord *Montacute* and all his followers for this honourable and great victorie: and with part of his Armie he ſent the Earle of Warwick and the Lord *Montacute*, *Fawconbridge*, and *Scrope* into Northumberland, for the recovery of ſuch Forts and Caſtles as were detained and kept from him: where they won the Caſtles of Alnewike and Duſtanburgh, with the Caſtle of Bambrough, in which was Captaine Sir *Ralph Grey*, who had formerly ſworne his ſervice to King *Edward*. Him they beheaded, when they had degraded him from the honour of Knighthood, by hewing off his ſpurs, rending in pieces his Coat of Armes, and breaking his ſword over his head. The King, to deſpight the Earle of Northumberland, who fought againſt him, dignified the Lord *Montacute* with his Title, and gave the Earledome of Pembroke from *Jaſper Tuther* unto *William* Lord *Herbert*. But within few daies after, the ſaid late Earle of Northumberland in all ſubmiſſive manner reconciled himſelfe to the Kings favour, and was by him reſtored to his poſſeſſions and eſtate. And leſt hee ſhould diſgrace and wrong the Lord *Montacute*, by taking from him ſo quickly that dignitie which ſo lately for his great ſervice he had beſtowed on him, hee created him Marqueſſe *Montacute*, and gave him full contentment in that behalfe. The King and Queen are overthrown. A terrible execution. An Armie ſent into the North. Sir Ralph Grey degraded and executed. The Lord Montacute is created Marqueſſe Montacute.

After this victorie was thus obtained, the King beſtowed many rich and princely gifts upon his Lords and Gentlemen which ſerved him faithfully and valiantly in his warres: and with ſuch familiaritie and kindneſſe demeaned himſelfe among them, that they were confidently aſſured of his love. Hee alſo ſhared and divided the lands and goods of his 1463 3.

his ſlaine enemies among his ſouldiers, and wonne their hearts by his great bounty. He augmented ſome of his coynes of ſilver, and of gold; and with new ſtamps and inſcriptions he minted others. Hee publiſhed ſundry projects, and effected them for the commodity and welfare of his people. Hee pardoned ſuch as had borne Armes againſt him in the field, or elſewhere, upon their humble ſubmiſſion and contrition for their offence. Hee builded ſtrong Forts, Caſtles, Rampiers, and Bulwarkes, upon the Sea-coaſts, to prohibite his enemies landing within this kingdome. And on the maine land he did the like, to hinder all traiterous Rebels from collecting of new forces to doe him harme.

The Kings care of his Common-weale.

And whileſt King *Edward* was thus diſpoſing of his affaires, and ordering the buſineſſes of the Common-weale, King *Henry*, who in a diſguiſed faſhion (for ſome ſecret purpoſe) was travelling towards London, was taken in the North, and brought unto King *Edward*, who committed him to a ſtrait impriſonment within the Tower of London. And when hee had ſetled and ordered his eſtate and kingdome, becauſe hee was young and luſty, about the age of foure and twenty yeares, hee was entreated by his Councell and Nobility to conſider of his ſucceſſion, and to take a wife, whereunto hee willingly gave conſent. There were nominated unto him the Ladie *Margaret*, ſiſter to the King of Scots, and *Elizabeth* the ſiſter and heire apparent to *Henry* King of Caſtile. But the former of thoſe two was thought to be unfit, becauſe ſhee was continually diſeaſed and infirme. The latter alſo was not liked, becauſe ſhee was not ſeven yeares old. But the Ladie *Bona*, daughter to *Lewis* Duke of Savoy, and ſiſter to Queene *Carlot*, the wife of King *Lewis* the Eleventh of France, was moſt of all deſired. And for that purpoſe, the Kings beſt friend, *Richard Nevil* Earle of Warwicke, was ſent Embaſſadour into France, with an honourable traine, where (in the behalfe of the King) he wonne his ſute, and with much joy on all parts obtained his requeſt. But in his abſence, the King (as hee hunted in Wich-wood neere to Stony-Stratford) came (for his repoſe) into the Lordſhip and Manour of Grafton, where the Lady *Jaquet* (daughter to *Peter* of Luxenburgh, late Earle of S. *Paul*, and ſometimes the widow of *John* the renowned Duke of Bedford, and wife to Sir *Richard Woodvile* Lord Ryvers) then lay: upon whom there attended her daughter, the faire and freſh Lady *Elizabeth*, the widow of Sir *John Grey*, who was ſlaine as he fought for King *Henry* at S. Albons in the laſt yeere of his reigne. This Lady was on the ſudden ſo liked, ſo loved, ſo fawned and doated on by the luſtie and young King, that for dalliance ſake, he reſolved to make her his wanton play-fellow if he might. But her conſtant modeſty and amorous denials repulſing him from his unchaſte hopes, he (to obtaine the fruits of his deſires) without any further delay, advice, or counſell, tooke her to his wife; and created the Lord *Rivers*, her father, Earle *Ryvers*, and made him high Conſtable of England. Her brother *Anthony* (whom hee had made Lord *Anthony*) was by his procurement married to the ſole and only daughter and heire of *Thomas* Lord *Scales*, and was in her right dignified with that honour. Her ſon, Sir *Thomas Grey*, was created Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, and was by the Kings motion, married to the Lady *Cecilia*, the onely daughter and heire to the Lord *Bonvyle* and of *Harrington*.

King Henry is taken and impriſoned.

The King intendeth to marry.

The Earle of Warwick obtaineth the Duke of Savoyes daughter.

The King in his abſence marrieth the Lady Elizabeth Grey.

Creation of Lords.

And

And though this his marriage with the Queene were pleasing for a time, yet was it most unhappy and unfortunate in the end. For first it occasioned his expulsion out of this Realme. Secondly, the death of his true friend *Richard* the most eminent and valorous Earle of Warwicke, and of the Marquesse *Montacute*, his brother. Thirdly, the slaughter and execution, and the murdering of many Nobles, Gentlemen, and brave souldiers. Fourthly, the destruction of the Kings two sons, and almost the utter ruine and destruction of the Queenes kindred, and of her blood, as hereafter in this History it shall appeare. Evill effects of the Kings marriage.

1464 4

When the sudden newes of King *Edwards* hastie marriage was published in France, every person whom it concerned was highly displeased at this frumpe, which thereby he gave to his worthiest and deerest friend the Earle of Warwick: and the Earle himselfe (by reason thereof) conceived such an inward hatred against the King, that in his heart hee resolved (when time should serve) to depose him if he might: yet notwithstanding he made faire weather, and at his returne seemed rather to make sport at his owne disgrace, than to take any discontented notice of it. The Earle of Warwicke hateth the King.

The King also, who chiefly by this Earle was seated and settled in his Throne, endevoured secretly to abridge him of his authority and power, because hee feared lest his greatnesse might doe him harme: And the Earle, although hee staied a while at the Court after his returne out of France, yet as long as he remained there, hee imagined that he stood on thornes. Wherefore hee asked leave of the King to depart unto his Castle of Warwick for his repose, and for recreations sake. But being come thither, his head was busied with new projects, and all his thoughts were employed, how, and by what meanes he might subdue and depose the King. And at this time was borne the Ladie *Elizabeth*, who was afterwards the wife of King *Henrie* the Seventh, and mother unto King *Henrie* the Eight. The Lady Elizabeth borne.

1465 5

The King (purposing to gaine the love of forraigne Princes, that by meanes thereof, hee might with the more securitie defend himselfe against *Lewis* the French King, who threatned to bee revenged for the injurie which by King *Edwards* marriage was done to him, and to the sister of his Queene) concluded a Truce for fifteen yeeres with the King of Scots, notwithstanding that (by the delivery of the Queen *Margaret*) he detained from him his strong Castle of Barwicke. A Truce with the Scots.

He also sent unto *Henrie* King of Castile, and unto *John* King of Arragon, many Corshall Sheep, which never before upon any entreatie or request, they, nor any other Prince could obtaine. From which Sheepe, such a multitude have encreased, that it hath since turned to the unspeakable prejudice, and hurt of this Kingdome and Common-weale. English sheep sent to the Kings of Castile, and of Arragon.

1466 6

The King also, contrarie to the opinion and good liking of the Earle of Warwick, contracted, and afterwards married his sister the Lady *Margaret* unto *Charles* the Duke of Burgoine, as formerly he had done two other of his sisters, to the Dukes of Exeter and of Suffolke. The Earle of Warwicke (who secretly thirsted for revenge, and thought the time to be long before he had restored King *Henry* the sixt to his libertie and Crowne) by faire promises, and insinuating perswasions, won his two brothers, the Archbishop of Yorke, and the Marquesse *Montacute*, to take The Duke of Burgoine marrieth the Kings sister.

1467 7

The Marquesse of Montacute, was still a secret friend to King Edward.

take his part. But the Marqueſſe (who was exceeding hardly induced to give his conſent to ſo ill an intended action) performed all things with an unwilling minde: which in the end turned to his owne ruine, and to the deſtruction of his brethren. The Earle likewiſe (being right well aſſured, that the Kings brother *George* Duke of Clarence ſecretly envied the King, becauſe he had preferred *Anthonie* the Queenes brother in marriage with the ſole daughter and heire of the Lord *Scales*; and Sir *Thomas Grey* her Son, in marriage with the ſole daughter and heire of the Lord *Bonvile* and *Harrington*; and the Lord *Haſtings*, to the ſole daughter and heire of the Lord *Hongerford*, and was careleſſe of his advancement by ſuch a match) watched a fit opportunity to complaine to the Duke of Clarence of the Kings ſullen ungratefulneſſe towards him. Why, quoth the Duke, can you (my Lord) think the King will be thankefull to his friend, who is too too unkind to his owne brethren? Thinke you that friendſhip or good deſerts can work in him more vertuous effects, than nature hath afforded him? Is he not now ſo highly mounted, that hee vouchſafeth not to caſt downe an eye upon ſuch as are of his owne blood? Nay, who lay in his owne Mothers wombe? Are not the allies and kinsfolkes of his Wife preferred by him to all promotions, dignities, offices, & good places? And are not his own brothers, & his trueſt friends (who have fought in many aſſaults, skirmiſhes and battels, to make him a Soveraigne King) neglected, unrewarded, and uncourteouſly ſhaken off? Were my brother of Gloceſter of my humour and diſpoſition (my Lord) we would with your aſſiſtance and aide, make him to know himſelfe better, and to ſet a difference betwixt his ancient and truely dignified Nobilitie, and ſuch new Gentlemen, as unworthily doe rule and governe all, to our diſhonour and reproach.

The Duke of Clarence joyneth with the Earle of Warwicke againſt his brother the King.

The Earle of Warwick, finding the Duke of Clarence thus tractable, and inclining to his humour, conſulted with him oftentimes touching this buſineſſe. And to tie him unto himſelfe by a faſt bond of friendſhip and of love, he offered to him in marriage one of his daughters, who was named *Iſabel*, with halfe the inheritance of his wife. Whereof the Duke in all kindly and friendly ſort accepted.

The plot is ſtrengthened by a marriage.

And thereupon the plot was contrived thus. The Earle himſelfe, with the Duke of Clarence, would goe unto Callice, where the young Ladie, who was there, ſhould be married. And (in their abſence) as if it hapned without their knowledge or conſent, the Earles two brothers, the Archbiſhop of Yorke, and the Marqueſſe *Montacute*, were appointed with their friends, to raiſe a rebellion in the Countie of Yorke. And this project was put into execution in this manner.

The plot againſt King Edward.

The Husbandmen of Yorkeſhire (by an ancient cuſtome) in the end of Harveſt, uſed yeerely to give a certaine quantitie of corne and graine, towards the maintenance and reliefe of divers poore people, who lived in the Hoſpitall of Saint *Leonard* within the Citie of Yorke. Now the Earles friends ſcandalouſly and falſly reported in the Countrie thereabout, that the ſaid poore people were not relieved by the ſaid Almes, but that the Governour and Prieſts of the ſaid Hoſpitall enriched and fatted themſelves therewith. So when the Proctors, according to their wonted faſhion, came abroad to collect the peoples devotion in that kind, they

The cauſe of Rebellion.

they were ſhrewdly beaten by the Ruſtickes, and miſ-uſed beyond meaſure. Hereupon many Religious and well diſpoſed people tooke part with the Proctors, and with rough words and ſome blowes they requited the injurie which was done unto them. From this beginning ſprang forth a dangerous inſurrection: ſo that (within few daies) there were up in Armes more than fifteen thouſand men; who with their ring-leaders, came proudly before the citie of Yorke, and with uncivill and rude tearmes, they threatned the ruine and deſtruction of it. But in the darkeneſſe of the night, the Marqueſſe *Montacute*, being accompanied with many luſtie and brave men, ſet upon the rebels, ſlew many hundreds of them, and ſtrake off the Captaines head, and ſtrongly fortified that Citie.

When the King (who was truely informed of this rebellion) was told this newes, he reſted doubtfull whether his old friend the Marqueſſe had done this ſervice to make an amends for his revolt, or elſe to colour his ill intendements thereby. The Rebels (who ſtill encreaſed) perceiving that they ſhould loſe their labour to linger about the Towne, left the citie, and marched towards London, being then conducted by Sir *John Conyers*, a worthy and a valiant Knight.

Sir John Conyers captaine of the Rebels.

The King being hereof advertiſed, commanded the Lord *William Herbert* Earle of Pembroke, and *Humfrey* Lord *Stafford* of Southwecke, who was nominated in hope of future good ſervice, but not indeed created, Earle of Devonſhire, to levie a ſtrong power in Wales, and with all expedition to fight with the Rebels. And he himſelfe promiſed to aſſiſt them with a faire Armie.

The Lord Stafford overthrowne.

Theſe Lords, with eight or nine thouſand men, right well ordered and appointed, marched towards theſe Rebels: and as they drew neere to Northampton, they underſtood that they were not farre off. Whereupon the Lord *Stafford*, and Sir *Richard Herbert* a valiant Knight, and brother to the Earle of Pembroke, taking with them out of the whole Armie, two thouſand ſtrong and skilfull Archers, plotted a ſecret ambuſh, to take a view of the Northren Rebels as they paſſed by; but as ſoone as they were gone beyond them, theſe Archers ruſhed violently upon their Rereward. But the Rebels, who were nimble, and well ordered by their carefull Generall, turned about, ſtucke to their tacklings, and with their greater numbers, ſlew moſt of thoſe Welchmen, and the reſt fled haſtily to their owne Campe.

An unfortunate diſſention.

And the next night, by reaſon of an unkind diviſion which hapned betwixt the Lord *Stafford* and the Earle of Pembroke, who at Banburie removed him from a common Inne, where hee uſed to lodge with an unchaſte Queane, the Lord *Stafford* with his Archers departed from the Armie, and left them to their fortunes among their foes.

Banburie field.

This froward ſlinking away nothing at all diſmaied the noble Earle, though as he had juſt cauſe, he were much diſpleaſed thereat; but made him to reſolve with the more alacritie and courage to ſet upon the Rebels, with whom he fought the next day, and with his Welchmen ſaw many tokens of victorie neere at hand.

But ſuddenly a Gentleman named *John Clapham*, and ſervant to the Earle of Warwick, having his Maſters Banner with the white Beare, trouped

trouped towards the battell with five hundred men, who were by him collected of the off-ſcum of the raſcall and baſeſt ſort of the inhabitants of the Town of Northampton, and of the villages thereabout. All theſe preſenting themſelves a farre off, and advancing their Standard, and crying, A *Warwick*, A *Warwick*, ſo incredibly daunted and confounded the Welchmen, who ſuppoſed that the Earle of Warwick was come thither with another Armie, that they began to flie, and were on the ſudden overthrowne, and more than five thouſand of them were ſlaine: and Sir *Richard Herbert* and eight others being taken priſoners, were beheaded at Banburie by the Rebels.

The Kings forces are overthrowne.

This fortunate ſucceſſe animated ſundry lewd and ill diſpoſed people of Northamptonſhire to enter into new broiles, inſomuch that they (making a notorious raſcall, named *Robin* of *Riddiſdale*, their Captaine) entred into the Manour of Grafton, where they apprehended the Earle *Ryvers*, whom they loved not, and Sir *John* his ſonne, carried them to Northampton, and without queſtioning with them, or any legall proceeding, ſmote off their heads. And the Lord *Stafford*, being by the Kings directions taken at Brentmarſh in Somerſetſhire, was carried to Bridgewater, and was there executed, becauſe he treacherouſly departed with his companies from the Earle of Pembroke, as formerly wee have heard.

The Queenes father is beheaded by the Rebels.

The Lord Stafford beheaded.

The King (notwithſtanding theſe troubles) was ſo full of courage and heroicall magnimitie, that he was not any thing at all diſmayed with any croſſe or ill newes, but marched confidently with his Armie againſt the Northerne Rebels, to whom the Earle of Warwick had joyned himſelfe with a great power; and likewiſe the Duke of Clarence brought all his forces to the Earle: ſo that now a fearefull expectation of unchriſtian crueltie diſquieted the vaſt and great body of the Commonweale. But to prevent that miſchiefe, many of the Nobilitie endevoured day and night to mediate and to conclude a Peace: ſo that letters were written from the one part to the other: Heralds of Armes were ſent, and the word of Peace was ſo pleaſing to them all, that every circumſtance ſeemed to give warrant that all things ſhould be qualified, and ſet in tune.

The King marcheth towards the Rebels.

By meanes of this parlee, King *Edward* became more careleſſe of himſelfe, and of his charge than was fitting. Whereof when the Earle of Warwicke was informed, he reſolved, though diſloyally and diſhoneſtly, to make an advantage thereby unto himſelfe: ſo that in the midſt of the night, when ſecuritie ſuſpected none evill, the ſaid Earle, being accompanied with many of his friends, well armed, and thorowly appointed, ruſhed into the Kings Campe, ſlew his Watches, and tooke him in his bed, and as ſecretly as he could he ſent him as a Priſoner to the caſtle of Middleham in Yorkſhire, there to be ſafely kept by the Archbiſhop his brother; who either repenting what he had done againſt the the King, or being won by large promiſes of great favour, and good rewards, ſuffered him with his Gardens to hunt and to hawke at his pleaſure: by meanes whereof fit opportunitie for a reſcue was given to Sir *William Standley*, Sir *Thomas Burgh*, and ſome others of his faithfull friends; who not onely did ſet him free, but alſo by their carefull helpe,

The King is taken in his Bed.

He is ſent Priſoner to the Archbiſhop of Yorke.

and

and assistance, conveyed him from place to place, untill the Earle of Warwicke was certainly informed, that he was within the Citie of London. The King commeth to London.

This his deliverance much encumbred the said Earle, the Duke of Clarence and their confederates, with new troubles, and daily consultations, what course was fittest for them to take. For they had dissolved their Armie, and permitted the King to depart from them untouched, when he was taken, supposing that by his Captivitie there had beene a finall end of all those civill warres.

But at length, they resolved to raise another Army, under colour of some Rebellion in the North, and the King (on his part) was determined by one meanes or other, to make them better minded, and more dutifull: or else to roote them and their posteritie out of the Land.

Thus, whilest all things were in a combustion, and nothing but civill war was threatned in every place: the Common Lawes were neglected, Justice was laid asleep, robberies and oppressions were too too rife: and open violence (without correction) was practised upon the weaker sort. The Lords & Great men of the Land, once more endevoured to prevent this future mischiefe: and upon solemne oathes received for a quiet and friendly enterview, the King and the confederated Lords met kindly in the great Hall at Westminster, where the objections of good deserts, and of unthankfull requitals, were with such proud and bitter words repeated, & maintained by the Earle of Warwick, that in a great furie they all departed one from another. Whereupon the King went to Canterbury, and the confederated Lords into Lincolnshire, where they raised an Armie, of which they made Captaine Sir *Robert Welles*, sonne and heire apparent to the Lord *Welles*, because hee was a man right valiant, and of good direction and judgement in the Art of Warre. The King (who was inwardly vexed with this new preparation) was by necessity enforced to levie another Armie; which when hee had done, hee sent for the Lord *Welles*, who with his brother-in-law Sir *Thomas Dymocke*, comming towards the King, tooke Sanctuary at Westminster, because their hearts failed them to goe forward, for that they heard that the King was exceeding angry. But upon the Kings solemne word and promise that no wrong should be done unto them, they came into his presence, and were by him requited to command the Knight to desist from his rebellious purpose, and to repaire to the Kings Armie for his service: and they accordingly tooke much paine and travell to that purpose. But as the King marched forth towards the Rebels, he was informed, that the said Sir *Robert Welles* was resolved to persevere in that action: whereat the King was so exceedingly enraged, and so forgetfull of his princely promise, that in his unadvised fury hee caused the heads of the said Lord and Knight to be smitten off; for which cruelty he was evilly spoken of by many Nobles and inferiour men, who otherwise wished him good successe in all his affaires and actions.

The parley broken off. An Armie raised by the Lords.

An Armie raised by the King.

A cruell deed.

When both these Armies had pitched themselves neere to each other, Sir *Robert Welles* for a while doubted whether hee should begin the fight, or stay till the repaire of the confederated Lords, who were within a daies journey of him with an Armie. But in the end, deepe hatred to revenge his Fathers and his Uncles deaths, and an ardent desire which inflamed

med his heart with a ſmall number to win much honour, bred in him a conſtant reſolution to begin the fight; which forthwith he did, and for a long time maintained it with great diſcretion and true valour. But the Kings numbers being farre the greater, ſoone tyred out the Rebels by their freſh ſupplies, that they began to flie, and the King by violent purſuit followed after, untill he clearly won the honour of that day. This meeting was called the battell of Looſe-coates, becauſe the Rebels threw off their coates, that they might thereby make themſelves more active and nimble to runne away. In this battell were ſlaine above ten thouſand men: and Sir *Robert Welles*, with ſome others of good account, being taken priſoners, loſt their heads.

The battell of Looſe-coats.

10000 men ſlaine.

1469 9

Clarence and Warwicke doe flie from their Army, and come before Callice.

The Duke of Clarence and the Earle of Warwick being informed of this miſhap, although they were guarded with a huge Army of deſperate and wilfull people, yet fearing leſt this overthrow would make them fainted-hearted, mutable and unconſtant, they left their charge, and ſecretly fled to the City of Exeter, and from thence to Dartmouth, where they ſhipped themſelves, and came before Callice with their friends. The King was much grieved becauſe they had not beene ſlaine, or taken; but eſpecially the ſafety of the Earle of Warwicke perplexed his mind, becauſe he knew him to be exceeding gracious and in much favour with the common people, who indeed were perſwaded, that the Sun ſhined not cleare any where but where he was, and that they could not miſcarry in any danger if he himſelfe were preſent.

Warwicke is envied by the Duke of Burgoine.

Now to prevent his future landing in England with a forraine power, the King by his letters intreated his brother in law *Charles* Duke of Burgoine, to prohibite his ſubjects and his friends from giving to the ſaid Earle any aide, helpe, or ſuccour, and with a Navie to ſurpriſe him. The Duke willingly conſented to the Kings requeſt: Firſt, becauſe the ſaid Earle oppoſed himſelfe againſt his marriage with the Ladie *Margaret* the Kings ſiſter. Secondly, becauſe the ſaid Earle loved *Lewis* the French King, whom the Duke mortally hated. And laſtly, becauſe the Earle was ſo generally beloved of the Engliſh Nation, that when he was at home, he clipped the wings of the Kings authority in his owne Kingdome.

Clarence and Warwicke beaten off at Callice.

The Dutcheſſe delivered of a ſonne in the ſhip.

When the Duke of Clarence and the Earle of Warwick came before Callice, having their wives and many other Ladies and Gentlewomen with them, in ſtead of friendly entertainment, the Earles unkind Deputy, *Monſieur de Vawcler*, kept their ſhips off with the great Ordnance of the Caſtle. And though the Dutcheſſe was in ſhip-broard delivered of a ſon, yet would he not permit that it ſhould be landed or Chriſtned there; neither would he afford any thing needfull and neceſſary in that extremity to the ſaid diſtreſſed Lady. The King tooke ſo much joy to heare of this good newes, that forthwith by his Letters Patents, hee granted the chiefe Captaineſhip of that place to the ſaid Deputy. And the Duke of Burgoine ſo thanked him, that he gave him an yeerely penſion of one thouſand Crowns. Yet for all this *Monſieur de Vawcler* was ſo uncertaine in all his dealings towards the King, that hee adviſed the ſaid Earle to direct his courſe to the King of France, and promiſed to yeeld unto him a good account for Callice, when time and opportunity ſhould it require. This counſell gave ſome hope and contentment to the Earle; who intending

intending to doe as he directed, launched his ſhips into the ſea, where he met with divers of the Duke of Burgoines ſubjects, fully loaden with great variety of rich merchandiſes of all ſorts, all which hee rifled and tooke away, and landed at the Town of Deepe; and from thence (by the French Kings invitation) they came to the Caſtle of Amboys, which ſtandeth upon the river of Loyer, where hee met them, received them cheereſully, feaſted them with great bounty, ſupplied their preſent wants, and faithfully promiſed to aide and to aſſiſt them (when time ſhould ſerve) with his beſt meanes: all which he did, not in regard of any grounded love towards them, but becauſe he knew them to be enemies to his enemies, King *Edward* and the Duke of Burgoine. Queen *Margaret* and Prince *Edward* her ſonne, together with *Jaſper* ſometimes Earle of Pembroke, and ſome others, who with him had broken priſon in England, and were fled into France, underſtanding that the Duke of Clarence, the Earle of Warwick, and others of their friends, were friendly entertained in the French Court, repaired to them, where they entred into new conferences and communications for the reſtoring of King *Henry* to his Crown and Kingdome, and ſolemnly tooke their oathes, never voluntarily to leave each other, untill they had done their beſt to effect the ſame. And the Earle of Warwick (to make his own part the ſtronger) gave his ſecond daughter in marriage to Prince *Edward*: whereof when the Duke of Clarence had deliberately conſidered, and thought what might be the ſequell of this buſineſſe, he evidently foreſaw, that this marriage and their newly intended wars would be the utter confuſion of him and of the whole family and houſe of York. For Kings doe alwaies looke with a jealous eye upon all ſuch as by any poſſibility may lay any levell towards their Crown. This conſideration (not without good cauſe) made him very diſtruſtfull of his own fortunes. And to prevent a great miſchief, which (as he thought) began to threaten him and his eſtate, his love and his heart began ſecretly to forſake the Earle of Warwick and that faction, inſomuch that he gave private intelligence to his brother King *Edward*, that at their landing within the Kingdome of England, he would be but a faint and a weake enemy in thoſe affaires. Thus when thoſe Lords had concluded to return, they were with all expedition well furniſhed with men, munition, mony, ſhips, and all things fitting, by the French King.

The Earle of Warwicke taketh the Duke of Burgoines ſubjects at Sea.

The French King is gracious to the Lords.

New plotting againſt King Edward.

Prince Edward married to Warwicks ſecond daughter.

The Lords preſſe forth for England.

But being in a readineſſe to paſſe out of the River of Seyne, the Burgundians met them with a ſtrong Fleet at the mouth of that River, and purpoſed to defeat them if they might. But an evening ſtorme approaching with unwonted rage and furie, compelled the Burgundians to run into the Sea, where many of them were drowned, ſome were driven into Scotland, and the reſt, being all diſperſed, laboured and toiled hardly to ſave themſelves.

The Burgundians drowned.

The Earle of Warwicke, who by letters ſome few daies before received from his friends, was certified that his landing was hourely expected, and ſufficient ſtrength provided to backe him and his, although they came deſtitute of all other helpes and ſuccours, determined to loſe no time: but making a preſent benefit to himſelfe and his of the Burgundians miſhap and hard fortune, and leaving the Queen and the Prince her ſonne behind him, the next morning entred into the Sea, and with

much ſpeed and ſafety hee landed with all his companies and friends at Dartmouth in Devonſhire; from whence he gave ſpeedy notice of his arrivall to his deareſt and neereſt friends.

The King was too ſecure.

The King ſo much relied upon the bold ſervice intended by the Burgundians Fleet, and not knowing what ſhipwracke and dammage it had received, made no preparation at all, either to withſtand their arrivall, or to encounter them after they were landed: but hawked, hunted, and ſolaced himſelfe (according to his humour and wonted faſhion) in the ſocietie and company of young Ladies and faire maidens, to whom his affections were more obliged than to the warres.

Warwickes Proclamation.

But the Earle of Warwicke marſhalled his ſmall company in good order, and by publike Proclamations which he made in King *Henries* name, he required all men to repaire unto his aide, with mony, victuall, armour, and all things needfull for that purpoſe, and valiantly to fight againſt the Duke of Yorke, who (as he affirmed) by meere uſurpation and bloody tyrannie, untruly and falſly called himſelfe King. This politicke practice within few dayes increaſed his ſmall companies to a huge Armie, with which they marched towards London.

And ſuch were the quick endevours, and ſo induſtrious was King *Edward*, who was compelled by neceſſity to make proviſion for his own ſafety, that he levied a ſtrong Armie, and went forth with an high courage, and with Princely valour, againſt the Rebels of his Country. But being informed, that all the Countries, Cities, Townes, and places thorow which his enemies paſſed, were aiders to their fortunes, and hearing them oftentimes with loud voices to crie King *Henrie*, King *Henrie*, A *Warwicke*, A *Warwicke*, and diſtruſting utterly the inconſtant minds and diſpoſitions of his owne ſouldiers, his heart failed him, ſo that in ſecret manner, and in the night, with eight hundred of his beſt friends, hee left his Army, and poſted into Lincolnſhire: and when all his hopes of help and ſuccour there, were ſpent in vaine, they being altogether deſtitute of mony, and other proviſions needfull for a journey into a forraine Countrey, tooke ſhipping, and ſailed into Holland, purpoſing to remaine with the Duke of Burgoine, untill they might have good meanes for their returne, and to be revenged on the Earle of Warwicke, and of all other their mortall enemies.

The King flyeth in the night.

As ſoone as it was certainely knowne that King *Edward* was fled, a rude multitude of factious Kentiſhmen, delighting tumultuouſly and in a braine-ſick maner to fiſh in troubled waters, came to the Gates of the City of London, and would have entred it: but being reſiſted in their purpoſe, they rifled and robbed the Suburbs, burnt divers houſes, murdered many people, and at Radcliffe and Lime houſe they did the like. But by the Earle of Warwicks power and endevours they were quickly overthrowne, and puniſhed ſharpely for their offence, which won him much favour and love among the better ſort of the common people.

A rebellion in Kent.

The Earle afterwards came to the Tower, where he not onely enlarged the depoſed King *Henry*, but in moſt triumphant faſhion conducted him thorow the City of London to *Pauls* Church. And when hee had concluded his devotions, and performed his offerings as the Kings of this Realme have been accuſtomed to doe, he was brought to the Biſhops Palace,

King Henry is enlarged.

lace, where he kept his Court with great magnificence and much bounty.

He alſo aſſembled his High Court of Parliament at Weſtminſter, in which the late King *Edward* the Fourth, and all his principall adherents, were attainted of High Treaſon, and all their goods and poſſeſſions were confiſcate and given to the King.

The Duke of Clarence was by the ſame authority publiſhed to be the next heire of the deceaſed *Richard*, late Duke of York, his father. And albeit that he was but his ſecond ſon, yet all that Dutchie was ſettled in him and in his heires. The Crown alſo was entailed to King *Henry*, and to the heires males of his body: and for default of ſuch iſſue, to the ſaid Duke of Clarence, and to his heires. *Jaſper* Earle of Pembroke was alſo reſtored to his honour and his lands, and ſo was *John* Earle of Oxford, and many others. And the Earle of Warwick, and the Duke of Clarence, who were enſtiled friends to the King, and friends to the Commonweale, were eſtabliſhed and made chiefe rulers in all things under the King.

The Duke of Clarence advanced.

The Crowne entailed.

When theſe affaires were thus ordered, Queene *Margaret* with the Prince her ſonne, and their whole traine, ſhipped themſelves. But ſo violent were the raging ſtormes, and ſo furious was the troubled ſea, that albeit many proffers were made, yet durſt they not to adventure for that time. Whereupon the common people of this Realme, of whom the Queene was not beloved, murmured and muttered, ſaying, that God was not pleaſed that ſuch a woman as had occaſioned ſo many battels, and ſuch ſlaughters and executions in England, ſhould returne thither to plot more treachery, and to deviſe more miſchiefe.

The Queen dares not to put into the Sea.

The Duke of Burgoine, although he entreated King *Edward* and his friends kindly, yet becauſe he himſelfe had warred with France, and feared leſt the Earle of Warwick would buſie him with a new warre, ſent word to King *Henry*, that he would not in any ſort aſſiſt his enemy for his returne into England. Yet not long after, when hee underſtood that King *Edwards* friends by daily meſſengers and by letters importunated his return, and had by their faire promiſe ſtrengthned him with good hopes of fortunate ſucceſſe, hee delivered to him fiftie thouſand Florens of gold, and furniſhed him with eighteen tall and warlike ſhips, in which hee had only two thouſand ſouldiers for ſervice on the land.

The Duke of Burgoine furniſheth King Edward with mony, men, munition, and ſhips.

With theſe ſmall forces he ſailed into England, and landed at Ravenſpurre in the Countie of York, where his expectation failed him very much. For few or none reſorted to him for helpe; but all men there acknowledged themſelves to be the friends and ſubjects of King *Henrie*. This checke, though it much troubled him, yet was hee not utterly diſmaied thereby: for meere neceſſity and danger enforced him to march to the Citie of Yorke. And in his paſſage thither, he publiſhed to the people, and to the Inhabitants of that City, that he came not to lay any claime or to make any challenge to the Crowne, but intended onely to poſſeſſe himſelfe of his Dutchie of Yorke, of which unjuſtly he was deprived: wherein he affirmed, he ought by the lawes of equity and right, to bee aſſiſted and ſuccoured by them, and by all good men.

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King Edward landeth in England.

He only claimeth his Dutchie of Yorke.

The Citizens at his firſt repaire denyed his entrance: but by reaſon of a ſolemne oath which hee tooke before them, that he onely intended the

He ſweareth to the Citizens of Yorke.

regaining of his Dutchie, and would remaine a true, faithfull, and an obedient ſubject to King *Henry*, he was received, entertained, and monied at his owne will. But when he had ſtaied in that City a day or two, hee forgat the oath which ſo lately he had ſworne: for hee placed a ſtrong Garriſon within the Towne, and enforced the inhabitants to furniſh him with many requiſites and proviſions for an Armie. And then leaving the Citie (which was by ſtrength reſerved to his uſe) he hired ſouldiers every where for money as hee paſſed by towards London. And in his march, he came within foure miles of the Marqueſſe *Montacute*, his old familiar and truſtie friend, who being accompanied with brave troupes and companies of valiant men of warre to encounter him, gave unto him free paſſage (without reſiſtance) to march forth; ſo that by eaſie journies he came to Nottingham, where divers Nobles and Gentlemen (who favoured his proceedings) made him liberall offers and tenders of their ſervice, if he would reſolvedly take upon him the ſtile and title of the King; which he then did. And thus as a river by running farre is ſtill augmented by the acceſſe of other brookes and ſtreames which fall into it; ſo King *Edwards* ſmall forces ſtill increaſed as he marched forwards, untill they were indeed a ſtrong Armie.

They receive him, and relieve him.

He breaketh his oath. He getteth mony, and wageth ſouldiers.

He ſtileth himſelfe King.

The Earle of Warwick, having in his company the Earle of Oxford, many other Nobles, and a puiſſant Armie, came to the Citie of Warwicke, and intending to give battell to King *Edward*, directed and ſent his letters and meſſengers with all ſpeed to the Duke of Clarence, certifying him of his purpoſe, and praying him quickly to come forward with his forces, and to joyne with him. Yet for all this the Duke paſſed on with a lingring pace, ſo that the Earle (ſuſpecting his fidelity) went with his Armie into the city of Coventry, and King *Edward* with all his Companies came before the Towne, and dared the Earle into the field. But becauſe he purpoſed to make ſome triall what the Duke of Clarence would doe, he therefore kept cloſe within the Walls.

Clarence faileth Warwick in his need.

The King perceiving that he would not fight, bent his courſe towards his brother the Duke of Clarence, who (with his Army) did the like towards the King; ſo that a great ſhew was made betwixt them, that many blowes ſhould be given. But the Duke of Gloceſter being brother to them both, became an earneſt mediator to reconcile them each to other: wherein he ſo well prevailed, that being unarmed, they courteouſly met, and publikely proclaimed, that they and their Armies were good friends.

The King and his brother and their Armies are made friends.

The three brothers having thus combined themſelves, made triall whether they could by any faire meanes and liberall promiſes, allure the Earle of Warwick to their love. But he (who with many curſes and diſgracefull ſpeeches publiſhed the Dukes perjurie, in forſaking his Confederates and friends, returned them anſwer; That hee would rather die like himſelfe, than ceaſe to make civill warre, untill he had confounded them, as his mortall enemies.

Warwick will not be allured to love by faire promiſes.

The King (who knew well enough that the Earle was as valiant as he himſelfe was reſolute) feared not his power, but wiſely conſidered, That the daily encreaſing of his owne ſtrength, would be his beſt meanes, to win the victorie: wherefore he departed from Coventry, and marched towards

towards London, where for a time hee was kept out. But when the Citizens had duely conſidered of the rightfulneſſe of his Title to the Crowne, of his skill and noble courage in feates of Warre, of his diſcretion, which enabled him of himſelfe to rule wiſely, and of his puiſſant Armie which he then commanded: and on the other ſide, when they had meditated upon the ſoft nature of King *Henry*, his ſmall reach, ſhallow wit, inſufficiencie to reign, and of the continuall dangers which would ſtill aſſault them, if the Lancaſtrian faction were maintained; they opened their gates, ran out in troupes to meet him, ſaluted him for their King, and brought him triumphantly into the Citie; where he ſeized againe upon King *Henrie*, and committed him to the Tower. Thus may we ſee, upon what unſure foundation they build, who doe relie upon the peoples love, and that nothing is more variable and unconſtant than the multitude, who like unto Weather-cocks are turned about with every winde.

The cauſes why London received King Edward.

King Henry againe is imprisoned.

The Earle of Warwick, when hee perceived that King *Edward* was gone from Coventry, followed after him with his Armie, purpoſing to have ſet upon him before hee ſhould have recovered London. But when he perceived that his intendments were prevented, he reſolved to ſet his whole fortunes upon one battell. For which purpoſe he marched forth untill hee came to the towne of Barnet, which by an equall diſtance of ten miles, lyeth betwixt London and St. Albons; there hee ſtayed, reſted, and refreſhed his Armie for a while.

Warwicks laſt reſolution.

The King alſo being perſwaded that nothing could better procure his future right and ſafety, than once more to trie his manhood in the field; and taking King *Henrie* with him, marched with his Armie (which by the citie of London was frankely furniſhed with all things needfull) unto Barnet, and encamped himſelfe neere to the Earle all that night; and early in the morning the Earle of Warwick divided his forces into three parts. The right wing was commanded by his brother the Marqueſſe *Montacute*, whom by neceſſity he was enforced to truſt, and by the Earle of Oxford. The left wing was directed by himſelfe, and by the Duke of Exeter. And his maine battell was led by the Duke of Somerſet and ſome others. All theſe the Earle manfully encouraged, by telling them, that they were to fight for their ſoveraigne and lawfull King, for a good man, and for their native Countrey, againſt an Uſurper, a Tyrant, a mercileſſe and an ungodly wretch, whom neither reſpect of conſcience, juſtice, obedience, nor honeſtie could reclaime; and againſt ſuch a one, as if he lived, would be the confounder and the deſtroyer of them all.

The King's reſolution.

Barnet field.

The Earles encouragements to his Armie.

The King on his part, made the Duke of Gloceſter chiefe leader of his Vant-guard: himſelfe and the Duke of Clarence ordered the maine battell, in which King *Henry* the Sixth was: and the Rereward was conducted by the Lord *Haſtings*, Chamberlaine to the King.

What the King ſaid by way of encouragement to his ſouldiers, wee may eaſily conjecture: for as he had a wit and a tongue which never did deceive him, ſo he wanted not matter nor arguments to maintaine his quarrell to be good.

The fight after it was begun, was ſo deſperately continued on either part for the ſpace of five or ſix houres, that no man could conjecture to whom

whom the victorie would incline: ſo that ſome of thoſe horſemen who were lookers on, and fought not, gallopped amaine to the city of London, and affirmed that King *Edward* was overthrowne. But among them by and by ſome others poſted with countermanding reports, and aſſured the Citizens, that the Earle of Warwick had loſt the field. And thus many men in few houres, related what they wiſhed for: and in the meane time, ſuch as were moſt valiant, ſooneſt loſt their lives, and the beſt men lay breathleſſe upon the ground. But when the Earle perceived that freſh ſupplies continually oppreſſed and preſſed upon his wearied and tired friends and ſouldiers, who would not yeeld, becauſe he could not then be ſafe, he diſmounted himſelfe quickly from his horſe, and making an incredible ſlaughter of his enemies, he preſſed ſo farre into their battell to be revenged on his chiefeſt adverſaries, that having no power nor meanes to returne againe, he was ſlaine: and the Marqueſſe *Montacute*, who ever honoured King *Edward*, and was his ſecret friend, ruſhing into King *Edwards* Armie, not to doe it any harme, but to reſcue and to relieve his brother, met with the like fortune. Thus both of them being dead, their whole Armie ran away, and King *Edward* was maſter of the field. And in the afternoone of the ſame day, carrying with him King *Henry* as his priſoner, he returned triumphantly like a Conquerour into the citie of London, and in *Pauls* Church he offered up his Standard, and rendred thanks to Almightie God for his victory thus happily obtained. In this battell there were ſlaine at the leaſt ten thouſand men: but none other of any noted name, ſaving onely on the Kings part Sir *Humfrey Bourchier*, ſon to the Lord *Barnes*, who was a right valiant and an approved man in armes.

The Earle of Warwicke is ſlaine.

So is the Marqueſſe his brother, whom King Edward loved.

The King hath the victory.

The King ſorrowed much, and was grieved exceedingly at the death of the Marqueſſe *Montacute*, becauſe he had loſt a faithfull and a deare friend. Yet to aſſure the people that thoſe two brothers were dead indeed, he cauſed them to be brought into London in one coffin, and ſet the ſpace of three daies to lie open faced in *Pauls* Church: and then among their honourable Anceſtors in the Priorie of Biſſam they were both buried in one grave.

The dead bodies of the two brethren laid open in Pauls Church.

Queene *Margaret* not hearing of this newes, but intending to bring ſome ſuccours to the Earle, landed at Waymouth, where theſe tidings appalled her ſenſes, and deprived her of all future good hope or good hap. Wherefore in the Abbey of Beawly in Hampſhire ſhee with the Prince her ſonne tooke ſanctuary: and thither repaired to her the Duke of Somerſet, *Jaſper* Earle of Pembroke, *Thomas Courtney* Earle of Devonſhire, *John* Lord *Wenlock*, and divers others. And when the Queene and they had thorowly debated what courſe was fitteſt to be taken, they reſolved once more to adventure their fortunes in the field: for which purpoſe, every one of thoſe Noblemen reſorted into their owne Countries, where they prepared ſuch men and furnitures for the warre as they could get. The Queen and the Duke of Somerſet levied an Armie about Briſtow and Gloceſter, and from thence they endevoured to goe into Wales, to joyne their forces with ſuch companies as the Earle of Pembroke had raiſed there.

Queen Margaret landeth too late.

Noble men doe repaire to her.

They raiſe a new Armie.

The King preventeth them.

The King, who was more ſtrong than they, purpoſed to prevent their

their meeting if he might, and ſo cloſely followed them, that though the Queene and moſt of her aſſociates ſuppoſed it to bee beſt to flie diſordered into Wales, yet the Duke of Somerſet would not conſent thereunto; by reaſon whereof both thoſe Armies met neere unto Tewkesbury in Gloceſterſhire, and after a long fight, which with a ſmall company the Duke of Somerſet had maintained againſt the Duke of Gloceſters battell, hee (not being ſeconded by the Lord *Wenlobe*, by whom their middle ward was commanded) retired towards the ſaid Lord, and with curſed words he bitterly reviled him for his baſe cowardlineſſe, and with his Poleaxe hee ſuddenly ſtrake out his braines. But within one houre after, King *Edward* overthrew them all, having ſlaine above three thouſand of them; among whom were the Earle of Devonſhire, the Lord *John*, brother to the Duke of Somerſet, Sir *John Lewkner*, Sir *John Delves*, and many others. There were alſo taken priſoners, the Queene, the Duke, the Prior of S. *Johns* of Jeruſalem, Sir *Gervaſe Clifton*, Sir *Thomas Treſham*, and twelve others of eminency and of note: all which (Queene *Margaret* onely excepted) were beheaded the next day. And the young Prince *Edward* (who was taken priſoner by Sir *Richard Croſts*) was preſented to the King: and becauſe hee anſwered him ſtoutly to ſome queſtions which hee demanded of him, he was ſlightly ſtricken by the King, and ſuddenly murdered by the Dukes of Clarence and of Gloceſter, and by *Thomas* Marqueſſe Dorſet, and the Lord *Haſtings*. And this was the laſt civill battell which was fought in England in King *Edwards* dayes.

The Duke of Somerſets reſolution to fight.

The King getteth the victory.

Prince Edward cruelly murdered.

When the King had thus obtained this victory, he returned to London, carrying with him Queene *Margaret* as his priſoner, and was with triumphant joy received into the City, from whence hee ſent one *Roger Vaughan*, a powerfull Gentleman, into his Countrey of Wales, requiring him, by ſome ſecret traine or other to entrap the Earle of Pembroke, and to behead him if hee could. But the Earle being informed of his comming, and of his errand, cauſed him ſuddenly to be apprehended and put to death. And then the ſaid Earle, with his nephew *Henrie* the young Earle of Richmond, who was but ten yeeres old, ſailed into Britaine, and were courteouſly received, and lovingly entertained by *Francis* the Duke of that Province.

Queen Margaret is a priſoner.

Not long after, *Reyner* the Titulary King of Naples, Sicilie, and of Jeruſalem, with the ſale of the Kingdomes of Naples and of Sicilie for mony, ranſomed Queene *Margaret* his daughter: and upon that Title, and none other, *Charles* the Eighth, King of France, conquered Naples, as in the Hiſtory of thoſe warres it appeareth.

Queen Margaret is ranſomed.

Now when no man (by reaſon of King *Edwards* peace and proſperity) thought of any evill tidings, ſuddenly it was noiſed thorowout the City of London, that King *Henry* was found dead in his chamber within the Tower; and ſo he was indeed, being cruelly and wickedly murdered and ſtabbed with a dagger by *Richard* Duke of Gloceſter, brother to King *Edward*, as the report commonly went. And his body was brought into *Pauls* Church, where his face lay uncovered one whole day, that thereby the people might be aſſured that hee was dead. And thus was King *Edward* freed from his great enemies. But his two brothers, of Clarence

King Henry is found dead in the Tower.

The Duke of Gloceſter murdered him.

King Henry brought open faced into Pauls Church.

Clarence and of Gloceſter, being for their perjuries, murders, and evill courſes, puniſhed by Almighty God, embrewed their hands in their owne blood not long after.

1473 13 The Duke of Burgoine animateth King Edward to warre for his title to France.

When King *Edward* for two or three yeeres had enjoyed a happie peace, his brother-in-law, *Charles* Duke of Burgoine, heartily deteſting the French King, and ſecretly intending to worke him ſome deſpight, perſwaded King *Edward* to renew his French warres, for the recovering of his right and title to that Crown and Kingdome.

The King and his Councell thereupon quickly reſolved to undertake that buſineſſe, principally for theſe reaſons.

Reaſons moving the King ſo to doe.

1. Firſt, becauſe the Crown of France was not ambitiouſly, but juſtly deſired by the King, who thought he had good right and title thereunto.

2. Secondly, becauſe the French warres enriched Engliſh ſouldiers.

3. Thirdly, becauſe thoſe warres kept them at home, and gave them not liberty to invade this Realme.

4. Fourthly, becauſe the French King had aſſiſted Queen *Margaret*, the Earle of Warwick, and their Complices, againſt King *Edward* in the late civill warres.

5. And fifthly, becauſe the ſaid French King made warres upon the Duke of Burgoine, who had formerly aided King *Edward* for the regaining of his Crowne and Kingdome.

A benevolence craved by King Edward.

But becauſe mony wanted for the defraying of ſo great a charge, King *Edward* (without a Parliament) craved a benevolence to bee freely enlarged to him by his Subjects, who gave him ſome mony, but with an evill will. Yet among others, a rich, yet a ſparing and a nigardly widow, did cheerefully give unto him twenty pounds. The King himſelfe (who was preſent, but to her unknowne) perceiving that unexpectedly ſhee had beſtowed upon him ſo good a ſum, did not onely give her thankes, but merrily came and kiſſed her, telling her, that for her mony ſhe ſhould kiſſe a King. The old woman was ſo much gladded with that courteſie, that ſhee told the King his kiſſe was worth more mony, and therefore ſhe added twenty pounds more to the former ſum.

A merry jeſt.

1474 41 The King tranſporteth an Armie for France.

The King having in a readineſſe before Dover a Fleet of five hundred ſhips and boates, and having a puiſſant and a complete Armie of fifteene hundred men at Armes on horſebacke, and fifteen thouſand tall Archers, beſides all ſuch as attended for other needfull ſervices, departed from England, and landed ſafely at Callice, where he was received with great honour and ſtate. But he was much grieved, becauſe the Duke of Burgoine (upon whoſe motion, and at whoſe entreaty and promiſe to be met by him at Callice with two thouſand men at Armes, he came thither) trifled with his whole Army in the ſiege of Nuyce, which hee was not likely to winne, and at length, after much time ſpent in vaine, had ſent all his forces to Berroys in Lorrayne, to be revenged upon *Reyner*, Queene *Margarets* father, Duke of that Province, for that hee had uſed foule and unſeemely words towards him, when he lay at the ſiege of Nuyce; whereas if the ſaid Duke of Burgoine had joyned with King *Edward* againſt the French King, and with the Duke of Britaine, who ſided with King *Edward*, they would have put into hazzard of winning the whole Kingdome of France.

The Duke of Burgoine breaketh promiſe, and aids him not.

Yet

Yet King *Edward* with his owne Companies marched by Bollen to Perone, into the Duke of Burgoines Country, where the ſaid Duke had not made any manner of proviſion for the refreſhing of the Engliſh Armie, according to his promiſe, but ſuffered them to lie without his Towns in the cold and in the open fields, whereat they were all diſpleaſed. From thence King *Edward* (with the ſaid Duke) marched towards S. Quintens, which was ſecretly promiſed to be delivered to him by *Lewis* of Luxenburgh, great Uncle to King *Edwards* wife. But when they came before it, their entrie was not only denied, but ſallies were made upon them, and the great Ordnance plaied from the Towne upon the Kings Armie, ſo that plainly he perceived, that nothing was to be obtained there without blowes.

He breaks his promiſe againe.

He was Earle of S. Paul, and Conſtable of France.

The King is kept out of S. Quintens.

To theſe breaches of promiſe was added one unkindneſſe more by the Duke of Burgoine, who to viſit his Armie, which then lay in Berroys in Larrayne, unexpectedly left King *Edward*, and rode thither, leaving word behinde, that he would come unto him with his whole Armie as ſoone as he ſhould be able.

A peace is concluded for nine yeeres.

The French King being politicke and wiſe, and knowing that if all thoſe his enemies ſhould joyne their ſtrengths againſt him, they would put him in hazzard of his eſtate; and being informed that King *Edward* was highly diſcontented, by reaſon of the Duke of Burgoines unfaithfull uſage; and knowning that he began to feele the extremities of a winter warre, mediated a friendly conference and a firme peace, which by their Commiſſioners was effected for nine yeeres, in this ſort.

The Articles of peace.

FIrſt it was agreed, *That the French King ſhould forthwith pay to King Edward, towards his forepaſſed charges, threeſcore and fifteene thouſand Crownes: and alſo the ſumme of fifty thouſand more for an yeerely penſion ſo long as King Edward lived.*

2. *Secondly, That the French King within one yeere ſhould ſend for the King of Englands daughter, the Ladie Elizabeth, into France, and marrie her to the Dolphin: for whoſe maintenance the French King ſhould for nine yeeres ſpace pay yeerely to them fifty thouſand Crownes, and at the end of thoſe yeeres ſhould deliver to them the quiet and peaceable poſſeſſion of the Dutchie of Guyan.*

3. *And thirdly, that the Lord Howard, and Sir John Cheney maſter of the Horſe, ſhould ſtay (as Hoſtages) with the French King, untill the whole Armie had quitted France, and were landed in the Kingdome of England.*

To

Reaſons moving King Edward to conclude this peace.

To theſe propoſitions King *Edward* and his Councell conſented for theſe reaſons.

1. Firſt, as the Duke of Burgoines promiſes were ſeldome or never honeſtly performed, ſo with the King (whom he had drawne into thoſe Countries, and into thoſe Warres) he did but gloze and faine.

2. Secondly, becauſe the Earle of Saint Paul, Conſtable of France, did but diſſemble when hee proteſted to deliver to King *Edward* the Towne of S. Quintens, which he did not, but offered violence to his Armie in ſtead thereof.

3. Thirdly, becauſe the winter (which approached ſharply) would have enforced him for that time to have returned diſhonourably into England.

4. And laſt of all, becauſe the late Civill Warres had conſumed moſt of his beſt ſouldiers and chiefeſt Leaders, and the greateſt part of his treaſure; ſo that King *Edward* was hardly able to maintaine a great Armie any long time.

But the Duke of Gloceſter and his friends (who mortally hated the French King) ſtrived much to diſſwade King *Edward* from theſe concluſions, but all in vaine: for thoſe Articles were ſealed and publiſhed, the mony was paid, both the Kings in a familiar and kind enterview, by their ſolemne oathes had ſworne to obſerve and keepe them, and hoſtages were delivered accordingly.

The Duke of Burgoine ſtormeth at this peace.

His objections.

It is to be noted, that within this peace the Dukes of Burgoine and of Britaine were included, if they would conſent therunto. But when this newes was told to the Duke of Burgoine, he with all celerity & ſpeed poſſible haſted to King *Edward*, & in his melancholy mood he told him, that it was in a high meaſure diſhonourable for him, to returne into England, not having burnt in France one poore cottage, nor having ſlaine as much as a flie with his whole Army. He told him alſo, that his Anceſtors, King *Edward* the Third, and King *Henry* the Fifth, never paſſed into France to demand their right, but that they obtained and won it victoriouſly with their ſwords; and ſwore, that King *Edward* had loſt more glory and honour by his infamous peace made with France, than he had won by all his victories in nine battels which he had fought; and that he himſelfe ſo ſcorned the French Kings malice and his power, that hee would and did abſolutely refuſe to be included in the ſaid diſhonourable league, untill ſix moneths were fully ended after King *Edwards* Army was landed againe in England.

The Kings anſwer.

The King ſeeing the unfaithfull Duke ſo angry, made him this replie: That King *Edward* the Third, and King *Henry* the Fifth entred into France with their Armies of their own accord, to gaine their inheritance, and not otherwiſe, nor for any other purpoſe, which they performed with true valour and wiſdome: and that hee himſelfe would never have departed out of that Kingdome, untill hee had done the like, if hee had come thither in that manner of his owne accord. But (quoth he) I undertooke this journey upon your requeſt, for your aide, and to aſſiſt you and your Territories, by plucking downe the pride of France: and the claime which I made to that Kingdome, was at this time onely publiſhed, to give me ſome colour to helpe you. And albeit you vaunt much

of

of your owne ſtrength, and doe ſeeme little to regard the French King and his anger; yet me thinks you cannot well forget, how by his ſtrength and power he won from you the faire City of Amyens, and the ſtrong pile of S. Quintens, and other Caſtles and Townes within your dominions, which (notwithſtanding all your craks & brags) you neither dare to attempt, nor can againe win. You know likewiſe that your ſelfe and mine Uncle of Lexenburgh (to traine me into France) promiſed to me mountains of gold, but they quickly changed into ſnow, and are now diſſolved into water. If your faith, your offers, and your promiſes had beene honeſtly performed, I would ſooner have loſt my life, and have adventured for you my Crown and Kingdome, rather than I would have been found unfaithfull or unthankfull to you. But if any thing be amiſſe, you your ſelves have beene the occaſioners thereof, and therefore you may thanke none others. And ſo farewell.

Hereupon the angrie Duke in a pelting chafe, tooke his horſe, and rode away. And from that time forward they neither loved nor ſaw one another.

The French Kings bounty to the Engliſh Armie.

After the aforeſaid Articles were concluded and ſealed, and a little before the enterview betweene the two Kings, the French King (of his own bounty) ſent into the Engliſh Armie one hundred Wagons loaden with the beſt wines which he could procure, and licenced the ſouldiers for the ſpace of three or foure daies to diſport & recreate themſelves within the City of Amyens: and at their comming thither they found many Tables thorowout both ſides of the ſtreets richly and plentifully furniſhed with great ſtore of coſtly diſhes both of fleſh and fiſh, and many Gallants and Bon-companions of purpoſe were choſen to make them mirth, and to attend them; ſo that nine thouſand Engliſh armed men were within the ſame Citie at one time.

But when the French King was informed how great a number of them were within the walls of ſo ſtrong a Towne, he reproved and condemned his owne kindneſſe, and feared leſt he might loſe it by reaſon of his great love, and by that meanes might occaſion more jarres betwixt England and his Kingdome of France.

But the Engliſhmen diſdaining to be found falſe or unthankfull, merrily paſſed away the time with the Frenchmen; and having ſufficiently ſolaced and refreſhed themſelves, they departed out of the Citie, and quietly returned to their owne Campe. And the French King being well pleaſed with this their honeſt and plaine dealing, ſent unto the Engliſh Captaines rich preſents in plate and in coined ſilver and gold. And then King *Edward* with his whole Armie returned to Callice, and from thence into England, where hee was cheerefully received with much joy. And thereupon the aforeſaid Hoſtages (receiving great gifts and honourable uſage) were ſet at liberty, and returned home.

The French Kings bounty to the English Captains.

The King arriveth in England. 1475

The French King (if he might) would faine have excluded the Duke of Britaine out of the former league. But in regard that the young Earle of Richmond was in his poſſeſſion, and whoſe returne into England to make challenge to the Crowne, King *Edward* ever feared, he would not in any ſort agree thereunto.

And not long after, King *Edward* (by his Ambaſſadours) with much

entreaty, rich gifts, and upon ſolemne proteſtation that he onely intended to marry one of his owne daughters to the ſaid Earle, obtained his deliverie to thoſe meſſengers; who being glad at the heart that they had obtained what King *Edward* ſo inſtantly deſired, tooke their leave of the Duke of Britaine, and brought the young Earle of Richmond to S. Malloes, where they were enforced to ſtay, expecting a faire and a good winde.

Henry Earle of Richmond delivered by the Duke of Britaine to King Edwards Ambaſſadors.

But in the meane time, the Duke being informed by *John Cheveler* his true and faithfull ſervant, that the ſaid marriage was but colourably pretended, to get the young Earle into King *Edwards* hands, and that his death was certainly intended if he could be brought home; and being alſo told, that his honour would perpetually bee obſcured by ſo foule a deed: the ſaid Duke could never bee at reſt, untill *Peter Landoys*, his chiefeſt Treaſurer, attempted the repoſſeſſing of him with the ſaid young Earle. Whereupon the ſaid *Peter* repaired to S. Malloes, and pretended much love and familiarity with the Engliſh Ambaſſadours, with whom hee pleaſantly converſed and ſpent his time. But in the meane ſeaſon the ſervants of the ſaid *Peter* (being thorowly inſtructed for that purpoſe) conveied the ſaid Earle into a Sanctuarie, whoſe priviledges might not by any meanes bee infringed. The Engliſhmen underſtanding what had hapned, were much diſpleaſed, and condemned the ſaid Treaſurer for this unfriendly practice and too much skill. But he (on the other ſide) aſſigned the whole fault to their owne negligence and folly. And by this meane, the harmeleſſe and fillie Sheepe was delivered from the Wolfe. And thus was King *Edward* defrauded and beguiled of his money, and of his hopes. But upon the Dukes faithfull promiſe that the ſaid Earle ſhould ever remaine with him as a priſoner, the King was ſomewhat pacified, and never after attempted to have him in his owne power.

Peter Landoys recovereth the the Earle of Richmond into the Duke of Britaines poſſeſſion.

1476 16 The Duke of Burgoine is thrice in one yeere overthrowne.

King *Edward* being now at eaſe, and enjoying a bleſſed peace both at home and abroad with all forraine Princes, did many things which highly advanced his honour, and were very profitable to the Common-weale. But the Duke of Burgoine (who by nature was unconſtant, haſty, turbulent, and wholly addicted to the warre) was in this yeere overthrowne in three ſeverall battells which he fought againſt the Sniſſes.

1. In the firſt a Granſon, where he loſt his honour and his wealth.

2. In the ſecond at Morrat, where he loſt his honour and his men.

3. And in the third at Nancie, where he loſt his honour, his riches, his men, and his owne life.

1477 17 The Duke of Clarence impriſoned and murdered.

About this time the Duke of Clarence, brother to King *Edward*, was ſuſpected, accuſed, and condemned of high Treaſon, for that hee (with many others) had ſecretly contrived the Kings death: and thereupon he was returned a priſoner to the Tower. But within few daies after, hee was wickedly drowned in a Butte of Malmeſie, not without the Kings notice, as moſt men did ſuppoſe. He left behind him but two children, *Edward* and *Margaret*, which *Edward* was created Earle of Warwicke, and was executed for High Treaſon in the reigne of King *Henry* the Seventh. And *Margaret*, who being wife and Dowager to *Richard de la*

Poole, Earle of Salisbury, was put to death for Treason in the reigne of King *Henry* the Eighth.

The King in the five laſt yeeres of his reigne utterly changed his former humours. For whereas before that time hee had beene bountifull and liberall, loved magnificence and honourable hoſpitality; he now began to be ſo wretched, covetous, and miſerable, that to get money, and to augment his treaſure, he extraordinarily vexed and troubled his ſubjects, by inflicting upon them the execution of penall lawes; by meanes whereof, he as quickly extinguiſhed and quenched their hearty love and good affection towards him, as water doth the fire. 1479 23 The King changeth his forme of government of the Commonweale. Penall lawes. He loſt the love of his Subjects.

In the twentieth yeere of his reigne, he much deſired that the marriage which the French King had promiſed, betwixt the Dolphin and his daughter, might be conſummate: for which purpoſe he ſent an honourable Ambaſſage into France; willing them to tell the French King, that he had broken his promiſe and his oath, for that he had not ſent for the ſaid Lady into France within one yeere after the concluding of the ſaid former Articles. But *Lewis* the French King returned frivolous excuſes, and promiſed very ſhortly to ſend for her, whenas indeed he meant nothing leſſe. For ſuch was his nature, and ſuch were his evill qualities, that where he might procure any benefit or advantage to himſelfe, hee would pleaſantly flatter, plentifully reward, and aſſuredly deceive. 1480 20.

About this time, *James* the Third, King of Scots, ſeeming earneſtly to deſire that the Lady *Cicilia* (one of the Kings daughters) might be given in marriage to *James* his eldeſt ſonne, ſent his Ambaſſadours into England. And King *Edward* (ſuppoſing that he had meant plainely, and knowing that by ſuch an alliance his own eſtate would be the better ſecured) did not only grant his requeſt, but forthwith, to ſupply his preſent wants, he diſburſed to him great ſums of mony for part of his ſaid daughters portion, but yet upon this condition, that the ſame ſhould be repaied if afterwards King *Edward* diſliked, and would diſſolve that match. 1481 21. A marriage intended with Scotland.

When all thoſe things were concluded, ſecurity given, and the mony paid, the King of Scots (very treacherouſly) ſent an Army into the Northern parts of this kingdome, which burnt, ſpoiled, and ſlew in every place as it paſſed by: whereupon King *Edward* (as well to repreſſe his furie, as alſo to correct his infidelity and folly) ſent againſt him the Duke of Gloceſter with a ſtrong Army of one and twenty thouſand men, who firſt of all by force entred into the Towne of Barwicke, and there beſieged the Caſtle, which was valiantly kept and defended by the Earle *Bothwel*. 1482 22. The Scots invade the Northern parts. Gloceſter marcheth with an Army againſt the Scots. The Caſtle of Barwick is beſieged.

The Duke (not purpoſing to imploy his whole ſtrength in that place) left the Lord *Stanley* there with foure thouſand men, and with the reſidue of his forces hee entred into Scotland, whither the Scottiſh King was for feare retired, killing, burning, and ſpoiling in all places at his pleaſure, and compelling the King to hide himſelfe in the ſtrong Caſtle of Maydens within the Citie of Edenburgh. Gloceſter entreth Scotland, and ſpoileth at his owne will.

The Nobility of Scotland perceiving the miſerable eſtate of their waſted and poore Countrey, ſent unto the Duke, and craved peace; which he granted upon theſe foure conditions: Peace is granted on certaine conditions.

1. Firſt, that full amends and reſtitution might be made and given to

King *Edwards* ſubjects for all ſuch dammage, injurie and wrongs, as by their laſt incurſions they had ſuſtained.

2. Secondly, that the Scottiſh King would againe reſtore his own brother the Duke of Albanie (who was in the Engliſh Army) unto his eſpeciall favour, and to all his honours, dignities, offices and poſſeſsions in that kingdome.

3. Thirdly, that the Caſtle of Barwicke ſhould be yeelded up, or not reſcued from the ſiege wherewith it was then compaſſed.

4. And laſtly, that repaiment might be made of all ſuch ſums of mony as King *James* had received of King *Edward* upon the motion of marriage with his daughter to the ſon and heire apparent of the King of Scots: or that good ſecurity might be given by the Provoſt and Citizens of Edenburgh for the ſaid repaiment, if before a prefixed day, King *Edward* did give them notice that there ſhould not be any further proſecution concerning the ſaid marriage.

The Nobility of Scotland, knowing the ſtate of that Kingdome to be unable to performe the firſt demand, to pacifie the Duke of Gloceſter, and to prevent the ruine and deſtruction of their native Kingdome, yeelded unto the latter three. And for the due obſerving of them, they ſent unto him ſuch an Inſtrument, ſealed and ſubſcribed by the King and them, as he had required. And to the Duke of Albanie was ſent a free pardon, and reſtitution was made unto him of all things accordingly as the Duke of Gloceſter had deſired. Whereupon the ſaid two Dukes, taking a friendly farewell each of other, departed, the one into Scotland, and the other unto Barwick, where the Earle of Athol (being of nothing more aſſured, than that by his King and Countrimen he ſhould never be relieved) by compoſition ſurrendred the Caſtle into the Dukes hand: who making the Lord *Stanley* the chiefeſt Captaine and Commander thereof, returned joyfully with his whole Armie, and was much praiſed and thanked by the King.

The Caſtle of Barwicke is delivered to the Duke of Gloceſter.

The French King breaketh all the Articles of Peace.

This good newes from Scotland was quickly checked with a bad out of France. For the French King not onely refuſed to pay unto King *Edward* the foreſaid tribute of fifty thouſand Crownes by the yeere, which was granted to him during his life, but alſo married his ſon the Dolphin to the Lady *Margaret*, daughter to *Maximilian* the ſonne of *Frederick* the Emperour, thereby breaking his oath, and infringing thoſe Articles, which (upon the laſt concluſion of peace) hee had ſworne ſolemnly to obſerve and keepe. Whereat King *Edward* juſtly conceived ſuch an high diſpleaſure and hatred againſt King *Lewis*, that (after long and ſerious conſultation with his Counſell, Nobility, Clergy, and Commons) he did reſolve to paſſe againe with a royall Armie into France, and to revenge himſelfe of all thoſe injuries and wrongs.

1483
23
King Edward reſolveth to goe with an Armie into France.

But whileſt thoſe preparations made manifeſt to the world the Kings intention to make warre, he being either ſurcharged with deepe melancholy, or with ſome ſurfeit (for exceſſe of diet and of pleaſure did oftentimes diſquiet him) waxed exceeding ſicke, and ſhortly after dyed, when he had reigned more than two and twenty yeeres.

He ſickneth.
He dieth.

Profitable

Profitable Notes extracted out of the troublesome Reignes of King HENRIE the Sixth, and of King EDWARD the Fourth.

THe whole Kingdome of France was loſt in the ſeven and twentieth yeere of King *Henry* the Sixth. And the next yeere after all Normandy was loſt. And in the one and thirtieth yeere of his reigne the Dutchie of Aquitaine was quite taken from him. 27.H.6. 28.H.6. 31.H.6.

It is likewiſe to bee obſerved, that whileſt he governed and enjoyed Normandy and France, theſe heroicall Nobles loſt their lives there: That is to ſay, *Thomas Montacute Earle* of Salisbury, who was ſlaine at the ſiege of Orleance; *John* Earle of *Arundel*, who was ſlaine at the ſiege of Rue; the noble and renowned Lord *John* Duke of Bedford and Regent of France, and *Richard Beauchampe* Earle of Warwicke, both which dyed of a grievous ſickneſſe, and *John* Lord *Talbot* Earle of Shrewesbury, who was ſlaine at the battell of Chaſtilion. 6.H.6. 12.H.6. 14.H.6. 18.H.6. 31.H.6.

Beſides many brave skirmiſhes and ſtrong encounters, there were fought during his Reigne, betwixt the two Factions and Confederates of the houſes of Lancaſter and of Yorke, five cruell and fierce battells.

1. The firſt was called the battell of St. Albons, wherein the Yorkiſh did prevaile; and among others, *Edmund* Duke of Somerſet, *Henry* the ſecond Earle of Northumberland, *Humfrey* Earle of Stafford, and *John* Lord *Clifford*, were then ſlaine. 34.H.6.

2. The ſecond was termed the battell of Bloar-heath, in which the confederated Lords won the victory, in which the Queenes Generall the Lord *Audley* was ſlaine. 37.H.6.

3. The third was the battell of Northampton, in which King *Henry* was overthrowne. In this battell there dyed above ten thouſand men, among which were theſe Nobles, *Humfrey* Duke of Buckingham, *John* Earle of Shrewesbury, *Thomas* Lord *Egremont*, *John* Viſcount *Beaumont*, and the Lord *Scales* was beheaded. 38.H.6.

4. The fourth was the battell of Wakefield, in which the King was victorious. In this battell there were ſlaine almoſt three thouſand men, among which was the renowned and moſt valiant *Richard* Duke of York, and many others. And certaine priſoners were then taken, and loſt their heads, among which *Richard Nevill* Earle of Salisbury, and father to *Richard* Earle of Warwick, was the chiefe. And at the end of that battell, 39.H.6.

the young Earle of Rutland, named *Edmund*, being of the age of twelve yeeres, and ſecond ſonne to the ſlaine Duke of Yorke, was cruelly murdered by the Lord *Clifford*.

39.H.6. 5. The fifth battell was called the battell of Towton, in which the new Duke of Yorke prevailed: and in the ſame there were ſlaine almoſt 37000. Engliſhmen, among which were the Earle of Weſtmerland, *Henry* Earle of Northumberland, the Lords *Dacres* and *Welles*, and many worthy Gentlemen and Knights. And the Earle of Devonſhire with ſome of his Complices, being taken priſoners, loſt their heads.

29.H.6. Whileſt this King lived, there were alſo executed for divers Treaſons touching the ſaid two Factions, *William de la Poole* Duke of Suffolke, and *James Fynes* Lord *Say*, High Treaſurer of England.

25.H.6. Alſo *Humfrey* ſirnamed, *The good Duke of Gloſter*, being Uncle and Protector to the King, and being unjuſtly committed to the Tower, for ſurmiſed, but not for approved Treaſons, was cruelly murdered in his chamber.

King EDWARD the Fourth.

IN the Reigne of King *Edward* the Fourth there were principally fought five battells betwixt the houſes of Lancaſter and Yorke.

1.E.4. 1. The firſt was the battell of Exham in the North, in which King *Edward* obtained the victory, and tooke theſe priſoners among many others, *Henry* Duke of Somerſet, *William Taylboys*, who named himſelfe Earle of Kent, the Lords *Roos*, *Molynes*, and *Hungerford*, all which were within few daies after put to death.

8.E.4. 2. The ſecond was called Banbury Field, in which were ſlaine above 8000. men.

8.E.4. 3. The third was called the battell of Looſe-coats, becauſe the ſouldiers threw off their coates to runne away the faſter. And in it above ten thouſand men loſt their lives.

10.E.4. 4. The fourth was Barnet field, in which more than ten thouſand died, among which were the moſt renowned *Richard Nevill* Earle of Warwicke, *John* Marqueſſe *Montacute* his brother, whom King *Edward* entirely loved. And on King *Edwards* part there was ſlaine a noble and a valiant Gentleman, named Sir *Humfrey Bourchier*, ſonne to the Lord *Barnes*.

10.E.4. 5. And the fifth was called Tewkesbury Field, in which 3000. Engliſhmen were ſlaine, among which were the Duke of Somerſet, and the Lord *John* his brother, and the Earle of Devonſhire.

8.E.4. In this Kings Reigne there were beheaded the Lord *Stafford*, who left the Earle of Pembroke (upon a private falling out) in the Field, and carried from him part of the Kings Armie:

8.E.4. The Lord *welles*, and Sir *Thomas Dymocke*, without any offence at all by them done.

Richard

Richard Woodvile Earle *Rivers*, and father to Queene *Elizabeth*, King *Edwards* wife, was taken by the Rebels, and loſt his head. 8.E.4.

And the Lord *Wenlock* was murdered by the Duke of Somerſet, becauſe he came not to his reſcue with his Companies in the field. 10.E.4.

The young Prince *Edward*, eldeſt ſonne to King *Henry* the ſixth, (to pleaſe King *Edward*) was cruelly murdered by the two Dukes of Clarence and of Gloceſter, and by ſome others. 10.E.4.

King *Henry* the ſixth was himſelfe ſtabbed with a dagger, and ſlaine in the Tower of London by the ſaid *Richard* Duke of Gloceſter. 10.E.4.

And not long after, the Duke of Clarence was found dead in his bed, he having beene drowned in a Butte of Malmeſie, not without the Kings conſent, as it was ſuppoſed. 10.E.4.

And thus open and civill warres by the ſword, and the common Executioner with his axe, and inveterate envie and malice, with bloody hands, bereaved and tooke away the lives of the greater number of the moſt renowned and valiant Noblemen, Captaines, and Gentlemen of this Realme.

THE

The picture of Edward the 5. who at the age of 13 years was deposed, and cruelly murdered, by the procurement of Richard Duke of Gloucester his vnnaturall vnkle, when he had reigned 2 moneths and 11 dayes. and obscurely buried in the Tower.

1183.

THE HISTORIE OF KING *EDWARD* THE FIFTH.

IF our memories be pleased to take a review of the life and actions of the late deceased King *Edward* the Fourth, we may thereon make this pretty abbreviate and short collection: That hee was of a goodly personage, and of a kingly presence: That hee was very strong, and passing valiant; not proud in prosperity, nor dejected with adverse fortune: That hee was moderately pleasant and merry: That he was pleasing to his Nobles, familiar with his Souldiers, and amiable to his inferiour Subjects: That hee was mercifull to offenders, and favoured all such as did well: That he was very wise, discreet, provident, and soundly advised in all his actions. Yet was he somewhat too credulous, and too wanton, and in his latter daies more covetous than formerly he had beene. 1483 1 Edward the Fourth described.

By many worthy endevours he expressed how much he longed for his peoples love: and by one action hee more particularly declared it, than by all the rest. For in the next Summer before he died, he required the Lord Maior of London and his brethren to repaire to his Castle of Windsor, where he then lay. And when they expected some extraordinary imployment in State affaires, because so many of them were called thither, not troubling them with any businesse, either great or small, private or publike, nor requiring of them any supplies from their plenty, he royally feasted, banqueted, and entertained them, not only with the choisest, best, and most costly delicates that could bee gotten, but also hee gladded them unspeakeably with his own presence and companion-like behaviour. Hee afterwards carried them into his Parke, where the thicke fall of fat Deere (besides many other things) gave them warrant of their kind welcome. And at their departing from him, hee sent such great store of Venison into the City, for the friendly feasting of their neighbours there, that nothing ever won him more hearty love among his subjects of that place. His affabilitie.

He left behinde him two sonnes; *Edward*, who being of the age of thirteene

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1183

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IF our memories be pleaſed to take a review of the life and actions of the late deceaſed King *Edward* the Fourth, we may thereon make this pretty abbreviate and ſhort collection: That hee was of a goodly perſonage, and of a kingly preſence: That hee was very ſtrong, and paſſing valiant; not proud in proſperity, nor dejected with adverſe fortune: That hee was moderately pleaſant and merry: That he was pleaſing to his Nobles, familiar with his Souldiers, and amiable to his inferiour Subjects: That hee was mercifull to offenders, and favoured all ſuch as did well: That he was very wiſe, diſcreet, provident, and ſoundly adviſed in all his actions. Yet was he ſomewhat too credulous, and too wanton, and in his latter daies more covetous than formerly he had beene. 1483 1 Edward the Fourth deſcribed.

By many worthy endevours he expreſſed how much he longed for his peoples love: and by one action hee more particularly declared it, than by all the reſt. For in the next Summer before he died, he required the Lord Maior of London and his brethren to repaire to his Caſtle of Windſor, where he then lay. And when they expected ſome extraordinary imployment in State affaires, becauſe ſo many of them were called thither, not troubling them with any buſineſſe, either great or ſmall, private or publike, nor requiring of them any ſupplies from their plenty, he royally feaſted, banqueted, and entertained them, not only with the choiſeſt, beſt, and moſt coſtly delicates that could bee gotten, but alſo hee gladded them unſpeakeably with his own preſence and companion-like behaviour. Hee afterwards carried them into his Parke, where the thicke fall of fat Deere (beſides many other things) gave them warrant of their kind welcome. And at their departing from him, hee ſent ſuch great ſtore of Veniſon into the City, for the friendly feaſting of their neighbours there, that nothing ever won him more hearty love among his ſubjects of that place. His affabilitie.

He left behinde him two ſonnes; *Edward*, who being of the age of thirteene

thirteene yeeres, unfortunately ſucceeded him in this Kingdome; and *Richard* Duke of Yorke, who was two yeeres younger; and five daughters, namely, *Elizabeth*, who afterwards married King *Henry* the Seventh, and was mother to King *Henry* the Eighth, and *Ciciſe*, *Brigot*, and *Katherine*, whoſe fortunes ſeldome laughed, and *Anne*, who married *Thomas* Lord *Howard*, who after was created Earle of Surrey.

Richard Duke of Gloceſter deſcribed.

The ſaid noble King (when he died) left behinde him but one brother, namely, *Richard* Duke of Gloceſter, who was by common report, a monſter in nature. For he had many teeth when he was borne. He was exceedingly deformed in the compoſure of his body: for of ſtature he was but low, crooke backed, his left ſhoulder was much higher than the other: his viſage was uncomely, his complexion ſwart and brown: he was exceeding ſtrong, yet much withered in his left arme: he was violent, fierce, and bloudily cruell; a good ſouldier, diſcreet to order well, and politick to rule. Hee was very haſty and forward in great expeditions and weightie actions; yet wiſe, and well adviſed before he would attempt to fight. Hee was ambitious beyond meaſure, and his deſires for ſoveraignty had no bounds. What hee contrived, were it good or bad, he would by one meanes or by another aſſuredly effect it. He made his conſcience in all things to ſerve his will, though his will could not bee obtained without the effuſion of guiltleſſe blood. He would oftentimes make himſelfe poore by his laviſh bounty to ſuch as wickedly ſerved his turne: and would againe quickly enrich himſelfe by pilling and by polling of civill and of honeſt men. Hee was ſo cunning a diſſembler, that he would accompany moſt familiarly and jeſt pleaſantly with ſuch as he inwardly hated in his heart. He ſpared no mans death, whoſe life reſiſted his ungodly purpoſes; nor puniſhed any man for any offence, if his wickedneſſe might be applied to his ſervice. This ambitious, this fierce, and this cruell man, in his brother King *Edwards* daies (as wiſe men did conjecture) directed his aime to make himſelfe a King. For hee with others murdered Prince *Edward* the eldeſt ſonne of King *Henry* the Sixth: and with his owne hand hee ſlew the ſame King when he was a priſoner in the Tower; and was conſenting (as the world blabbed) to the death and deſtruction of his elder brother, *George* Duke of Clarence, in the ſame place.

10. E. 4.

10. E. 4.

10. E. 4.

Richard aimeth at the Crowne.

King *Edwards* death, and the minoritie of his two ſonnes, gave him fit opportunity to worke miſchiefe, which firſt of all he reſolved to proſecute by the reviving of old grudges betwixt the Queenes kindred and the Kings, although the laſt King in his death-bed had reconciled them, and made them all friends. For he knew, that where malice and hatred are of counſell, there no good action or ſound concluſion can bee expected. And by this practice he endevoured firſt to make himſelfe equall with the beſt, and then to be the beſt of all.

We muſt alſo now obſerve, that at the time of King *Edwards* death the young Prince in his owne perſon kept his reſidence and Court at Ludlow in the dominion of Wales, that by his preſence hee might reſtraine the Welſhmen from ſuch outragious enterpriſes as oftentimes their licentious and bad manners incited them to commit. And the protection of his perſon was by the laſt King appointed to *Anthony* Earle

Ryvers

Ryvers the Queenes brother, and by the mothers ſide Uncle to the ſaid Prince. And her allies and her kinsfolkes did now poſſeſſe all roomes and offices of honour and of profit about him, he being King: which the Duke of Gloceſter much maligned, and ſo ſcorned it, that in his conceits hee contrived how hee might thruſt them all out of thoſe places. For which purpoſe he oftentimes ſecretly and ſeriouſly conferred with *Edward* Duke of Buckingham, and *Richard* Lords *Haſtings*, who was Chamberlaine to the laſt King. To them he diſcovered the meane deſcent of the Queene, and of her kinsfolkes in reſpect of theirs, and told them plainely, that if thoſe Upſtarts remained ſo neere unto the King in his youth, they would (through his favour) bee ſo powerfull when hee came to his full age, that all their honours, their poſſeſſions, and their lives, would be in danger to be made ſubject to their wills. And therefore he adviſed them to joyne with him for their remove, and to divide and ſhare betwixt themſelves all ſuch benefits as by thoſe meanes ſhould be atchieved.

His practice againſt the Queens kindred.

Theſe faire perſwaſions, and their owne ambitious humours, quickly wrought the ſaid two great Lords, not onely to hearken willingly to this diſcourſe, but alſo to bee confederates with the Duke of Gloceſter in that practice; which quickly was attempted in this manner.

The Queene with the Earle *Ryvers* her brother, and with her ſonne *Richard* Lord *Grey*, and with her other friends, being guarded with a ſtrong power of armed men and ſouldiers, intended to bring the young King from Wales towards London to be crowned. And the Duke of Gloceſter knowing that if his feat were not wrought before that time, it could not eaſily bee effected after; and conſidering likewiſe, that if hee with his confederates ſhould come armed againſt the King to meet him, and by open violence attempt to get the Kings perſon into their poſſeſſion, their ſaid enterpriſe would be cenſured and adjudged to be a rebellious action, and no leſſe than Treaſon. Wherefore he cunningly directed and ſent his letters to the Queene, and called to her remembrance the hearty love and friendſhip which the late King her deceaſed husband on his death-bed had ratified and confirmed, betwixt the Lords of his own blood and alliance, and the kinsfolkes of the Queene. He likewiſe informed her, that it was commonly reported, that her brother and her friends which were neere about the Kings perſon, intended with a ſtrong power and with many armed men to conduct his Majeſtie (for his Coronation) from Wales to the City of London. He proteſted and ſwore unto her, that his humble duty to his Soveraigne, and his unfained love to her and to her kinsfolkes and children, incited him ſeriouſly and earneſtly to adviſe and counſell her and them, to diſmiſſe thoſe companies of armed men, for that he feared much leſt the gathering of them together would bee the occaſion of new broiles, and of civill warres. For, ſeeing (quoth he) that many former battells triumphing in blood, have now made peace, and ſeeing that the ſtate of the whole Kingdome hateth Armes, and ſeeing that the King hath no Competitor for his Crowne, and that love and friendſhip hath united and knit together the mindes and the hearts of all his Nobles, and ſeeing that perfect tranquillity and a ſecure reconciliation hath quieted and gladded all the people; certainly

certainly the Kings comming towards the City of London with an armed traine, will make the Lords of the deceaſed Kings bloud, and many others, exceeding jealous of their intention, and to be fearefull leſt ſome ſecret plot be cunningly contrived to ſurpriſe them, when in duty and for ſervice they ſhall make their acceſſe unto the King; and that ſuch feare and jealouſie will occaſion them (for their defence and ſafety) to raiſe the forces, whereof might enſue much danger, diſcontentment, and perhaps blowes.

The Kings ſtrength is ſent away.

The Queene and her friends (who meant none ill) taking much comfort in this advice, becauſe ſhe ſuppoſed it ſprang from hearty love, and alſo becauſe the Duke of Gloceſter had at the ſame time with all reſpective duety and reverence likewiſe written unto the King, and lovingly to the Earle *Ryvers* her brother, and unto *Richard* Lord *Grey* her ſonne, cauſed all ſuch ſtrength of armed men as was provided for the Kings conduction towards London, to be diſmiſſed and ſent away. And the ſaid Earle, and Lord, and ſome others of their friends, brought the King forth in his journey to the Citie of Northampton, and the next day to Stony Stratford, being ten miles from thence. And becauſe that little towne was not capable of the whole traine, the Earle *Ryvers* and his private followers remained that night in Northampton. But on the ſudden and unlooked for, the Dukes of Gloceſter and of Buckingham, being ſtrongly accompanied with great ſtore of reſolute attendants, diſmounted themſelves in the Earles Inne, and with all complements of love and friendſhip they paſſed the time with him; and by reaſon of their extraordinary familiarity, hee ſecured himſelfe of their hearty and unfained love. But aſſoone as their companies were in their beds, the two Dukes ſeiſed upon all the keies of the ſame Inne, and cauſed all the waies betwixt thoſe two townes ſo to be watched and warded, that no perſon (of what degree or qualitie ſoever he were) could have any paſſage there. And they revealed, that the pretence of their ſo doing was becauſe no man before them ſhould in the morning prevent them for diligence to attend upon the King. Whereof when the Earle *Ryvers* had intelligence, neceſsity compelled him to diſſemble, and to ſeeme as if he ſuſpected none evill, although he knew that by the Dukes policie and crafty cunning he was overtaken and beguiled. Yet in friendly and in a jocund manner he came unto the two Dukes, and asked them why they had ſo done. But ſuddenly they entred into a needleſſe and cauſeleſſe quarrell with the ſaid Earle, ſurpriſed his perſon, and committed him to ſafe keeping. And then in good and quiet manner the two Dukes rode to Stony Stratford, and humbly preſented their duties and their ſervice to the King, who being altogether ignorant of that which ſo newly had hapned, received them with a cheerefull countenance and with much joy. But preſently they alſo ſeiſed upon *Richard* Lord *Grey*, the Kings halfe-brother, and upon Sir *Thomas Vaughan*, and ſome others, all which they ſent (under a ſtrong Guard) to the Caſtle of Pomfret in the North, where, without any judiciall ſentence, or legall proceeding againſt them, they were beheaded upon the ſame day that the Lord *Haſtings* Lord Chamberlaine (who conſpired in that action with the two Dukes) did loſe his head.

The Queenes kindred are betraied.

They are impriſoned.

The

The two Dukes alſo and the Lord Chamberlaine removed from the King all his other Officers, and moſt of his meniall ſervants; informing all men which attended the King, or expected the ſequell of this buſineſſe, that the ſaid Earle, Lord, and Knight, with ſome others, had reſolved to deſtroy all the Lords of King *Edwards* bloud, and to rule both the King and Common-weale according to their owne will. The Kings ſervants are removed.

When the Queen (who at that time lay, with the Kings brother, the young Duke of Yorke, and with her five daughters, at Weſtminſter) heard of theſe tumults, and what had hapned to her brother, ſonne, and friends, it repented her much that ſhe had adviſed them (upon the Duke of Gloceſters cunning letters) to diſmiſſe and to diſcharge their ſouldiers and men of war. And becauſe ſhe had good cauſe to feare the event thereof, ſhee with her children entred into the Sanctuary there. The young King alſo mourned grievouſly to ſee the wofull tragedie wherein his friends misfortunes were ſo unexpectedly acted. But the two Dukes recomforted him with the expreſſion of their humble duties and ſervice, and with a thouſand proteſtations of their fidelity and troth towards his Highneſſe during their lives: and then they brought him with great honour neere to the City of London, where hee was met by the Lord Maior, and five hundred grave Citizens more: in whoſe preſence the Duke of Gloceſter uſed ſuch humble duty and reverence to the King, and ſo diſcreetly demeaned himſelfe towards him, that none of them ſuſpected that any thing was done but for the Kings preſervation, and for his good: yea the Nobility and Counſellors of Eſtate were ſo inwardly perſwaded to reſt in the ſame beliefe, that (by their generall conſent) they forthwith made him the Protector both of the Kings royall perſon, and of his Kingdome. The Queen with her children take Sanctuarie. The King is brought to London. The Duke of Gloceſter is made Protector.

When the Duke of Gloceſter had procured and obtained this high place which his heart infinitely deſired, (the ſame being an office of greateſt honour, of confidence, and of truſt) hee made no doubt but that his purpoſe would quickly (though wickedly) bee brought to paſſe as himſelfe wiſhed, if he could alſo get the young Duke of Yorke into his hands. And to the end that his deſires might not remaine fruitleſſe, hee grievouſly complained to the Kings Counſell of the froward obſtinacie of the Queene, who detained the ſaid young Duke diſhonourably in the Sanctuarie as an offender, and in priſon, cauſing thereby the government of the whole Kingdome, and the Nobles and Officers thereof, to be exceedingly blamed and taxed, not onely at home, but alſo in all other Chriſtian Provinces and Kingdomes. Hee urged alſo, that his Grandmaſter the young King was infinitely wronged and diſheartened, for that he was not permitted to enjoy the ſociety and the company of his owne and onely brother, whom above all other creatures in the world hee reſpected and longed for.

The Lords having conſidered of the Dukes motion, reſolved that hee had ſpoken well, and that it was fitting it ſhould be hearkned unto. And thereupon, they made eſpeciall choice of the Cardinall Archbiſhop of Yorke (upon whoſe fidelity and love the Queene did not a little rely) to goe to her, and to pray her (without further trouble) to ſend the young Duke her Son to the King his brother, that he might be comfor- He poſſeſſeth himſelfe of the Kings brother the Duke of Yorke.

ted with his ſight, and be made merry and jocund with his company. And withall they required him to tell her, that for many reaſons the young Duke might not be detained there.

Reaſons why the young Duke ought not to be in the Sanctuarie.

1. Firſt, becauſe the whole eſtate of this Kingdome would be ſlandered at home and among forraine Nations, if it ſhould permit ſo young a child, by birth ſo noble, ſo neere unto the King, and ſo innocent, to live in priſon (for every Sanctuary is a priſon.)

2. Secondly, becauſe none could claime the benefit of ſuch a place, but he whoſe conſcience did accuſe him of ſome offence, for which hee feared to be puniſhed by the law. But the conſcience of this young Duke cannot be ſo burthened, becauſe his infancie and his innocencie doe excuſe him of any ſuch fault, and therefore he needed no protection there.

3. Thirdly, that none might enjoy the priviledge of a Sanctuarie, but ſuch a one as is enabled by true diſcretion to demand it. But the young Duke (by reaſon of his infancie) hath not ſufficient diſcretion to require it, and therefore he is not capable of it, nor may enjoy it.

4. And laſt of all, he was required to aſſure her, that any perſon might be taken out of a Sanctuary, if it be for his good and welfare, and not to his hurt, or to puniſh him: and that therefore if the Queen did obſtinately refuſe to deliver him, it was reſolved and determined, that hee ſhould be taken from thence, and from her without her leave; and the rather, for that great ſuſpition and feare was juſtly conceived, that her frowardneſſe or her jealouſie would perſwade her to ſend him beyond the Sea, as if he ſhould bee more ſafe there than in his brother the Kings Court.

When this round meſſage was done unto the Queene, though it ſo nipped her at the heart, that willingly ſhee would not let him goe, alledging that none but his owne mother was more fit to tutor him, or to attend him, he being ſo young, ſickly, and very weake; and that each of thoſe two brethren was the others ſafety ſo long as they were kept aſunder, and that the life of the one was maintained in the body of the other, and that if one of them did well, the other was in no perill or danger, and that nothing was more hazzardous than to keepe them both in one place together: yet when ſhee perceived which way the game went, and that it was reſolved by the Protector, and by his friends, that arguments ſhould not prevaile, ſhee embraced the lovely young Duke in her armes, ſhe kiſſed him many times, ſhe wept bitterly, and praying Almighty God to preſerve and to defend him from all injurie and dangers, ſhe delivered him to the Arch-biſhop, telling him, that ſhee would require that poore and innocent child at his hands. And thus unwillingly and ſorrowfully ſhe did let him goe.

A monſtrous diſſembler.

When the harmeleſſe infant was by the Arch-biſhop delivered into the Protectors hands, who with many other Lords attended the Queens anſwer in the Star-chamber, he tooke him (before the whole aſſemblie) in his armes, hee hugged and embraced him, and kiſſed him once and twice, and againe and againe, proteſting upon his ſoule, that no worldly thing (his Majeſtie only excepted) was ſo deare unto him as that young child; when as indeed he meant nothing more than the deſtruction and ruine of them both. And having brought him to the King, who was infinitely joyed with his preſence and company, hee conveied them (within

(within few daies after) with princely pompe and attendance thorow the City of London to the Tower, under the pretence of an especiall care and providence that they should in safety remaine there untill the Common-weales troubles were thorowly quieted and appeased, whereas in truth and in deed nothing was out of frame, nothing was ill ordered, but by himselfe, and by some other great Lords who wholly applied themselves to his will.

The King and his brother sent to the Tower.

When the Protector had thus couped up those two young Princes, he then began more seriously to determine how he might speedily make himselfe a King. And though for a while he staggered whether or no hee might make the Duke of Buckingham acquainted with his purpose, yet in regard that he stood assured of his love, and knew that his project could not bee effected without his privitie and assistance, because he was so mighty and so powerfull, therefore he found a fit time and a secret place to conferre with him about that businesse: and with small perswasions, and by the offer of his sonne to the Dukes daughter in marriage, with the gift of the whole Earledome of Hartford, whereunto the Duke pretended a rightfull title, but never could obtaine it from King *Edward* the Fourth, and by the dividing and sharing of the greater part of the Kings treasure among themselves; he won him not onely to consent unto his villainie, but also to assist him in that plot.

A bloudy conspiracie.

The Lord *Hastings* (whom the Protector for old acquaintance, friendship, and love, had newly settled in the office of Chamberlaine to the young King) was ever faithfull and trustie to King *Edward* the Fourth, and had vowed his heart to the service of his new master; insomuch that the Protector was not assured whether he might attempt to win him to joyne with himselfe and with the Duke of Buckingham in his conspiracie, or no. But in the end, fearing lest hee could not doe that mischiefe safely, except the said Lord were either won or destroyed, he resolved upon one of them. Wherefore first of all by liberall gifts, and by large promises of extraordinary advancement and preferment, hee won to his will one *Catesby*, who was both wittie, and well learned in the Lawes of this Realme, and was the most inward of all others with the said Lord *Hastings*, from whom he had received his best fortunes, and his chiefest meanes to gaine. Him the Protector imployed and instructed, that by darke speeches, and by some mysticall propositions, he should a farre off feele and undermine the inclination of the said Lord his dearest friend touching that matter. Which when he treacherously and craftily had done, he informed the Protector that there was no possibility ever to win him thereunto.

The Lord Hastings could not be won.

Hereupon the Protector resolving to cut him short, called a Grand Counsell of the Lords at the Tower of London, proposing to them for their taske the consideration of all fitting preparations for the speedy Coronation of the King, when as indeed he intended no such thing.

A plot full of villany.

The Lords being assembled, and set downe in their places, and all of them long expecting the repaire of the Protector, who staied long, at length he came in, tooke his chaire, saluted them all kindly, excused his long absence, merrily jested with some of them, and was more than ordinarily pleasant with them all. But assoone as hee had proposed some

method to their preſent conference, he told Doctor *Morton*, Biſhop of Elie, whom he loved not, that he was informed that he had ſtore of Straberies in his Garden in Holborne, and intreated him to ſend for ſome, which with all expedition hee did, being much gladded that he found the Protector (as he conceived) ſo kinde towards him. But (behold) unexpectedly and upon a ſudden the Protector (faining ſome neceſſity of a ſhort abſence) roſe up, and requeſted the Lords to proceed in the matter which then they had in hand, and promiſed to make a quicke returne, which within one houre after hee performed accordingly. But being placed in his chaire, the Lords perceived that ſome things were amiſſe: for hee bent his browes, bit his lip, caſt his eyes upon the ground, wrung his fiſts, looked fiercely, ſighed deeply, and by very unpleaſing geſture hee openly expreſſed the diſquieted paſſions of a troubled minde. The Lords (who looked on him ſadly, and were perplexed with ſudden perturbations) wondred much at this ſudden change, but knew not what it meant. And when a profound ſilence had prepared them all to hearken what would bee ſaid, the Protector by way of queſtioning propoſed what they deſerved who wickedly had intended and practiſed his diſtruction, hee being Uncle and Protector to the King? The Lords (who were all free and abſolutely guiltleſſe of any ſuch crime) ſate ſtill as men amazed, and not one of them ſpake a word. But at length the Lord *Haſtings* (who by reaſon of his great familiarity with the Protector, imagined that hee was higheſt in his favour) anſwered thus: My Lord, ſuch as have ſo tranſgreſſed the Law, deſerve the ſevereſt puniſhments which by the Law may bee inflicted upon them: and all the Lords aſſented thereunto. Then, quoth the Protector, that Sorcereſſe (meaning the Queene) and that Strumpet *Shores* wife, have conſpired together by witchcraft to deprive me of my life: and that you may bee right well aſſured that it is true, behold (I pray you) and ſee how their villany hath already ſeiſed upon my body. For by it my left arme is already waſted and conſumed: and therewithall he ſtroke up his ſleeve, and ſhewed his arme naked before them all. Thus dared he to doe, albeit that all ſuch as were there preſent were well aſſured that his arme had never been otherwiſe from his mothers wombe. And moreover, no man was ſo full of folly to beleeve that if the Queene had intended ſuch a miſchiefe, ſhee would have conſorted with *Shores* wife above all other women, becauſe ſhee was the Concubine of King *Edward* her deceaſed husband. And beſides all this, they all knew that the Queene was religious, temperate, milde, charitable and vertuous in all her actions, hating to revenge, although meanes and opportunity were offered unto her to doe miſchiefe.

A likely matter.

Shores wife King Edwards Concubine.

The Lord Haſtings puniſhed for his whoredome.

The Lord *Haſtings* (who after King *Edwards* death converſed with *Shores* wife, uſing her as his Concubine; and but the ſame morning leaving her in his owne bed) being deſirous (if he might) to appeaſe the Protectors rage towards her: and (in ſome ſort) being willing to excuſe her, replied thus, My Lord, if the Queen and ſhe have ſo done; and therewithall the Protectors indignation (waxing intemperate) interrupted him, thus: Thou Traitor (quoth hee) telleſt thou me of Iffs and Ands; I tell thee they have done it: and as he ſpake thoſe words with a lowd

lowd voice, hee clapt his hand rudely upon the Table board; upon the noyse whereof, the whole Chamber was suddenly stuffed and filled with armed men. And one of them (at his first entrance) strake with his Holberd at the Lord *Stanleys* head: who preventing the violence, but not all the blow, to save his life fell under the Table, but did lose much bloud. The Protector himselfe arrested the said Lord *Hastings*, and accused him (by generall termes) of high Treason: and forthwith without any other proceeding or judgement, caused him to bee carried out into the Greene, and his Head upon a Logge to be chopped off. The Lord Hastings beheaded.

And it is to bee noted, that this execution was thus done on him the same day, and at the same houre, that the Earle *Ryvers*, the Lord *Richard Grey*, Sir *Thomas Vaughan*, and their other friends, were executed without legall proceeding in the Castle of Pomfret: which Execution was appointed by the Protector, by the Duke of Buckingham, and by the said Lord *Hastings*, who little dreamed that he should in the like manner have died at the same time. Murder punished.

This execution being thus dispatched, the Protector caused those armed to seise upon the Cardinall Archbishop of Yorke, and upon the Bishop of Elie, and upon the Lord *Stanley*, and some others, all which were severally committed to severall Prisons in that place.

And presently the Protector and the Duke of Buckingham, thrusting themselves into vile and uncomely harnesse, as if necessity had compelled them to shift themselves into the first and worst that came unto their hands: they sent for divers worthy Citizens of London, and required them with all posting speed to repaire thither, which they did. And unto them the Protector passionately related, that his death was conspired, and that his life should have been taken from him as he sate that morning in Counsell with the Lords, by the Lord *Hastings*, and by his wicked complices, if by sudden force and violence hee had not prevented that mischiefe: and so much they were required to tell their friends, that they might have true notice of the cause of this sudden broile and execution in the Tower. And within two houres after that the Lord *Hastings* was deprived of his head, a solemne and a long Proclamation written with a faire hand in parchment, and being under the Great Seale of England, was brought into the City, and with great solemnity proclaimed there by an Herald of Armes. But by all circumstances it was conjectured by all wise men, that the same was indited, written, and sealed some daies before. A bad shift.

Thus when the wicked Protector had impiously cut off the heads of those Lords, who would still have kept him backe from doing of too much mischiefe if they had lived, hee caused Doctor *Shaa* (a man more learned than vertuous, and as wicked in practices as the Protector was, who did instruct him) in a Sermon the Sunday following at *Pauls* Crosse, to blazon the honourable birth and parentage of the Protector, to relate his vertues, to commend his valour, to weaken the fame and honour of the deceased King *Edward* by reason of his lascivious wantonnesse with *Shores* wife, and with many others; to bastardize all his children, as being borne in adultery, and out of lawfull marriage, for that King *Edward* was solemnely contracted (as hee affirmed) unto the Doctor Shaa's Sermon.

Lady *Elizabeth Lucie* (whom hee begat with child) before ſuch time as he married with the Lady *Elizabeth Grey*; and alſo becauſe he was in the perſon of *Richard* the great Earle of Warwicke (before his ſaid marriage) affied unto the Lady *Bona*, ſiſter to *Carlot* the wife of the French King.

He alſo accuſed the Protectors owne mother of great incontinencie, when King *Edward* and *George* Duke of Clarence (his two elder brothers) were begotten. And thus he ſtrived to make every one crooked beſides himſelfe, who was moſt crooked of all. And in concluſion, the Doctor applying his ſpeech to the worthineſſe and goodneſſe of the Protector, he ſuppoſed that the people could not chuſe but receive him for their undoubted Soveraigne Lord and King; and therefore he ſtrived to prepare the multitude to have ſhouted out when the King came in, and to have cried, King *Richard*, King *Richard:* but he failed of his purpoſe; for every man was ſilent, and more ſurpriſed with wonder than with applauſe, to ſee and to perceive how cowardly, how unnaturally, and how wickedly theſe affaires and buſineſſes were carried, not to continue the Protector to be a Subject any longer, but to be a King.

And the next day in the Guildhall of London the Duke of Buckingham by like arguments endevoured to make the Protector the rightfull and undoubted heire and inheritor of the Crowne. And albeit that the Townes-men tooke no contentment in this meſſage, nor did by their voices aſſent to that which to them was delivered, yet (againſt their wills) the Duke of Buckingham procured them the next day to goe with him and with many other Lords to Baynards Caſtle to the Protector, where they offered to receive him for their lawfull King, and praied him to undergoe that burthen. But oftentimes he refuſed to grant them their requeſt. But at the laſt he granted it. And thus he gained and won (by their perſwaſions) his hearts deſire.

THE

The portraict of RICHARD *the* 3. *King of England, and Fraunce. Lord of Ireland. He was slaine at Bosworth feild, the* 22th *of August. 1486. and honestye buried at the Graye friers Church in Leicester, when he had vsurped* 2 *yeares* 2 *monthes and one day*

THE HISTORIE OF KING *RICHARD* THE THIRD.

WHen King *Richard* had taken upon him the government of this Kingdome, and was crowned, in ſtead of noble and Princelike courteſie, he applied himſelfe to all baſeneſſe, ſtriving thereby (but all in vaine) to win the love and favour of his people. And not ſeeming to take any notice that the Lord *Strange*, ſonne and

1483
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Cowardly diſſimulation.

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and heire apparent to the Lord *Stanley*, intended to raiſe a n Army in the North, becauſe his father had beene wronged, and was then impriſoned by the King: but pretending that he loved him when hee might puniſh him, he did not onely ſet him at liberty, but alſo made him the Steward of his owne houſe.

D. Morton committed.

Hee alſo enlarged the Archbiſhop of York, but committed Doctor *Morton* Biſhop of Elie as a priſoner to the Duke of Buckingham, who was afterwards a principall meanes of his confuſion, and of King *Richards* deſtruction, as in the ſequell of this Hiſtory more particularly it ſhall appeare.

Nobles created.

The King, to make himſelfe ſtrong by conferring of great honours upon others, created his onely child *Edward* (who was of the age of ten yeeres) Prince of Wales: and *John Howard*, who was both valiant in the field, and wiſe in counſell, was by him created Duke of Norfolke. And Sir *Thomas Howard* (his eldeſt ſonne) was made Earle of Surrey. The Lord *William Barkley* was advanced to the Earledome of Nottingham. And *Francis* Lord *Lovel* (whom hee entirely loved) was made Viſcount *Lovel*.

The French King deſpiſeth King Richard.

And when he had (as hee imagined) ſo ſurely ſettled his eſtate, that froward fortune could not change it, by his Ambaſſadors he made offer to *Lewis* the French King to conclude a peace. But *Lewis* ſo much deteſted his bloudy cruelties and his murders, that he would not vouchſafe to ſee the Ambaſſadors which hee ſent, nor to heare the meſſage which they brought.

This frumpe and ſome others ſo pinched him at the heart, and the Devill tooke ſuch an advantage of him, by reaſon of his ambitious and wicked minde, that he ſuppoſed he could never be reputed and truely honoured as a King, ſo long as his two harmeleſſe and poore Nephewes drew any breath; as though ſo horrible and ſo execrable and bloudy a murder could winne him love and reputation among his diſcontented people.

Thus whileſt his head forged this vile and villanous conceit, hee made his progreſſe towards the Citie of Gloceſter, as if he onely intended by his preſence to honour that place from whence his former title of dignity was derived, ſtrongly perſwading himſelfe, that if this ungodly and hainous fact were committed in his abſence, no man would then repute him to be guiltie of that miſchiefe.

Sir Robert Brakenbury.

We muſt be informed here, that becauſe from a meane eſtate he had raiſed Sir *Robert Brakenbury* to the dignity of Knight-hood, and had made him Lievtenant of the Tower, hee conjectured that thoſe his favours, and many more which he might hope for, would have incited him (for his ſake) to have committed any villany whatſoever. But the love which this vertuous and good Knight bare to vertue, and the great care which he had to keepe a quiet and a guiltleſſe conſcience, made him to refuſe to perpetrate that murder, which by the Kings letters he was peremptorily enjoyned and commanded to performe.

James Terril.

Whereat when the King had ſtormed, ſworne, and curſed like a fiend, he called to his remembrance, that in the Tower there lodged one *James Terril*, a man who was needy both in vertue, and of good meanes, to

ſupport

ſupport his haughty and his ambitious minde, and who was likely (for rewards and promotions ſake) to kill his owne father and his friend. To him the King by his letters diſcloſed the earneſtneſſe of his deſires, and promiſed larger recompence if the fact were done, than ſuch a helliſh ſervice could deſerve.

Thus when he had made him pliant to his will, hee then by his letters required the Lievtenant to deliver to him the keies of the Tower; which he forthwith did. And thus every thing being fitted according to his deſires, the next night *James Terril* ſent *Miles Foreſt*, *John Dighton*, and two other graceleſſe and cruell Executioners, into the poore childrens chamber, where they wickedly ſmothered them in their beds, and after buried them at the ſtaires foot, from whence they were removed, and obſcurely beſtowed in an unknown place. The two young Princes are murthered.

The newes which proclaimed that the two young Princes were unfortunatly found dead in their bed, ſo amazed the Nobles and the common people of this Kingdome, and ſo inwardly perplexed the dying Queen, that every place returned Ecchoes of lamentations and of ſorrow, and every mans eies ſent forth ſtreames of teares in token of their griefe. Only the Tyrant and his Confederates, for a few moneths, ſolaced themſelves in this, that *Richard* was now a complete King, and with admired policie had ſurely ſettled himſelfe and his poſterity in this Kingdome.

But wicked and bloudy Tyrant, let ſuch as hate thy vices, demand of thee ſome queſtions, and then thou ſhalt plainly ſee, and be thine own Judge, whether this land did ever breed a more ungodly monſter than thy ſelfe.

1. Could not the infancie and the imbecillitie of thoſe tender and ſweet babes (who were unable to reſiſt or doe thee harme) perſwade thee to ſuffer them to live?

2. Could not their innocency incline thine heart to pitie and to take compaſſion on them?

3. Could not their proximitie of bloud with thine, induce thee to ſpare theirs?

4. Could not the confidence which by the Common-weale was repoſed in thee, make thee faithfull, being truſted?

5. How came it to paſſe, that thou (by violence and by villanie) ſhouldeſt dare to take away the life of thy Maſter, nay of thy Soveraigne Lord and King, the annointed of the Lord?

6. Could not the ſhame which the world would ſpot thee with, when thou haddeſt done it, deterre thee from conſenting to it?

7. Diddeſt thou not foreſee how hatefull thy ſelfe, nay how odious thy name would be unto all good men, when thy wickedneſſe ſhould be revealed?

8. By Gods Commandements thou wert prohibited to doe murder: What then made thee ſo to neglect and to contemne the precept of thy God, that (in deſpight of him and of his Law) thou committedſt this execrable murder?

9. Could not the gaſtly examples of Gods ſevere judgements, wrathfully poured downe upon ſuch murderers, make thee affraid to kill thine owne kinſmen?

10. Why

10. Why ſhould the Devill and boundleſſe ambition carry thee headlong into ſuch a Sea of wickedneſſe, to thine owne ruine and deſtruction?

11. What couldeſt thou deſire to have, which thou haddeſt not?

12. Diddeſt thou want riches? Why, the whole treaſure of the Kingdome was to be diſpoſed of as thou liſtedſt.

13. Diddeſt thou want lands and livings? Thou couldeſt not have wiſhed for any that the King had, but with a word thou mighteſt have had thy ſhare therein.

14. Diddeſt thou want authority to command, and to make thee great? No, thou diddeſt not: for thou ſwaiedſt the Kings perſon and his whole Kingdome at thy will and pleaſure.

15. No, no. But thou waſt deſtitute of the grace of God, which made thee empty of all goodneſſe. From henceforth when thou art named, the paper, the tongue, and the eare ſhall ſharpely accuſe thee of innocent blood, yea thine owne conſcience ſhall condemne thee, and (as a hangman) torment and torture thee with paines and puniſhments which ſhall not quickly end.

The puniſhment of a murderer.

Every man already ſeeth, and rejoyceth to ſee, how thou art perplexed, and canſt not be in reſt. Thou feareſt leſt thine enemies will ſubdue thee. Thou diſtruſteſt thy friends, leſt they will betray thee. Thou eateſt little, becauſe nothing can doe thee any good. Thou ſleepeſt unquietly in thy bed, becauſe viſions, fantaſies, and fearefull dreames doe tell thee, that (except thou ſpeedily doe repent) thou muſt expect vengeance for the guiltleſſe bloud which (like a monſter) thou haſt ſpilt. Thou art unpatient with all men, becauſe thine owne heart is ſtill troubled. Thou biteſt thy lip, becauſe thou deviſeſt how thou maieſt doe greater miſchiefes. Thou ſetteſt thine hand furiouſly upon thy dagger, purpoſing to kill other, becauſe thou art ſurpriſed with continuall feare leſt every man will kill thee. Thou bendeſt thy browes, and looketh ſullenly, becauſe no good mans endeavours can content thee. What ſhall wee more ſay? The ſhortneſſe of thy life, thy ſorrowes whileſt thou breatheſt, and the aſſurance of thy ſhamefull death, doe tell us, that theſe bloudy facts of thine doe make the earth loth and unwilling to ſuſtaine ſo heavie and ſo bad a burthen. And therefore to Gods mercy we muſt leave thee, but cannot leave (as yet) to ſpeake of thee, untill the bloud of thy two innocent Nephewes, and of all others whom unjuſtly thou haſt ſlaine, bee revenged in this world by thy ſhamefull death.

Good fruits from an evill tree.

Now when King *Richards* progreſſe was ended, and he returned unto London, he endevoured by the making of good Lawes, and by executing of them with favour and with mercy, and by his bounteous liberality to the poorer ſort, and by his humility, gentleneſſe, and courteſie, to inſinuate himſelfe into the love and favour of his people. But God (who would not ſuffer him long to enjoy his worldly dignity and honour without croſſes) deprived him of his onely child, the young Prince of Wales; for whom he was much grieved.

King Richard is made childleſſe.

1484.

Now muſt we know, that as Doctor *Morton* Biſhop of Elie, was ſingularly well learned, ſo was he exceeding witty, politick, and cunning. And

And of all those his qualities he made such use, that in the end he obtained his liberty, occasioned the Duke of Buckinghams overthrow, procured the destruction of King *Richard*, conjoyned (by marriage) the two Houses of Lancaster and Yorke, advanced the Earle of Richmond to the Crown, and also preferred himselfe to great honour, as hereafter it shall appeare.

He applieth himselfe to the Dukes humour.

The Duke of Buckingham (to whom he was a prisoner) was not only great in regard of his high dignity and large possessions, but by his learning and much applauded courtesie hee also won the extraordinary love and favour of all sorts and degrees of people in this Kingdome. But his witty prisoner perceiving that he was ambitious, and greedie of his own praise and commendation, as commonly great men are, insinuated himselfe into his especiall love and favour, by applying his talke and conference to those humours, insomuch that within a short time the Dukes heart conceived nothing which his tongue revealed not to the Bishop, yea they began to speake their mindes freely each to other touching the bloudy villanies and tyrannie of the King.

They begin to be inwardly familiar.

Morton raileth on the Usurper.

This crafty Bishop likewise, to provoke the Duke not onely to a further detestation of those cruelties, but also to a resolved purpose to depose him, first of all recounted how slenderly the Usurper had rewarded the Duke himselfe, without whose aide and countenance he could never have advanced himselfe (as he did) to the Crowne. Then he minded him of the instability of the Kings word, who restored not to the Duke, nor to his son, the Earldome of Hartford, according to his promise in that behalfe. Now unto that he remembred him of the jealousie which the King conceived of the Dukes greatnesse, so that he rather diminished, than in any sort graced or augmented his authoritie and power. Fourthly, the vilifying of the honour and reputation of his owne mother, making her unchaste, and such a woman as prostituted her body unto strangers, in the conception of his two elder brothers, King *Edward* and the Duke of Clarence, to make himselfe more legitimate than they. Fifthly, his unlawfull and bloudy executing of *Anthony* Lord *Ryvers*, *Richard* Lord *Grey*, Sir *Thomas Vaughan*, and of the Lord *Hastings*, chiefe Chamberlaine to the two last Kings. Sixthly, his horrible murdering of Prince *Edward*, the eldest son of King *Henry* the Sixth, and of the same King, and of the Duke of Clarence his owne brother. And last of all, and the worst of all, the bastardizing, deposing, and murdering of his poore, innocent, and guiltlesse Nephewes, which gave him (by wicked usurpation) his passage to the Crowne and Scepter of this Kingdome.

Mortons motives.

All these things when the Bishop had recounted, then (for a full conclusion to all that had been spoken) hee advised the Duke of Buckingham, for the safety of his owne life, and for the preservation of his Country, either to make use of his owne vertues and greatnesse, and of the extraordinary favour and love which all the people bare him, and to make himselfe their King; or otherwise to further the uniting of the two Houses of Lancaster and of Yorke, by marrying of King *Edwards* eldest daughter, the Lady *Elizabeth*, with the Earle of Richmond, the sonne and heire apparent of *Margaret* Countesse of Richmond, daughter and heire to the Duke of Buckinghams great Uncle *John* Duke of Somerset,

Somerſet, ſonne to *John* of *Gaunt* the fourth ſonne of King *Edward* the Third; and ſo to make the ſaid Earle a true and a lawfull King, by meanes whereof the Crowne of this Kingdome ſhould not only be ſettled where juſtly it ought to be, but alſo all future occaſions of Factions and of Civill warres would bee taken cleane away, and the world ſhould bee quitted of ſuch a Monſter, who was loathed and hated by all good men.

Buckinghams reſolution.

The Duke of Buckingham, although hee were ambitious beyond meaſure, and liked well to be ſtiled by the great name of a King, yet becauſe uſurpation muſt needs have beene his beſt title (and Uſurpers never wanted envie) he therefore imployed his wits to conclude that match, and to make the Earle King.

Morton would faine be at libertie.

When the Biſhop (by often diſputes) had thorowly confirmed the Duke in this his reſolution, he made him a ſolemne proteſtation, that if he would permit him to goe into his Iſle of Elie, he then would quickly furniſh the ſaid Duke with ſtore of mony and of men. But the Duke was moſt deſirous of his company for two reaſons. Firſt, becauſe his eſcape would undoubtedly be laid unto his charge, and revenged if that project were not ſupported with ſufficient ſtrength. And ſecondly, becauſe by his abſence he ſhould be deprived of ſuch a friend, as was right well able to adviſe and counſell him at his need.

Morton eſcapeth.

The Biſhop knowing that whileſt hee was a priſoner, his head was ſubject to King *Richards* command, and that his great familiarity with the Duke cleared him of all ſuſpition unmannerly to depart, watched his fitteſt time of opportunity, and being diſguiſefully apparrelled in baſe clothes, he ſecretly ſtole away, and came to Elie, where he furniſhed himſelfe among his friends with ſtore of money and other neceſſaries, and

He flieth into Flanders.

then (without lingring) he ſailed into Flanders, where by his counſell and beſt meanes he animated the Earle of Richmond, who was in Britaine, to returne into England, to take to wife the Lady *Elizabeth*, King *Edwards* eldeſt daughter, to depoſe the Tyrant, and to make himſelfe a true and a lawfull King. Hee alſo ſolicited by his letters, and by ſecret meſſengers, divers Noblemen and Gentlemen of this Realme, to bee aiding and aſſiſting to the ſaid Earle at his returne. And the Earle himſelfe ſo prevailed with *Francis* Duke of Britaine, that albeit King *Richard* by his Ambaſſadours had ſtrived by the diſburſement and gift of much mony, rich jewels, and by franke promiſes, to make him a new Priſoner, and conſequently to deprive him of all good hope, yet the Duke of Britaine (as his faithfull and conſtant friend) began to ſuccour him with his beſt helpes.

His motion and encouragement to the Earle of Richmond and to others.

King Richard practiſeth to get the Earle of Richmond.

1485

3.

And albeit that this plot (deviſed by *Morton*) was exceeding ſecret, as all the Conſpirators did imagine, yet was King *Richard* acquainted therewith as well as they. And therefore, to cut off the Duke of Buckingham from that Faction by violence, or elſe to win him by faire promiſes to take his part, he courteouſly importuned his company at the Court. But he having a guilty conſcience, and knowing that King *Richard* was not niggardly in ſhedding of bloud, nor uſed to ſpare any man of whom hee doubted or feared, ſubmiſſively and with humble termes excuſed his not comming, by reaſon of his indiſpoſition to travell, occaſioned by the infirmity of his weake body. The King (who could skilfully caſt his

King Richard knoweth Mortons plot.

Buckingham refuſeth to come to the Court.

water)

water) perceived that hee was not ſicke in body, but in minde towards him: wherefore by letters and ſharp threatnings, he peremptorily commanded and required him to come. But the Duke rather deſiring to have a publike enemy than a diſſembling friend, boldly returned him this anſwer, That hee reputed him to be a monſter, a tyrant, a murderer, his enemy, and an unlawfull King; and therefore that he would not come unto him. And knowing that his life was neere ended, except hee would maintaine what he had ſaid by ſtrength of armes in open field, hee went haſtily into Wales, and raiſed a powerfull Army: and in Devonſhire, and in Cornwall, Sir *Edward Courtney*, and *Peter Courtney* his brother, being Biſhop of Exeter, did the like. So did Sir *Richard Guilford*, and ſome other Gentlemen in Kent. And *Thomas Grey* Marqueſſe Dorſet, who forſaking the Sanctuary, rode into Yorkſhire, levied there much people. Wherefore King *Richard* (to ſupport his owne eſtate, and to preſerve his life, and to vanquiſh his ſtout and bold enemies) raiſed another Army.

Armes are raiſed.

Theſe preparations being thus made, King *Richard* marched againſt the Duke, becauſe he accounted him to be the head of this conſpiracie, and did perſwade himſelfe that hee ſhould be quitted of all feare, if hee could vanquiſh him before he joyned his forces with his friends.

The Duke perceiving the Kings intention, reſolved bravely to confront him, and to dare him face to face: for which purpoſe hee determined to lead his whole armie thorow the River of Severne at a low foord not farre from the City of Glocester. But in the night before he ſhould paſſe over, ſuch an incredible abundance of raine fell, and the ſhowers ſo mainly poured down for ten daies following, that not onely the River was made unpaſſable, but alſo the whole Country thereabout was ſurrounded with an exceſſive flood, inſomuch that grounds, villages, townes, and people were drowned or carried away, to the great hurt and prejudice of the inhabitants, who grievouſly bewailed and ſorrowed for their loſſe.

This flood haſteneth the Dukes death, who conſented to the murder of the two young Princes.

This enforced lingring, together with the Dukes want of victuall, money, and of other neceſſaries, ſo diſcomfited the wavering and unconſtant Welſhmen, that when he thought himſelfe ſure of their helpe, they then ran away, and left him alone: and he himſelfe (by perillous and hard ſhifting) was enforced to harbour himſelfe neer unto Shrewsbury in the houſe of one *Humfrey Baniſter*, who was his ſervant, and whom from a low degree he had raiſed to a faire eſtate, authority, and worſhip. And the reſt of the Dukes friends, in other Provinces (when they heard the certainty of the Dukes ill ſpeeding) upon a ſudden diſperſed all their companies, and every one of them carefully ſhifted for himſelfe, and many of them (by meanes of their diligence and good fortune) entred into the Sea, and arrived ſafely in the Dutchy of Britaine: among whom were Sir *Edward Courtney*, *Peter Courtney* his brother, Biſhop of Exeter, *Thomas* Marqueſſe Dorſet, *John* Lord *Welles*, Sir *John Bourchier*, Sir *Edmund Woodvile* the old Queens brother, Sir *Robert Willoughby*, Sir *Giles Dawbney*, Sir *Thomas Arundel*, Sir *John Cheney*, his two brethren, Sir *William Barkley*, Sir *William Brandon*, Sir *Richard Edgecombe*, and ſome others.

The Duke is proſcribed.

The King having diſperſed this cloud, which threatned a terrible, ſtorme,

ſtorme, proſcribed the Duke of Buckingham, and propoſed the gift of a thouſand pounds to him that ſhould bee the meane to take him: whereupon his faithleſſe, treacherous, and unthankfull ſervant *Humfrey Banaſter* betraied him to *John Maſon* Sheriffe of Shropſhire, who with a ſtrong Guard of armed men conveied him to Shrewsbury to the King, who being examined, confeſſed all in hope of favour, but forthwith and without any legall proceedings or judgement he loſt his head.

He is beheaded.

His ſervant betraieth him.

In the meane time, whileſt theſe things were in doing, the Earle of Richmond (who neither heard of this misfortune, nor of the arrivall of his worthy friends, who flying out of England came into Britaine) having in his company almoſt five thouſand men, entred into the Sea, and directed his courſe for this Realme. But in the evening after his departure out of Britaine, hee was ſo cruelly beaten with an hideous ſtorme, which ſo ſuddenly aſſailed him and his, that ſome of his ſhips were driven backe to the place from whence they came, others into Normandy, and only one of them (beſides that in which himſelfe was) remained at the Sea. The next day as the Earle came before Poole, hee perceived that all the Coaſts and Hills adjoyning were thickly ſprinkled with armed men, who eagerly attended his arrivall by the commandement of King *Richard*: and divers practices were uſed to traine him in. But becauſe hee feared the worſt, as hee had good cauſe, taking the benefit of a faire winde, he returned, and landed ſafely within the Dutchy of Normandy, from whence he ſent to the new and young King of France, *Charles* the Eighth, deſiring that by his free leave and licence hee might ſafely paſſe thorow that Province into Britaine; who not only granted his requeſt, but alſo (pitying his wants and evill fortune) relieved and furniſhed him with much money. So he having collected his diſperſed ſhips, ſent them into Britaine, and himſelfe by land went thither, where (to his exceeding comfort and great joy) he met with his diſtreſſed friends, all which were valiant men, and great Commanders in the times of warre. With theſe Captaines he entred into new conſultations, and giving to them his ſolemne oath to take to his wife the Lady *Eliſabeth*, eldeſt daughter to King *Edward* the Fourth, if his ſucceſſe were fortunate, they all became his ſubjects, and honoured him as their King: and all of them (by the Duke of Britaines aide and ſuccours) endevoured to make ready a new Fleet, and ſuch ſouldiers as they could get, for his returne. In the meane time King *Richard* by ſundry executions ſhortned the number of the Earles friends, and procured him and his aſſociates by an act of Parliament to be attainted of High Treaſon, and thereby he enabled himſelfe to ſeize upon all their lands and moveables which he could finde. But his cruelties were ſo inhumane and barbarous, that they were condemned in the opinions of all his people, who ſharply accuſed Sir *Richard Ratcliffe*, Sir *William Catesby*, and the Viſcount *Lovel* his three minions, and wicked counſellors, as furtherers and abettors in thoſe miſchiefes: ſo that (among others) one *Collingborne* was executed as a Traitor for making and diſperſing of this ſhort ryme:

Richmond ſaileth for England.

A ſtorme taketh him, and he returneth.

He is relieved by the French King.

He is attainted of treaſon.

Collingborne executed.

The Rat, the Cat, and Lovel the Dogge,
Rule all England under the Hogge.

Richard gave a Hogge for his Supporter.

Now though the Duke of Buckingham could not hurt King *Richard*, (for

(for a dead dog biteth not) yet he reſolved by new friendſhip and alliance to make himſelfe more ſtrong: for which purpoſe he not only concluded a peace with *James* then King of Scots, but alſo a marriage betweene a neece of his, named the Lady *Anne*, and the Prince of Rothſay, the eldeſt ſonne of the King. He alſo attempted once more (by laviſh prodigality) to get into his hands the worthy and brave Earle of Richmond; and for that purpoſe he ſent his Ambaſſadours into Britaine to the Duke, to offer to him great ſtore of ſilver and of gold, and all the Rents and the Revenues of the ſaid Earle and of his Confederates, if he would be pleaſed to give him the quiet and the ſafe poſſeſſion of him. The Duke at that time was exceeding ſicke, ſo that his High Treaſurer *Peter Landoys* (who at S. Maloes had freed the ſaid Earle from the Ambaſſadors of King *Edward* the Fourth, as formerly we have heard) ordered and diſpoſed of all the affaires and buſineſſes of that Countrey: wherefore thoſe bribes and promiſes were made and tendred unto him; and he (being greedie of ſo great a prey) did undertake with great expedition to effect all things according to their deſire. But notwithſtanding all this ſecret practiſing and cunning juggling, this miſchievous plot and intended villany was by ſecret meſſengers revealed to Doctor *Morton* Biſhop of Elie, he being in Flanders, and he with all celerity and poſting ſpeed advertiſed the Earle of the danger which he was in, by meanes whereof, and to ſave themſelves, hee with his chiefeſt friends and followers as privately as they could departed from Vannes; and paſſing thorow the Country of Britain in great haſte, they came into France, and preſented themſelves to the French King, who not onely received them joyfully as his friends, but promiſed ſufficient aide and ſuccour to the Earle for his reliefe. But in the meane time *Peter Landoys* (ſuppoſing that the Earle of Richmond and his aſſociates had left Vannes but for a few daies to viſit ſome inward friends) prepared certaine troupes of reſolved ſouldiers well armed at all points, pretending in outward ſhew that they were by him provided to goe into England for the Earles aide; but (to ſay the truth) they were only fitted to have ſurpriſed him and his Confederates, and ſo have tranſported them all to King *Richard*. But when he was certainely informed of their eſcape into France, he was ſore troubled and vexed at the heart, becauſe he was diſcovered to be ſo treacherous, and yet could not effect the miſchiefe which by him was intended.

He attempteth to get Richmond into his hands.

Peter Landoys a baſe ſlave.

Doctor Morton diſcovereth the danger.

Richmond and his friends eſcape narrowly.

Now when it was voiced abroad, that the young French King and his Counſell would aſſiſt the Earle in his enterpriſe to gaine the Imperiall Crown of this Realm, Sir *James Blunt* Captain of the Caſtle of Hammes, and Sir *John Forteſcue* Porter of the Towne of Callice, and *John Vere* Earle of Oxford, who was priſoner with the ſaid Sir *James*, ſecretly repaired to the Earle (who becauſe they were valiant men at arms, & skilled much in martiall diſcipline) received them courteouſly, & with much joy.

When King *Richard* was by his owne Ambaſſadours truly aſſured in what ſtrange maner the Earle of Richmond and his friends had ſaved themſelves by flying into France, and that he was preparing of new forces to trie his fortune when hee ſhould land, and that the French King and his Nobles both favoured and aſſiſted him, and that the Earle of Oxford, with the other two, were with him; his continuall feare gave him

Another villanous practice of King Richards.

no reſt untill he had (in ſome ſort) pleaſed himſelfe by a new device. And his plot was thus: By ſubtill and craftie meſſengers hee made large proffers of maſſie ſilver and of gold, beſides his earneſt promiſe of much advancement and eſpeciall favour to the mother Queen, conditionally that ſhe would commit unto his cuſtody and keeping her five daughters, ſo that by meanes thereof the Earle of Richmond might utterly bee deprived of all hope to match with the Lady *Eliſabeth* as he intended: for he ſtrongly perſwaded himſelfe, that if that matriage were by craft and ſubtiltie prevented, few men would then engage themſelves to depoſe him and make the Earle King.

The old Queens folly and covetouſneſſe.

The unconſtant and the unprovident Queene, whom covetouſneſſe and ambition had made credulous, and willing to beleeve him who in the field had formerly ſlaine Sir *John Grey* her firſt husband, unjuſtly had executed her brother and her ſonne, and who had not only baſtardized her two other ſonnes, but had wickedly and villanouſly cauſed them both to be murdered in the Tower, accepted of thoſe his gifts and promiſes, and delivered unto him her five daughters.

King Richard is poſſeſſed of Kings Edwards five daughters.

And no ſooner had he gotten them into his cuſtody, but (to make his title to the Crowne more ſure) hee longed in his heart inceſtuouſly to marry with his own brothers daughter, the ſaid Ladie *Eliſabeth*. But the life of Queen *Anne* his wife, who was the daughter of *Richard* Earle of Warwicke, and the former wife of Prince *Edward* the ſon and heire of King *Henry* the Sixth, and whom himſelfe and his brother the Duke of Clarence had murdered in King *Edwards* preſence, was the onely impediment to that match.

The Queen ſuddenly died.

It muſt now bee diligently obſerved, that ſuddenly uncertaine Authors made report that Queene *Anne* (who was not ſicke) was dead: and moreover King *Richard* himſelfe forſooke her companie and her bed, pretending much diſcontentment and great diſlike becauſe ſhe was barren, and not likely to have any more children to eſtabliſh his ſucceſſion in the Crowne. The Queene (who ſhrewdly gheſſed at the wicked intention of her graceleſſe husband) much grieved and vexed her ſelfe thereat: and whether her private conceits that her death was conſpired, or whether any poiſon (as many did imagine) ſhortned her daies or no, it was uncertaine; but within few daies after ſhee was ſuddenly found dead indeed.

He maketh love to his owne Neece.

The King ſo little regarded the death of his ſaid Queen, that preſently he began to make love to the Lady *Eliſabeth* his owne Neece; who being diſcreet and modeſt, and hating his deteſted villanies, and well conſidering what perill and danger her ſelfe and all her ſiſters were in, if the Tyrant ſhould raſhly be rejected, tempered her denials with tempting and alluring lookes, and prettily fed his fancie with the muſicke of her ſweet tongue, & inſtantly requeſted him not to urge his ſute with too much love, untill he had defeated the Earle of Richmond of all his hopes, and had finiſhed his own troubles, and that hee would with carefull diligence make good proviſion to defend himſelfe. Thus living in hope of her liking, and pleaſing himſelfe by yeelding to her requeſt, hee diſpoſed himſelfe wholly in making all needfull preparations to reſiſt. But whileſt he was thus buſied, he was informed by ſuch Flatterers as never

ceaſed

ceaſed to abuſe him, that his Arch-enemy the Earle of Richmond and his co-adjutors received ſuch ſmall comfort of the French King, that all their hopes were vaniſhed, and that they were ſo infinitely oppreſſed with many wants, that he needed not to feare any oppoſition which they could make.

This newes was by him ſo quickly credited, that too much ſecurity made him careleſſe to proceed; nay, he diſcharged all his Garriſons, which formerly (with great charge and travell) he had placed neere unto the Sea-coaſts: ſo that we may by the way make this profitable uſe thereof, That ſuch is the ſtrength of Gods judgements and juſtice, that wicked and ungodly men are evermore leaſt heedfull and vigilant for their own ſafety and good, when puniſhments are neereſt at hand to correct them for their grievous offences and tranſgreſſions againſt God. Whileſt theſe things were thus acting in England, the Earle of Richmond was informed that his Lady and her ſiſters were by their mother delivered into King *Richard* hands, that his own Queene was ſuddenly found dead, and that the old Lecherer made love and dalliance to the Lady *Eliſabeth*, who was the anchor and the ſtay of all his hopes. Wherefore it is not to be wondred at, that now (with more than wonted importunity) he ſolicited the young French King and his Counſell for preſent aide. And (to ſay the truth) ſo graciouſly was he favoured by them all, that he obtained a quicke ſupply of money, ſhips, armour, artillerie, and two thouſand men, to make triall if his fortune had determined that hee ſhould weare a Crown. With this little (but reſolved) company he arrived and landed at Milford Haven in Wales, when he was leaſt thought on; where he ſaw no great appearance of ſuch ſuccours as he hoped for.

False newes makes him ſecure.

Richmond ſaileth into England, being aided by the French King.

But when the Welſhmen were put in mind, that (being the ſon of *Owen Tuthar*) he was of their own bloud, and would be an eſpeciall favourer of them all, and that his marriage with the Lady *Eliſabeth* would ſettle the whole eſtate of this Kingdome in perfect unity and in peace, they flocked unto him, and thronged about him with reſolved minds and willing hearts, under their skilfull and hardy Captaines; among which *John Savage*, *Arnold Butler*, *Richard Griffith*, *John Morgan*, and *Rice Ap Thomas*, were the chiefe. To him alſo repaired Sir *George Talbot*, who conducted the power and ſtrength of the young Earle of Shrewsbury, (he being then in ward) which conſiſted of two thouſand men. Sir *Walter Hungerford* and Sir *Thomas Bourchier* (two valiant and worthy Leaders of many a luſty man) preſented unto him their ſervice: ſo did *Thomas* Lord *Stanley*, father in law to the ſaid Earle of Richmond, who was accompanied with five thouſand fighting men. All theſe forces were firſt levied and provided for King *Richards* aide: but God (who purpoſed to correct and puniſh him for his forepaſſed wicked deeds) converted their hearts, made them to revolt from a Tyrant, and to ſubmit themſelves to a more lawfull power; whereat King *Richard* grieved and tormented himſelfe in vaine. Yet having levied an Army of more than twenty thouſand, (few of which, beſides his true friend *John* Duke of Norfolke and his followers, remained firme and faithfull) hee marched againſt his enemies, fully reſolving to caſt all his fortunes in the adventure of one battell, thereby to eſtabliſh himſelfe without further feare in his Kingdome, or elſe

The Welſhmen doe flocke unto him.

King Richards people revolt.

King Richard is deſperate.

elſe (by his death in the open field) to conclude the wofull tragedie of his wicked life.

John Duke of Norfolke.

And albeit that many practices were daily uſed to have withdrawne the Duke of Norfolke from King *Richards* ſervice, yet none of them prevailed. Wherefore to make him jealous and diffident of the caſe wherein he ſtood, the night before the two Armies joyned, this ryme was fixed upon his chamber doore:

Jack of Norfolke be not too bold,
For Dicken thy maſter is bought and ſold.

1485

Yet for all this he perſiſted loyall untill his dearh: and the next morrow, being the two and twentieth day of Auguſt, and in the third yeere of King *Richards* reigne, at Boſworth in Leiceſterſhire the two Armies met and encountred each other, and fought for the ſpace of two houres.

Boſworth field.

But when King *Richard* perceived that the ſmalleſt number of his ſouldiers contended to win the victory, and that the reſidue of them either cowardly left the field, or revolted to his enemy, or ſtood as neuters, intending to joyne with him who was beſt likely to overcome; deſpairing of his fortune, and knowing that death was readily prepared to attach him, hee left his owne Army, and daſhing his ſpurres into his horſes ſides, hee ruſhed furiouſly into the Earles battell, and with his ſword he deſperately made himſelfe a free paſſage, untill he was ſtrongly encountred by Sir *William Brandon*, who was Standard-bearer to the Earle: him hee ſlew valiantly. And then fingling out Sir *John Cheny*, a right hardy man in armes, by meere courage and fine ſtrength hee tumbled him to the ground, and came to the Earle of Richmond, with whom he fought with deſperate reſolution hand to hand, untill hee was by him ſlaine. And thus by his death this mortall quarrell ended, the Earle having loſt in this battell not above one hundred men, and King *Richard* about one thouſand; among which the Duke of Norfolke was the chiefe.

King Richard is valiant.

The Earle of Richmond ſlaieth King Richard.

When King *Richard* was thus ſlaine, his carrion carcaſſe being found ſtarke naked in the field, and being wounded and filthily polluted with dirt and goare bloud, was caſt upon a horſe backe behind a Purſuivant at Armes, to be carried to the Towne of Leiceſter, his head and his hands hanging downe on the one ſide, and his legs on the other ſide like a Calfe: and there it was interred with as baſe a funerall as was beſtowed upon his two Nephewes in the Tower.

His body rudely uſed.

Gods judgement on a wicked murtherer.

His Crowne being found among the ſpoiles and dead men in the field, was brought to the Earle of Richmond by his father in law the Lord *Stanley*, who (with the generall acclamations of the people, who ſhouted for joy, and cried King *Henry*, King *Henry*) crowned him therewith in the open field.

The Earle of Richmond is crowned in the field.

And then the Earle with all his Armie in the field gave hearty and humble thankes to Almighty God for this great victory: and (with promiſes of large rewards) the whole Armie was diſſolved, and the Earle and his Nobles departed to their reſt. Thus lived, and thus dyed King *Richard*, when he had reigned as a Tyrant two yeeres, two moneths, and one day.

Hee thanketh and praiſeth God.

THE

The most Mighty &c. and Prudent Prince
Henry the seaventh by the grace of god
King of England Fraunce and Ireland &c.

THE HISTORIE OF KING HENRIE THE SEVENTH.

AS after a sharpe Winter, men doe receive the sweet comforts of a pleasant Spring, and like as adversity is fully recompenced with more joyfull tidings when abundance of prosperity doth follow; so the hearts of all such as were sad and heavie by reason of the civill warres, were now cheered and made jocund by the 1485 I.

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the happy peace and concord which at this inſtant bleſſed all England in the ſucceſſion of King *Henry*, who being crowned King, according to his oath and promiſe, married the faire and vertuous Lady *Eliſabeth*, eldeſt daughter to King *Edward* the Fourth, joyning thereby in one the two great Families of Lancaſter and of Yorke, betwixt whom (for Principalitie and for the Crowne) infinite contentions and mortall warres had formerly conſumed and deſtroyed many thouſands of brave and valiant men.

The King marrieth the Lady Eliſabeth.

The King chuſeth a Guard.

Now that the ſtate of this Kingdome might bee confirmed in its happineſſe, by the ſafetie of the Kings perſon, and by other requiſites, King *Henrie* (taking his preſident and enſample from the Kings of France) ſelected a certaine number of warlike men in all places to attend upon him, whom he termed the Yeomen of his Crowne. He alſo rewarded with great bountie all ſuch as for his ſake had beene eminent in his ſervice; and created his Uncle *Jaſper* Earle of Pembroke, Duke of Bedford. His father in law, *Thomas* Lord *Stanley*, was made Earle of Darby. He alſo made his faithfull and firme friend and favourite, the Lord *Chandew* of Britain, Earle of Bath. Sir *Giles Dawbeney* was made Lord *Dawbeney*, Sir *Robert Willoughby* Lord *Brook*, and *Edward Stafford* the eldeſt ſon of *Humfrey* Duke of Buckingham (who in his quarrell loſt his head) was by him reſtored to his fathers dignitie and poſſeſſions.

Then he aſſembled his High Court of Parliament at Weſtminſter, in which he fruſtrated, cancelled, and made voide all former Acts which convicted him and his adherents as guiltie of High Treaſon. The Crown of this Kingdome was entailed to him and to the heires of his body. Hee alſo cauſed ſuch Lawes and ſuch Statutes to be made, as were behoovefull and beneficiall to this Common-weale. Hee pardoned all ſuch as (having conſpired or borne armes againſt him) ſubmiſſively by their oathes acknowledged and received him for their true and lawfull King.

The Crowne is intailed.

New Lawes. His Pardons.

Hee elected the moſt noble, grave, and wiſe men of this Kingdome, to bee of his Privie Counſell, by whoſe direction and advice the government of this Realme was eſtabliſhed in proſperitie and in peace. Hee bountifully recompenced the Duke of Britaine for all his former courteſies towards him, and alſo paid unto him all ſuch ſummes of mony as at any time he had diſburſed for his maintenance and reliefe. The like he did to the French King, and thereby redeemed his two Hoſtages, the Lord Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, and Sir *John Bourchier*, whom he left there.

His Counſellors.

The Duke of Britaine is recompenced. So is the French King.

1486

Thus whileſt King *Henry* was carefull, willing, and endevoured to pleaſe all men, and by his vertuous imployments laboured to ſettle things in peace, the malignant ſpirits of ſuch as tormented themſelves in his happineſſe, and placed their owne hope for preferment in rebellious attempts and ſeditious courſes, would not permit him to live at reſt, and quietly to performe the duties of a gracious King. For *Francis* Lord *Level*, *Humfrey Stafford*, and *Thomas* his brother, leaving the Sanctuary at Colcheſter, which for their ſafety they had taken, ſeduced and animated much people in the North againſt King *Henry*, and cauſed them (upon untrue ſurmiſes) raſhly and without advice or counſell to put themſelves in armes.

2.

A Rebellion.

The

The King (who was not farre away from them) being somewhat troubled with this newes, began to raise an Army to withstand them; and such was his strange and wonderfull celerity and expedition to prevent the increase of their further strength, that hastily hee sent against them his Uncle the Duke of Bedford with three thousand men, whose breast-plates were made of tanned leather, for want of other armour: and he himselfe travelled day and night to second his souldiers with a better strength. But when the Lord *Lovel* and his associates perceived that King *Henrie* resolved to make them fight before they were sufficiently prepared, and that fresh forces would give them a second onset, if at the first they should happen to be victorious, their courage failed, their hearts fainted, so that in the darkenesse of the night they fled, and left their unarmed Armie to the mercie of King *Henry*, the two *Staffords* taking Sanctuary in the Abby of Culnham, not far from Oxford, and the Lord *Lovel* being shrowded by Sir *Thomas Broughton* in the North.

The Kings celeritie in raising an Armie.

The next day the poore distressed Rebels (being destitute of their Leaders) humbly submitted themselves to the Kings mercy, and received his free pardon. But because no Sanctuary could protect malefactors in cases of High Treason, therefore the two *Staffords* were by violence seazed on, and the said *Humfrey* (being indicted, arraigned, found guilty, and condemned) was put to death: but his younger brother was preserved by the Kings favour, because it was conceived that his transgression was not hatched by his owne malice, but by the peacelesse instigation of his brother.

Humfrey Stafford is executed.

No sooner was this flame quenched, but a greater fire was presently kindled by a Priest, whose name was Sir *Richard Symond*, a man very lewd, but well learned, and in all his actions unjust, crafty, and too too cunning. He knowing that *Edward Plantagenet* Earle of Warwicke, and sonne and heire unto *George* Duke of Clarence, brother to King *Edward* the Fourth, being now of the age of seventeene yeeres, had from his infancie been kept as a Prisoner by the two last Kings in the Castle of Sherry-hutton in the County of Yorke, and that King *Henry* had secretly removed him to the Tower, got into his tutorship a young boy, pretty and witty, yet borne of a base parentage and stocke, whose name was *Lambert*. Him he instructed with as much variety of learning, Court-like complements, and Gentleman-like behaviour, as his yeeres would suffer him to comprehend; and then he informed him, that by his birth and linage he was not onely noble, but descended of the royall blood: that he was the onely sonne of the Duke of Clarence, and the first heire male of the house of York, and therefore inheritable to the Crown. This lesson, with the daily repetitions of his heroicall pedegree, he so inculcated into his young Scholar, that hee was as able and as ready to discourse thereof, as if by inspiration that knowledge had beene infused into him from above.

1487
3.
Richard Symond his conspiracie against King Henry.

Lambert the counterfeit Duke of York.

Thus when this subtill Priest had prepared his Pupill for his purpose, he transported him into Ireland, where he first vented and spred abroad this false and untrue novelty, among the wilder and more barbarous sort of that fickle and busie Nation, who (being too too credulous and flexible to any change) gave to the youth all honour and reverence, as unto their Soveraigne

The Irish were too credulous.

Soveraigne and Liege Lord. And within few daies after, divers of the Nobility of that Countrey were taken in the ſame net of folly, and beleeved as the Commons did; among whom the Lord Chancellor, Sir *Thomas Gerardine*, was the chiefe, who having had much familiar conference with the young counterfeit, and finding his amiable aſpect, the trime compoſure of his body, his Princely preſence, his pregnancie of wit, his ſufficient learning, his ingenuous capacity, his quicke ſpirit, his diſcreet ſpeech, and ſeemely complements, to bee anſwerable and fitting to a Prince, not onely cenſured him to be the true and the undoubted ſonne and heire of the Duke of Clarence, and pitied his eſtate, but (endeavouring to doe him good) diſburſed unto him for the enlargement of his expenſes, traine, and honour, divers and ſundry great ſummes of money, and perſwaded many other great Lords of Ireland to doe the like. Hee alſo with great ſpeed and ſecrecie informed the Lady *Margaret*, ſiſter to King *Edward* the Fourth, and Dutcheſſe Dowager unto *Charles* the deceaſed Duke of Burgoine, and the ſuppoſed Aunt of this counterfeit, of his being there. And albiet that ſhee was well aſſured that this newes was falſe, yet becauſe (being of the houſe of Yorke) ſhe mortally hated and envied King *Henry*, who was the head and the chiefe of the Familie of Lancaſter, ſhee not only gladded her heart to heare thereof, but alſo pleaſed her conceits with infinite delectation, that now an opportunity was preſented to her to execute her fury upon King *Henry*, and that ſhe might by this plot (if it ſucceeded well) enlarge her true Nephew the young Earle of Warwick, and make him King. Firſt of all therefore ſhe cauſed the falſe report of this young counterfeit to be noiſed thorowout England, that thereby ſhe might unſettle the minds of ſuch as were credulous, and might be inclined to take his part. She alſo publiſhed, that the Iriſh Nobility and Nation had not only received him for their Lord and Soveraigne, and would take his part, but alſo that ſhee her ſelfe would ſtrengthen his attempts with money, men, and armes, to the uttermoſt of her power.

The malice of Margaret Dutcheſſe Dowager of Burgoine to King Henry.

Theſe vaine and fabulous reports carried unto her into Flanders *Francis* Lord *Lovel*, and her Nephew the Earle of Lincolne, ſonne and heire to *John de la Poole* Duke of Suffolk, and of *Eliſabeth*, one other of the ſiſters of King *Edward* the Fourth, Sir *Thomas Broughton*, and ſome others: and after many ſpeeches and much conference touching thoſe affaires and buſineſſes, the Dutcheſſe cauſed to be levied in her Country about two thouſand men, which were conducted by *Martin Sward* an approved Captaine of great reſolution and much skill. All theſe (with quicke expedition) ſailed into Ireland, and joyned with Sir *Thomas Gerardine* the Chancellor, who was in a readineſſe with more than two thouſand men of his owne Nation: and they all determined to tranſport themſelves into England with all ſpeed.

The Traitors land in England.

We may not imagine that King *Henry* (who was valiant, provident, and wiſe) was ſecure, careleſſe, or negligent in theſe affaires and weighty buſineſſes. For (to the end that certainly it might be knowne that *Lambert* was but a counterfeit) he cauſed *Edward* the young Earle of Warwicke to be publikely brought thorow the ſtreets of London from the Tower unto *Pauls* Church, where infinite numbers of the Nobility, Gentry,

Gentry and Commons of this Kingdome had the ſight and view of him, and many of them ſpent ſome time in conferring with him. He alſo made great preparations to repell and to ſubdue all ſuch as (in *Lamberts* aide) ſhould either attempt any civill warre, or invade his land. And thus (when hee had ordered all things well) theſe forraine powers arrived neere unto Lincolne, where they expected more ſuccour than they found, or were in any poſſibility to have. But when the King was informed that they were come, he marched towards them with a conſtant reſolution to trie the utmoſt of his fortune in the field, inſomuch that it was now too late for thoſe invaders to ſtep backe: for urgent neceſſitie did require, that either they muſt flie, fight, or yeeld. But the truth is, though they were not ſtrong, yet they were no cowards. The Iriſh people were ſtrangely active, and paſſing valiant, but they wanted Armes: and their brave reſolution ſo animated their courage, that with haughty ſtomacks and Lions hearts they joyned in battell with the King. But within leſſe ſpace than one houre, the unprovided and unfurniſhed Iriſh with their Captaines, the Earle of Lincolne, *Francis* Lord *Lovel*, Sir *Thomas Gerardine*, *Martin Sward*, and Sir *Thomas Broughton*, were all ſlaine, and the reſt ſubmitted themſelves to the King, who pardoned their offence, and committed the Prieſt, Sir *Richmond Symond*, unto perpetuall impriſonment: & his counterfeited Pupill (being firſt abaſed in the Skullery) was within few yeeres after chiefe Faulconer to the King. Then was the Kings wife with all honour and Princely ſolemnities crowned Queen, and *Thomas Bourchier* Archbiſhop of Canterbury died, and was ſucceeded by *John Morton* Biſhop of Elie, who was alſo made Lord Chancellor of this Kingdome: and not long after he was dignified with the Hat and habit of a Cardinall by Pope *Alexander* the Sixth.

The King prepareth againſt Lambert.

The battell of Stoke.

Lambert is overthrowne.

Lambert is made a Skullian, and then the Kings Faulconer.

The Queene is crowned.

Doctor Morton made Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Lord Chancellor, and a Cardinall.

Now though King *Henry* (through the benefit of a generall peace at home) was made fortunate and happy, yet forraine jarres among his neighbours provoked him to new imployments, upon this occaſion.

Charles the French King having warred ſucceſſefully againſt *Maximilian* King of the Romans, complained that hee was much wronged by *Lewis* Duke of Orleance, who had married the Lady *Jane* his ſiſter, and was his next heire apparent to the French Crowne, for that hee with ſome others tooke part againſt him with his enemie. But in the end when King *Charles* had affied himſelfe to the Lady *Margaret*, daughter to *Maximilian*, and had concluded a peace betweene themſelves, the ſaid Duke of Orleance and his complices fled into Britaine to Duke *Francis*, who gave them courteous entertainment, and kindly ſupplied all their wants.

The French King quarrelleth with the Duke of Britaine.

The French King (apprehending this as a fit occaſion offered to him to quarrell with the Duke of Britaine, becauſe he longed to poſſeſſe his Countrey) without any parley or conference touching that matter, proclaimed warres againſt him. And before it was notified that he had raiſed an Armie, he entred into Britaine, and planted a ſtrong ſiege before the ſtrong and faire City of Nantz. And by his Ambaſſadours hee importuned King *Henry* either to take his part, or (as a neuter) to give aime unto them both. But King *Henry* being at the firſt doubtfull what courſe to take, becauſe he had received much comfort and many courteſies from them

1488

King Henry mediateth a peace.

them both, reſolved at the laſt to requite ſome part of both their loves, by mediating of a friendly peace, which (with his utmoſt endevors) he laboured to effect.

The French King (who was both witty and crafty) made an outward ſhew as if he ſeemed heartily to deſire it, and was thankfull for it, although in truth and in deed he intended nothing leſſe. But the Duke of Britaine (following the directions of his French gueſts) refuſed plainely to conſent unto that motion. And within few daies after, *Edward* Lord *Woodvile*, Captaine of the Ile of Wight, and Uncle to the Queene, without the Kings knowledge or licence, being accompanied with foure hundred of his moſt expert and skilfull ſouldiers, ſailed into Britaine for the Dukes aide. And ſoone after his arrivall, and neere unto Fongiers, a battell was appointed to be fought between King *Charles* and the Britons. And (the more to have terrified the French) ſeventeene hundred Britons, being clad in coates with red croſſes, as if they had beene Engliſhmen, were joyned to the Lord *Woodviles* companies, and were ſubjected to his command. But the contrary was to the Frenchmen too well knowne. Then (at the appointed time and place) the two Armies met together, and fought fiercely for a ſeaſon. But in the end the poore Britons, being found counterfeits as they were, and their whole Army being unable to reſiſt ſo great a puiſſance as encountred them, were ſlaine, together with the Lord *Woodvile*, and the greater number of his aſſociates, and the victorie fell to the French part.

Some Engliſh doe aide the Duke.

The Britones are overthrowne. The Lord Woodvile is ſlaine.

Within few daies after, in England it was concluded by parliament, that albeit King *Henry* had lovingly beene aided by the French King for the recovery of his Crowne, yet in regard that the Duke of Britaine for many yeeres together had in all friendly, gentle, and liberall ſort, entertained, protected, and maintained him when hee was unable to relieve himſelfe, and likewiſe becauſe it was conſidered, that if King *Charles* ſhould win and annex that Dutchy to the Crowne of France, himſelfe and his poſterity might and were likely to prove bad neighbours to this Kingdome, King *Henry* ſhould take part with the Duke of Britaine.

King Henry aideth the Britons againſt the French King.

This buſineſſe being ſo determined, the King ſent into that Province an Armie which conſiſted of eight thouſand men, under the conduct of the Lord *Brook*. And for the maintenance of thoſe warres, a Taxe (by the ſame Parliament) of the tenth penny of the value of all the moveable goods and chattels of the Subjects was granted to the King.

An armie is ſent into Britaine.

No ſooner was the Engliſh Army arrived in Britaine, but the Duke (who had beene long ſickly) died: and therefore (upon a compoſition made betwixt his Nobles and King *Charles*) he was affied to the Ladie *Anne*, the ſole daughter and heire to the deceaſed Duke, who was formerly betrothed to *Maximilian* King of the Romans, and ſo was the ſaid French King likewiſe aſſured to the Ladie *Margaret* daughter to *Maximilian*. And thus the Britiſh warres were at an end: and the Engliſhmen having onely ſeene that Countrey, and done nothing, returned ſafely into England.

A Taxe which occaſioneth a Rebellion.

1449 5. A Rebellion.

Now muſt we underſtand, that the Ruſtickes and rurall Swads of the Countie of Yorke, and of the Biſhopricke of Durham, not onely refuſed peremptorily to pay any part of the Taxe which was granted to King

Henrie

Henry for the maintenance of the Britiſh wars, but alſo that in a moſt rebellious faſhion they boldly ruſhed upon and cruelly murdered *Henry* the fourth Earle of Northumberland, who by the King was appointed to cauſe the extracts of that Subſidie to be levied by diſtreſſe upon the goods of all ſuch as he found ſlacke or obſtinate in thoſe payments: which when they had done, truſting to their owne ſtrength and numbers, they began a civill warre, ſo that as they paſſed thorow thoſe Countries, they forcibly compelled Gentlemen and others to take their parts. The Earle of Northumberland is murdered.

The King (to repreſſe and punish the Ring-leaders of this tumultuous inſurrection) ſent againſt them a ſtrong and a well provided Armie, under the eſpeciall command of *Thomas* Earle of Surrey, who having been taken priſoner as he fought for King *Richard* at Boſworth field, was now enlarged, and delivered out of priſon, and received into the Kings favour: and the King himſelfe in his owne perſon followed after him. But the fooliſh Rebels (as men amazed, witleſſe, and wanting counſell to direct their actions, and cowardly diſtrusting their owne power and abilitie to reſiſt) threw off their armour, ſhifted hardly to ſave themſelves, and fled every man to his owne home. But the King (who reſolved by ſevere executions to terrifie ſuch others as otherwiſe were likely to contemne him, and to deſpiſe his government) by exquiſite and ſharpe enquiries, found out and apprehended the cheifeſt authors of this miſchiefe, who (in ſundry places of this Realme) were puniſhed by death. But the multitude and the baſer ſort obtained the Kings gracious favour. The Rebels flie. They are puniſhed.

The Britiſh Nobles calling to minde that their young Dutcheſſe was eſpouſed firſt unto *Maximilian* King of the Romans, and ſecondly to *Charles* the French King, and perceiving (upon more ſound conſideration) that the French King would alwaies beare a heavie hand over them, if indeed hee were once married to her, began to revolt from their promiſe, and to reſiſt his intention and deſire by ſtrength of armes. 1490. 6.

But the Frenchmen (according to their cuſtome) being more victorious by their prodigall gifts than by their true valour, corrupted the Britiſh Nobility, and ſuch Matrons as daily attended upon their young Dutcheſſe, in ſuch ſort, that King *Charles* got her into his poſſeſſion. And then he publiſhed, that his owne former contract with the Lady *Margaret*, daughter to *Maximilian* King of the Romans, and alſo that the other contract made by the ſaid *Maximilian* with the ſaid Dutcheſſe of Britaine, were nullities, voide, and fruſtrate in the Law, for that the ſaid two Ladies (at the times of thoſe affiances made) were too young, and wanted good diſcretion to make their choice. And thereupon King *Charles* returned the ſaid Lady *Margaret* to her father, and was forthwith married to the ſaid Dutcheſſe: and by this meanes he joyned that Province to the Crowne of France.

The King of the Romans (ſcorning and diſdaining thus to be diſgraced, and that his daughter ſhould ſo unkindly bee ſent home) ſeemed eager, and reſolved to revenge thoſe injuries and wrongs: and finding his owne ſtrength to bee too weake for ſo great an enterpriſe, ſolicited King *Henry* (by his Ambaſſadours) to aſſiſt him in thoſe warres. Whereupon King *Henry* (partly in regard of the love which he bare to the ſaid King The King of the Romans craveth aide, and obtaineth it of K. Henry.

Maximilian, and partly becauſe he ſaw that the French King was not only become Lord of Britaine, but attempted likewiſe to bring the Low Countries under his ſubjection) concluded ſo to doe, by the generall aſſent of his Nobilitie and Commons in full Parliament at Weſtminſter aſſembled. And becauſe the poorer and the inferiour ſort ſhould not be grieved with any Taxe to ſupport thoſe wars, the King ſolicited his Nobles, Gentry, and rich men onely, by way of a benevolence to enlarge their bounty towards that charge, as formerly (in the like caſe) they had done to his Predeceſſor King *Edward* the Fourth. By this motion and device he gathered much money, but loſt more love: for many men gave ſomewhat with their hands, whoſe hearts were unwilling, and repined to depart with ſuch gifts.

The King (for the expediting of this waightie buſineſſe) cauſed a gallant Fleet of warlike ſhips to be apparrelled, and furniſhed them with all things needfull for the tranſporting of his Armie which he had raiſed, and committed them to the generall command of his Uncle *Jaſper* Duke of Bedford, and of *John* Earle of Oxford.

1491 7. Maximilian is unable to performe his promiſe.

But when all things were prepared, and the Armie ready to be imbarked, the King (by his owne Ambaſſadours which were in Flanders) was informed, that *Maximilian* was altogether unprovided of armour, men, money, munition, victuals, and of other things requiſite for the warre, and that King *Henry* might not depend to bee aided by him with one man.

This newes vexed and perplexed him at the heart: for wiſely he conſidered, that if ſuddenly he ſhould deſiſt from his enterpriſe, and diſmiſſe his Armie, then theſe inconveniences would enſue.

Firſt, his enemies (being elated thereby) would deride, mocke, and ſcorne him, and perhaps endevour to brand him with the infamous title of a coward.

And ſecondly, becauſe his owne people might thereby imagine and ſuppoſe, that by a cunning ſhift, and by a craftie tricke (under a fained pretence to make warre, which by him was not intended) he had picked their coine out of their purſes to enrich himſelfe.

King Henry ſaileth with an Armie into France.

Theſe cogitations perſwaded him to take ſound advice of his Nobles in this buſineſſe, and to purge himſelfe; which in ſuch a faſhion, and with ſuch a martiall reſolution he did, that in the end (according to his owne hearts deſire) it was concluded by a Parliament, That he alone, with his owne Nation, ſhould warre upon the French King, to revenge many diſgracefull wrongs which of latter times he had offered to King *Henry*.

When this newes was divulged, and publikely known, and the valorous determination of the King by certaine demonſtrations notified to his people, they not onely applauded his courage, and rejoyced in it, but (by the ready and voluntarie proffers of their beſt ſervice) they much increaſed his Armie, with which King *Henry* himſelfe landed ſafely at his Towne of Callice. And (to ſet his Armie in an order anſwerable to his minde) hee marſhalled his whole numbers into foure battels, and marched from thence untill hee came before Bullen, which hee girded about with a ſtrong ſiege, and daily battered and aſſaulted it without ceaſing.

King Henry beſiegeth Bullen.

We

We muſt now know, that the French King, though he were the abſolute Lord of the Dutchie of Britaine by his late marriage, yet the Nobles and the Commons of that Province diſliked and grudged at many things which he attempted (againſt their wills) to innovate among them, becauſe they tended much to their diſhonour, detriment, and wrong, inſomuch that King *Charles* feared leſt they (joyning with King *Henry*) might ſhake off his yoake, and ſet up another Duke. Wherefore by his Ambaſſadors hee propoſed to King *Henry* certaine Articles of peace, which were both honourable and alſo profitable unto him. King Charles deſireth peace.

This unexpected newes croſſed the humours of moſt men in the Engliſh Armie, whoſe hopes were confident that the French warres would make them rich. But when King *Henry* had thorowly conſidered that the right to the Dutchie of Britaine was ſo inſeparably united and knit by the ſaid marriage to the Crown of France, and that no poſſibility appeared to divide them, and that in regard that he alone had undertaken thoſe warres chiefly for the preſervation of his name and honour, hee ſhould immortalize his fame, if upon kinde intreaties, and termes of credit and of gaine, he ſhould returne, he not only hearkened attentively to that motion, but within few daies after hee concluded a peace with the French King, to continue during both their joynt lives, and received (to defray his charge) ſeven hundred forty and five thouſand Ducats, which in our ſterling mony amounteth to the ſum of one hundred foureſcore and ſixe thouſand and two hundred pounds, or thereabout, beſides an yeerely penſion of five and twenty thouſand Crownes, which were alwaies duely paid ſo long as King *Henry* lived. Thus the King (having concluded all things for his honour and profit, and to his owne good liking and contentment) raiſed his ſiege, returned to Callice, and ſafely from thence into England. An honourable peace concluded.

About the time in which King *Henry* aſſumed to take part with *Maximilian* againſt the French King, the Lady *Margaret*, Dutcheſſe of Burgoine, his ancient enemy, as we have heard, never ceaſing to contrive hurtfull and malicious practices againſt King *Henry*, not for any wrong or injurie which ever he had done her, but onely becauſe he was the higheſt of the houſe of Lancaſter, which was oppoſite to her linage; had gotten into her poſſeſſion a young Dutch boy, who was very comely, learned, and wittie, but deſcended from baſe and unworthy parentage. His true name was *Peter Warbecke*, but hee was nicke-named in ſcorne by the Engliſh, who called him *Perkin*, which in the Dutch Tongue ſignifieth weakneſſe, or ſuch a one as is unable, impotent, or infirme. A new practice by the Dutcheſſe Dowager of Britaine againſt King Henry. Perkin Warbeck.

This youngling did perfectly ſpeake the Engliſh tongue, and was by this Lady received into great favour, and not onely inſtructed by her proviſion in literature and good maners, but hee was alſo diligently and carefully trained up in the imitation of all Princely entertainment, complements, and behaviour, ſo that all ſuch as beheld him and his Heroicall qualities, pronounced their ſentence, That hee was deſcended of a Noble Familie, and that ſome extraordinary Fortune was at hand, and attended to make him more happy than a thouſand others.

Thus when this Lady had procured her counterfeited Idoll to bee adored and wondered at, by reaſon of his majeſticall carriage and behaviour, ſhe informed him, that under the name of *Richard* Duke of York, ſecond ſon to King *Edward* the Fourth her brother, ſhee intended to advance him to the Crowne of England, and to make him King; which that ſhe might with the more eaſe and facility effect, ſhee ſecretly and ſo ſubſtantially taught him in the whole pedigrees of the Houſes of Lancaſter and Yorke, that within few daies no Engliſhman was more expert and cunning therein than he.

Perkin is aided by the Iriſhmen.

When ſhee had thus furniſhed him according to her will, ſhe cauſed him to bee tranſported into Ireland, where hee made himſelfe knowne among thoſe Nobles to be by his birth a great Prince; and therein ſo artificially demeaned himſelfe, that by the whole Nation of the Iriſh hee was received, reverenced, and maintained as their Soveraigne and rightfull Lord.

The French King ſendeth for Perkin Warbeck.

About the ſame time the French King (who daily expected the landing of an Engliſh Armie within his Dutchie of Britaine, or in ſome other place ſubject to his dominion, as formerly wee have heard) intended to diſturbe the intention and purpoſe of King *Henry*, by ſetting up of another King in this Realme; for which purpoſe hee ſent for *Perkin Warbeck* into France, and promiſed with all kinde of friendly entertainment to receive, helpe, relieve and ſuccour him, untill he had inveſted him into his right and Kingdome.

No ſooner was this mock-prince come to the French Court, but ſuch was the generall applauſe of the Frenchmen, and ſo extraordinarie was their madneſſe and braine-ſicke joy, that the poore Swad could in no wiſe chuſe but imagine ſtrongly that hee was borne to be a King. But in the middeſt of his flattering, vaine, and fooliſh hopes, the aforeſaid peace betwixt the two Kings of England and of France was concluded, and this young Novice (fearing leſt he ſhould bee delivered to King *Henry*) ran ſecretly away, and came to his Titulary Aunt the Dutcheſſe of Burgoine, who received him with great joy and much honour, giving unto him princely entertainment, filling his purſe with gold, clothing his body with coſtly and with rich apparrell, and appointing thirty Gentlemen of worth and quality (as his Guard) to give their daily attendance upon his fantaſticall perſon.

Perkin flieth out of France.

The Dutcheſſe honoureth and maintaineth him.

Her practice for aſſiſtance in England.

Then ſhe cauſed it newly to be publiſhed in England, that her Nephew *Richard* Duke of Yorke was yet alive, and lived in her Court, and that he (according to his right and title to the Crowne of England, as being the heire male of the Houſe of Yorke) expected the aſſiſtance of all his true and loving ſubjects towards his attaining thereof.

Perkin is favoured in England.

No ſooner did this newes wax common among the Vulgar, but it was generally beleeved by them, and alſo by divers others of better ranke and faſhion, inſomuch that many for malice onely, and for grudge which they conceived againſt the Houſe of Lancaſter, others becauſe they deemed themſelves not to be ſufficiently rewarded for their adventures in King *Henries* wars againſt King *Richard*, others becauſe they were ambitious, and ſaw none other meanes to raiſe their fortunes, others becauſe their fancies were eaſily deluded by novelties and deviſed newes, and

others

others becauſe they delighted to fiſh in troubled waters, determined to take his part. And upon that reſolution the Conſpirators (by ſecret combination) ſent Sir *Robert Clifford*, a man of much valour, wiſdome, and great diſcretion, into Flanders, to enquire and to ſearch out the truth of the conception, birth, and parentage of this new found Duke.

This Knight, after his arrivall, and when he had conferred againe and againe with the buſie-headed Dutcheſſe of Burgoine touching this buſineſſe, and with an obſerving eie had beheld the young counterfeit, and had communed oftentimes with him, perſwaded himſelfe that he was the very true, naturall and youngeſt ſonne of King *Edward* the Fourth, and ſo he certified his friends in England by his letters, and by meanes thereof, every day freſh reports gat greater ſtrength and credit among ſuch as were willing to be partakers in his fortunes. Wherefore as a ſharpe fever ſuffereth not the Patient to take any reſt, ſo this fantaſticall dreame and vaine imagination troubled King *Henry* above meaſure: and wiſedome made him provident to prepare for future ſtormes, ſo that he ſtrongly guarded and fortified all places which bordered upon the Sea, and by his letters he informed the Burgundians and Flemings of the vanity and falſity of this deviſed foolery, and of this fained King, uſing his beſt meanes both to prevent all civill wars, and alſo to withſtand all invaſions which might be attempted againſt his Crowne and Kingdome.

King Henries preparations againſt Perkins invaſions.

And to make himſelfe more ſtrong, hee ſelected and appointed divers men of wiſedome and of worth, ſecretly to flie out of England into Flanders to the Dutcheſſe, and to this fained Duke, that by their meanes and endeavours he might have true intelligence of ſuch as (being of name and qualitie) conſpired to joyne with this ignoble counterfeit; upon whoſe information, and after legall trials, the chiefeſt actors in that buſineſſe (as Traitors) were put to death. 1493. *A wittie policie.*

King *Henry* alſo recounting how that by the late breach of promiſe *Maximilian* the King of the Romans failed to aſſiſt him in his wars againſt *Charles* the French King, and finding that his ſonne *Philip*, Arch-Duke of Auſtria, and Duke of Burgoine, ſecretly favoured the attemps of the Lady *Margaret* concerning *Perkin Warbeckes* conſpiracy, removed his Mart of Engliſh merchandizing from Flanders to his owne Towne of Callice, and alſo he prohibited all men whatſoever to bring any Flemiſh commodities or wares into this Kingdome. This reſtraint notwithſtanding, the bribing Eaſterlings were under hand permitted to bring into England what they would. And likewiſe King *Maximilian* and his ſon by ſtrong Edicts forbad and publiſhed the confiſcation of all Engliſh commodities, as leather, tallow, wooles, lead, tinne, and ſuch like, if they were brought into thoſe Countries.

The Engliſh Mart is removed from Flanders to Callice.

A reſtraint of wares and merchandizes.

This reſtraining of the Kings owne Subjects, and that libertie which was allowed to thoſe ſtrangers, vexed and grieved the Engliſh Merchants at the heart, and ſo it did many others: for by meanes thereof a great part of their trade (which in former times ſupported their charge, and maintained their houſes and families) was taken from them. And thereby they were alſo diſabled to entertaine ſuch and ſo many Journey-men, covenant ſervants, and apprentices as they had formerly done. Neither could or would they give to ſuch as they had, ſuch large and liberall

An aſſault on the Flemings in London.

wages, penſions, and rewards, as was expected by them for their paines and ſervice.

Theſe extremities occaſioned multitudes of Apprentices and of Journey-men (without the procurement or allowance of their Maſters) to run with great violence and furie to the Stilliard in London, where they brake up and robbed many Ware-houſes and Shops, and rifled whatſoever did come athwart their hands. And beſides all this, they offered much violence (in a ſtrange manner) to the Eaſterlings, being the owners of thoſe commodities and wares, untill the comming thither of the Lord Maior with a band of armed men both terrified them, and alſo made them flie. Of theſe malefactors ſome were taken and impriſoned in the Tower, and (due examination being taken of them, and of their offence) the principall Ring-leaders among them (being in number about foure-ſcore) were continued priſoners for many weekes. But in the end they all were freed, and received the Kings pardon.

1494 10. About the ſame time the before-named Sir *Robert Clifford* (upon his repentant motion, and by the mediation of his friends at home) procured leave for his returne, and pardon for his offence; ſo that when notice was given of his landing, the King appointed him to meet him at the Tower, that there before him and his Nobility he might diſcover plainly and at large the whole practice, device and purpoſe of the Lady *Margaret*, and of her baſe nephew *Perkin Warbeck*, and of all other the Conſpirators in that buſineſſe. And this place of meeting (above all others) the King in policie appointed, becauſe if any of his Lords or great ones were by the ſaid Sir *Robert Clifford* accuſed as being guilty of that offence, they might (without blowes or civill wars) be apprehended and committed in the ſame place.

Sir Robert Clifford forſaketh Perkin Warbeck.

The Knight (at his firſt appearance in the Kings preſence) humbly kneeled downe, confeſſed his tranſgreſſion, expreſſed many true ſignes of hearty and unfained repentance, and received the Kings favour.

Among the great men attending on the King, hee onely accuſed Sir *William Stanley*; whereat the King much marvelled, becauſe he not only entirely loved him, but alſo had by his bounteous liberality increaſed his poſſeſſions, made him honourable, and Lord Chamberlaine to his owne perſon.

Sir William Stanley is accuſed by Sir Robert Clifford.

This fault was ſo plainely and ſo particularly diſcovered before the King, that the accuſed Gentleman (not being able to excuſe himſelfe) was forthwith committed to priſon, and within few daies after, being by the due courſe of Law condemned (for examples ſake unto others) hee loſt his head.

Sir William Stanley is beheaded.

Yet for all this, ſo deſirous were many of novelties, others of ſpoiles, ſome of revenge, and others of civill wars, that they began to ſpeake contumeliouſly, deſpightfully, and too too lewdly againſt the King. But for this maladie he quickly provided a double remedie: Firſt, by making of himſelf ſtrong with ſuch forces as he had levied, and ſecondly by taking of a ſtraight account, and by ſevere puniſhing of ſome of thoſe, whoſe tongues (as Raſors) had deepely wounded his honour and his good name. And by their enſamples he reduced the reſt to more conformity, and compelled them to obey.

Hee

Hee alſo ſent an Armie into Ireland, under the command of Sir *Edward Poynings*, to correct and puniſh with great ſeverity ſuch of the Iriſh Nation, as two yeeres before had given aide and aſſiſtance to *Perkin Warbecke*. But the offenders being for the moſt part wilde, rude, barbarous, and ſalvage people, delighting in war, and being never better contented, than when they were tumultuous, and in horrid actions, aſſembled themſelves, in great multitudes and (according to their uſe and faſhion) they ran into the woods, mountaines, and bogges; whom the Knight was the more unable to purſue, becauſe the Nobility of that Iland (who promiſed to ſend him much aide) performed nothing: which careleſneſſe he imputed to *Gerald* Earle of Kyldare, who as he was a man by his birth, poſſeſſions, and friends, moſt powerfull among the Iriſh, ſo was he chiefe Deputy of that Countrey to the King. Him (upon the falſe and ſlanderous accuſations of his malignant enemies) the Knight apprehended as a Traitor, and brought him into England. But (before the King) his fidelitie and his innocencie freely delivered him from further trouble and danger: ſo that being graced, thanked, and rewarded for his true and honourable ſervice, he was not onely enlarged, but obtained the continuance of his Deputation as before.

1495 11. An armie is tranſported into Ireland.

In this meane time *Perkin Warbeck* (being by the Lady *Margaret* furniſhed with a Fleet of ſhips, and being accompained with Rogues, Vagabonds, Slaves, Theeves, Robbers, Murderers, Banke-rupts, ſeditious Varlets, and with the off-ſcum of many Nations) came upon the Kentiſh Coaſt, where they caſt Anchors, and landed ſome of thoſe Vaſſals, who endevoured to informe themſelves whether the people determined to follow poore *Perkin Warbeck* or no. The anſwer made by the multitude (who began to riſe in armes) gave good contentment: for outwardly they firmely promiſed (untill death) to ſupport and to maintaine him and his quarrell againſt the King. But when (by faire words and ſoothing ſpeeches) they had trained thoſe Raſcals up into the land, they fiercely ſet upon them, ſlew many, and tooke one hundred and threeſcore priſoners, whom they delivered into the cuſtodie of Sir *John Peachy* high Sheriffe of that Province; who railed them in ropes (like unto horſes drawing carts) and conveied them in that faſhion to the Citie of London, where they received their trials, and were executed in ſundry places of this Realme. And the counterfeited Duke of Yorke (expecting better fortune at another time) returned into Flanders to his penſive and carefull Aunt; where (becauſe he ſupported that delaies would prove dangerous, and that much lingring would be unprofitable for him) he ſpeedily collected ſuch numbers of baſe and unworthy Peſants, as by neceſſitie were compelled to enter into his ſervice: which being done, hee embarked them, hoiſed his Anchors, and ſailed into Ireland, purpoſing with thoſe wilde and ſavage men to augment his numbers, and then to land in the Weſtern parts of this Kingdome.

Perkin Warbeck landeth ſome of his men in Kent.

His men are ſlaine and executed.

He returneth into Flanders.

He landeth in Ireland.

But when experience aſſured him that hee might have men enow, but little armes, he then reſolved, not to make warre by the helpe of ſuch as were naked: wherefore he left them, and came into Scotland, and preſented both himſelfe and his cauſe to *James* the Fourth, who at that time was very young, and ſwayed the Scepter of that Kingdome.

He commeth into Scotland.

The

The Scots invade England, under a colour to aide Perkin Warbecke.

The Scots, although they knew that *Perkin* was a counterfeit, yet they rejoyced that opportunity had offered them that occaſion to invade England; not to make a conqueſt thereof, nor to helpe *Warbeck*, but only by valuable booties and large ſpoiles to enrich themſelves. Whereupon the young King, being accompanied with his fooliſh gueſt, and many thouſands of luſtie and tall men, marched forth, and entred into Northumberland, where they exerciſed all kinde of rigour, violence, and wrong, burning, robbing, rifling, ſtealing, and ſpoiling in all places, and deſtroying with the ſword both young and old, ſtrong and feeble, healthy and infirme, rich and poore, with ſuch barbarous inhumanity, and ſtrange cruelty, as never was committed before by that Nation. And as ſoone as they had almoſt deſolated all that Province, finding no helpe nor ſuccour from the Engliſh to aſſiſt their new King, they returned into Scotland, and neglected to give unto him any more aide.

Their cruelty.

1496

12.

A puiſſant Armie is levied to goe in Scotland.

King *Henry* underſtanding what rapine, ſpoile, and violence was done by the Scots unto his people, and being ſicke untill he had requited thoſe wrongs with ſevere and ſharpe revenge, ſummoned his High Court of Parliament; in which it was concluded, that forthwith an Armie ſhould be ſent againſt thoſe enemies, leſt perhaps long forbearance might encourage them at another time to doe the like miſchiefe. And for the maintenance of thoſe wars a ſmall Taxe of Subſidie was granted to the King, which occaſioned him much trouble. The King (who uſed great expedition in this buſineſſe) raiſed a puiſſant Armie, which he committed to the charge and government of his Chamberlaine *Giles* Lord *Dawbeney*, who was a wiſe and a valiant man. But no ſooner was this Armie on foot marching towards the North, but ſuddenly it was recalled to withſtand as great a miſchiefe, which otherwiſe might give a deadly blow to the ſtate of this Kingdome and Common-weale. For the Corniſhmen (who were ſtrong, ſtout, and couragious, yet poore, and oppreſſed with many wants) not onely refuſed to pay the ſaid Subſidie and Taxe, but in a braine-ſicke and ſullen humour they accuſed *John Morton* Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Sir *Reinold Bray*, (who were two of the graveſt, wiſeſt, and moſt honeſt Counſellors above others to the King) that they (as enemies to their Countrey) oppreſſed the inferiour ſort, and were prollers, pillers and pollers for their private commoditie and gaine: And that they ſeduced the King by lewd advice and bad directions, and were the Authors of much evill: And that therefore they would take it on themſelves, not onely to remove them from the King, but alſo to correct and puniſh them as evill doers, and as foes and enemies to their Native Country and Common-weale. And pleaſing their unadviſed paſſions with this fantaſticall and untruly grounded reſolution, they (by the provokement and incitation of *Michael Joſeph* a ſturdie Blacke-ſmith, and of *Thomas Flamocke*, a man learned in the Law, yet factious, and of a tumultuous diſpoſition) put themſelves in Armes, and determined to effect their purpoſe, though with violence, yea in the preſence of the King. Wherefore having augmented their numbers, and hoping that as they marched a long journey, ſo their forces would daily be increaſed; and nothing doubting but that (according to the common voice and fame) the Kentiſhmen would be partakers with

A Taxe which occaſioned a rebellion.

The Corniſhmen rebell.

with them in their Rebellion, they preſſed and paſſed forth towards London, and in their journey were much comforted by *James Twichet* Lord *Audley*, who (with many others being his adherents) joyned with thoſe Rebels, and gained from them the chiefeſt authority to command.

They march towards London.

The Lord Audley is their chiefe.

In this meane while the King perceiving their intentions, and having recalled his Armie which was travelling towards the North, handled this buſineſſe with ſuch policie, that hee would not ſuffer one man to move one foote towards the Weſt, for theſe eſpeciall reaſons. Firſt, becauſe that on better termes he ſhould encounter with them when they had waſted their beſt ſtrength, and tired out themſelves with a wearieſome and with a tedious journey. And ſecondly, becauſe thoſe Rebels (being ſo farre off from home) ſhould be altogether deſtitute of kinsfolks and of friends to relieve them, and of convenient places of Retrait, if neceſſity ſhould compell them thereunto.

The Kentiſhmen are againſt them.

The Corniſhmen after much labour and paine, comming into Kent, not onely failed of their expected aide, but alſo found the Kentiſhmen armed, reſolved to withſtand their force, and by their beſt endevours to ſubdue them. Yet were not the audacious & bold Corniſhmen affrighted with this checke, but retired ſtrongly to Blacke-heath, not many miles from London, intending there to abide the utmoſt of their fortune, and either like men to be victorious, or at a deare price to ſell their lives.

Black-heath field.

The King with his Armie drawing neere towards them, divided it into three parts. Two of them hee placed upon the ſides of the Rebels, and thoſe were commanded and directed by *John* Earle of Oxford, *Henry Bourchier* Earle of Eſſex, *Edmund de la Poole* Earle of Suffolke, Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, Sir *Humfrey Stanley*, and divers others. The King himſelfe led the third, and bravely charged the Rebels in the face, and the reſidue did the like on either ſide: and though the poore ſturdie and ſtout Corniſhmen, were oppreſſed with multitudes on every part, yet they fainted not, but fought like men for a long time, ſtill preſſing forth and making no ſtay, but as they were compelled by the ſword. The Lord *Dawbeny* was at length taken priſoner by them, but they enlarged him incontinently of their owne accord, thinking by his meanes to find ſome mercie. This fight and battell was courageouſly maintained for ſome houres; during which ſpace, there were ſlaine on the Kings part about three hundred, and of the Rebels more than two thouſand. Their chiefeſt Captaines, and many hundreds beſides were taken Priſoners: the reſt fled, and King *Henry* won the field.

The Rebels are overthrowne.

Traitors heads and quarters ſet up in Cities and in Townes.

And within few daies after, the Ring-leaders of that rebellious inſurrection, were in ſundrie places of this Realme executed as Traitors, and their heads and quarters were ſent, and diſpoſed in ſundrie Townes, Cities, and Caſtles of this Realme, for a terrour to all ſuch as ſhould attempt the like enormous offence againſt their Soveraigne.

1497.

Now muſt wee be informed, that though the King had recalled the Lord *Dawbeny*, and his Armie to withſtand theſe Rebels, yet he knew that the young King of Scots (in the meane time expecting puniſhment, except he could by force of Armes avoide it) made great proviſion and daily preparations to defend himſelfe. Which forces would againe invade the Northern parts of this Kingdome, aſſoone as they were informed of

King

King *Henries* imployment againſt his owne Subjects: wherefore (to prevent that iminent and like danger) he by his letters required *Thomas* Lord *Howard*, Earle of Surrey, and *Richard Fox*, ſometimes Biſhop of Exeter, and then promoted to the See of Durham, to raiſe a ſtrong Armie, and to withſtand the Scots (if they endevoured to attempt any ſuch thing) untill hee ſent another power to aide and to aſſiſt them; which thing ſhould with all celeritie and diligence bee performed, aſſoone as he had vanquiſhed the Corniſhmen, who ſo deſperately oppoſed themſelves againſt him.

Proviſions againſt the Scots.

Now as the King imagined, ſo fell it out true indeed. For the Scots (proudly inſulting at his troubles, and expecting the worſt that he could doe when he ſhould be in peace at home) reſolved, by anticipating warre, to enrich themſelves with new Rapines and Spoiles, and to make havocke upon the Borderers; that by meanes thereof they might the more weaken him, and the better enable themſelves, to make reſiſtance when time and opportunity ſhould ſerve.

The Scots invade England.

With the ſame reſolution, the King of Scots and his Armie againe entred upon the Engliſh Pale. But ere they could proceed farre, or doe much harme, the aforeſaid Earle and Biſhop, and many other Nobles, Knights, and Gentlemen of the North, aſſembled themſelves and their friends, to the number of twenty thouſand fighting men, and marched boldly towards the Scotiſh Armie: unto which when they drew neere, their King (upon good occaſion being timorous and fearefull) retired haſtily, and fled into his owne Country. But the Engliſh forces with brave courage and manly reſolution entred into his Kingdome, and battered, aſſaulted, wonne, and razed to the ground many of his ſtrongeſt Townes, Caſtles, and Holds, and were not reſiſted, albeit the Scottiſh King with all his Armie was not diſtant from them above one mile. Onely he challenged the field the next day; which was accepted, but in the night before he raiſed his Armie, and diſperſed them, who ran into the Woods, and high Mountaines, and were to no purpoſe purſued and hunted by the Engliſhmen, ſixe or ſeven daies.

The Engliſh Armie havocketh in Scotland.

But ſo barren was that Countrie, and ſo poore and deſtitute of all good things, and ſo unſeaſonable was the weather there, which abounded with continuall raine, winde, ſnow, haile, thunder, and hideous ſtormes and tempeſts, that the Earle and the Biſhop returning brake up their Armies, and themſelves went to Barwick, where they attended directions from the King.

Whileſt theſe things were thus in action, *Peter Hyalus*, who was ſent Embaſſadour from *Ferdinando* King of Caſtile, to mediate a peace betwixt the Kings of England and of Scotland, could not effect that buſineſſe according to his mind. Yet a Truce was concluded betwixt them, to endure for certaine yeeres, conditionally that *Perkin Warbeck* were forthwith baniſhed and exiled out of that Countrie.

A truce with Scotland. Perkin Warbeck is ſent out of Scotland.

The French King alſo, at the ſame time ſent his Embaſſadours into England, to ratifie the former peace eſtabliſhed betwixt the King and him, which was performed with much honour and ſolemnity, to the great contentment and joy of all the people of both thoſe Kingdomes.

The peace with France newly ratified.

Like-

Likewiſe, *Philip* the Arch-Duke of Auſtria, and Duke of Burgoine, ſonne to *Maximilian*, King of the Romans, by his Embaſſadours importuned the reſtitution of the Engliſh trade, and the returne of the Merchants into his Countrie of Flanders, becauſe his ſubjects were exceedingly impoveriſhed by them, and did obtaine his ſute: whereat ſuch comfort was conceiv'd, that when the Engliſhmen were for trade returned againe unto Antwerpe, they were received into the City with ſolemne proceſſions, princely triumphs, ſumptuous feaſtings, rare banquettings, and with the expreſſion of great love, and of much joy. The Engliſh trade is reſtored to the Flemings.

And thus was King *Henry* (at this time) made fortunate and happy: for he enjoyed peace and friendſhip, both at home and abroad, ſaving onely with *Perkin Warbecke*; who ceaſed not to vex and trouble him for a while, to his owne overthrow and deſtruction. For being compelled to forſake Scotland, and underſtanding that though the Corniſhmen had lately been overthrown, yet were they not pacified or appeaſed; he with foure ſhips onely, and with fixe ſcore ragged land Souldiers, and no more, ſailed into Cornwall, where he was received by the ruſtick and meaneſt ſort of the Inhabitants of that Province, with joyfull acclamations, and with good welcome. And within few daies after, they aided him with three thouſand men. The Corniſhmen rebell, and doe take Perkin Warbecks part.

With theſe, and with ſome others he marched Eaſtwards, and came as farre as the City of Exeter, where he uſed many perſwaſive and rhetoricall arguments and ſpeeches, to incite the Inhabitants voluntarily to become his ſubjects, and to ſurrender the Citie into his hands. But finding that the fidelity of the Citizens was conſtant & unremoveable from their King, and that their reſolution (to endure extremities, if otherwiſe they could not be avoided) was ſtrongly ſettled and unchangeable, they beſieged the Citie round about. And becauſe they wanted artillery and great Ordnance to make batteries upon their Walls, therefore with ladders, crookes, ropes, and other engines, they deſperately attempted to ſcale them in many places, at one inſtant. But ſtill and every where (with manlike courage and with approved valour) they were repulſed, overborne, and tumbled into the Ditches and deepe Trenches, with which that Citie is environed on all parts. So that (in thoſe aſſaults) many of thoſe Rebels with great obſtinacie loſt their lives.

Now when they perceived that thoſe their attempts daily failed, and ſucceeded not, they deſperately approached unto the City gates, which they endevoured by many ſleights to open, or to overthrow. But when none of their practices could prevaile, then they cauſed great fires to be kindled againſt them: ſo that by conſuming of them they might make an eaſie paſſage and entrance into the Citie.

This ſtratagem of warre (becauſe it was unuſuall) did at the firſt ſomewhat abaſh the itizens. But they (conſidering with themſelves that baſe cowardlineſſe was the betraier of true manhood, and that perfect valour deſpaired not in any danger) aſſumed the hearts of undaunted men, and by their endevours, attempts and imployments, they ceaſed not to provide for their owne preſent ſafetie: inſomuch that with fire they encountred fire, and made greater fires within their gates, than the Rebels did without, which they maintained by adding ſtore of matter and of fewell Fire encountred by fire.

fewell for a long time, untill that with rampires, bankes, bulwarkes, and other defenſive fortifications, they had ſecured thoſe places from the entrie of their enemies.

When this their practice availed not, then they againe buſied the Citizens with daily ſcalings and climings againſt their walls. But the inhabitants ſo confidently perſiſted to defend themſelves, that poore *Perkin* began to hang downe his head; and being troubled with melancholicke paſſions, filled the aire with ſighes and groanes, and was perplexed at the heart, being weary of his match.

The King commeth into the Weſt countrey with an Armie.

The King, who had beene ſpeedily informed how violently that Citie was environed, and how courageouſly the Rebels were reſiſted, ſo carefully regarded it, and the inhabitants thereof, that with a faire Armie he himſelfe (in his owne perſon) marched towards the Rebels with all ſpeed. But before he could come neere unto them, *Edward Courtney* Earle of Devonſhire, and the Lord *William* his ſon, Sir *Wymond Carew*, Sir *Thomas Trenchard*, Sir *William Courtney*, Sir *Thomas Fulford*, Sir *John Halwell*, Sir *John Crocker*, *Walter Courtney*, *Peter Edgecombe*, and their luſty followers, repaired to the ſaid City of Exeter, and intended to give ſuch good helpe and aſſiſtance to the inhabitants thereof, that the Rebels (leaving the ſiege) marched into Somerſetſhire, where they beſieged the Town of Tawnton. But the King underſtanding that they were removed from the City, and where they then were, directed his courſe towards Tawnton, he having with him in his armie *Edward* the young Duke of Buckingham, who was a Prince of haughty courage, and of a gallant reſolution, *Giles* Lord *Dawbeney* his chiefeſt Chamberlaine, *Robert* Lord *Brooke*, Lord Steward of his houſe, Sir *Alexander Bayham*, Sir *Maurice Barkley*, Sir *Robert Tame*, Sir *John Guiſt*, Sir *Robert Poynes*, Sir *Henry Vernon*, Sir *John Mortimer*, Sir *Thomas Tremaile*, Sir *Edward Sutton*, Sir *Amias Paulet*, Sir *John Sapcots*, Sir *Hugh Luttrell*, Sir *Francis Cheney*, and ſundry other Knights and Gentlemen of great place and valour.

The ſiege of Exeter is abandoned.

Perkin Warbeck beſiegeth Taunton.

Perkin and the Rebels flie.

But when *Perkin warbeck* and his fellow Captaines heard of the Kings approach, they fled with threeſcore horſe unto Beuly neere to South-hampton, where poore *Perkin* and moſt of thoſe his companions entred into the Sanctuarie, and regiſtred their names there: but the reſidue of them were taken priſoners by the Kings light-horſemen, and being brought into the Kings Armie (for examples ſake unto others) they were ordered and executed by the martiall law in ſundrie places in the Weſtern parts. But the rude rabble which were left behinde (perceiving that their Ring-leaders had left them, and were run away) fell downe upon their knees, craved mercie, promiſed faith and loyaltie in future times, and not only received the Kings pardon, but were revived by his expreſſing of much favour and grace towards them.

King Henry commeth to the City of Exeter.

The King gives his Sword to the Citie of Exeter.

This victory being thus obtained without blowes, the King, with his greateſt Lords, and the braveſt Gallants in his traine, came to the Citie of Exeter, and was lodged in it certaine daies, where he commended and thanked the Inhabitants, for their faithfull and valiant ſervice, promiſed them the fulneſſe of his favour, and (for an addition of Honour to that City) gave unto them his Sword from his owne ſide, and commanded

manded that in future times and in publike places within that Citie, it ſhould be borne before the Maior, as formerly, and for the like purpoſe his noble predeceſſor King *Edward* the Fourth had done.

Then the King (intending to make a finall end of theſe civill warres) ſent ſome of his choſen Captaines, with certaine bands of armed men, to apprehend poore *Perkin*, who compaſſed the Sanctuary at Bewly round about, ſo that he (recounting with himſelfe his ſundry miſhaps, and his hopeleſſe fortunes to bee a King) yeelded himſelfe, and was brought unto the King, who carried him as his priſoner unto London: where albeit hee was cloſely kept, and narrowly watched by divers of the Kings Guard, yet he eſcaped. But being daily and houre ly ſearched for, he voluntarily committed himſelfe to the Abbot of Shene, neere to the Kings Palace of Richmond, intreating him to have compaſſion on him, and to procure for him the Kings Pardon, which he did. Then was he brought to the Kings Court at White-hall, where all his baſe deſcent and ignoble pedigree being in a paper fully written, and pinned upon his backe, he was ſtocked one whole day: ſo was he the next morning upon a high ſcaffold in Cheape-ſide within the Citie of London, from whence he was committed a cloſe priſoner to the Tower.

Perkin Warbeck is brought to the King.

1498 14. Perkin eſcapeth, and is taken againe.

He being in priſon there, corrupted (by infinite promiſes of honourable advancement) the ſervants of Sir *John Digbie* Lievtenant of the Tower, to ſuffer him and *Edward* the young Earle of Warwick (who had beene a priſoner from his infancy) to eſcape. But this plot being diſcovered, *Perkin Warbecke* was ſhortly after by the due courſe of Law condemned for High Treaſon, and was executed at Tyburne within two daies after: and the young Earle of Warwicke, who conſented to have eſcaped likewiſe, being altogether innocent of all crime, and onely affecting libertie, which men, beaſts, birds, and fiſhes doe naturally deſire, was indicted, arraigned, convicted, and adjudged guilty of the like offence, and was executed on a Scaffold at the Tower Hill. His death much blemiſhed the fame and reputation of King *Henry*, who being mercifull and compaſſionate by nature, and having extended it oftentimes unto notorious malefactors, now (to worke his owne ſecurity, and without any juſt offence) would not pardon him, who all his life time had been ſo ſecret a priſoner, reſtrained from all company, and from the view of this vaine and tranſitory world, that hee ſcarcely knew a Capon from a Gooſe, nor ever attempted any thing which might offend the King, ſaving onely to ſet himſelfe at large.

1499 15. He practiſeth to eſcape and to convay away the young Earle of Warwick. Perkin Warbecke beheaded.

The young Earle of Warwicke is beheaded.

As ſoone as theſe buſineſſes were thus ended, *Arthur* the noble Prince of Wales, being of the age of fifteene yeeres, was by an honourable deputation betrothed to the Ladie *Katherine*, daughter to *Ferdinando* King of Spaine, ſhe being of the age of eighteene yeeres; and the next yeere after with triumphant joy and princely entertainment hee received her into England, and was married to her in *Pauls* Church within the City of London.

1500 16. Prince Arthur marrieth Katherine daughter to Ferdinando King of Aragon.

And not long after, *James* the Fourth, King of the Scots, uſed the mediation of *Richard Fox*, then Biſhop of Durham, but ſhortly after tranſlated unto Wincheſter, that he might have to wife the Lady *Margaret*, the eldeſt daughter of King *Henry* the Seventh. And though the King (for many

1501 17. The Kings eldeſt daughter affied and after married to James the fourth King of Scots.

many important reaſons) might have beſtowed her upon the greateſt and moſt honourable Kings or Potentates in the Chriſtian world, yet for theſe good reſpects he cheerefully conſented to his requeſt. Firſt, becauſe (by all likelihood and probable conjecture) this marriage would eſtabliſh a perpetuall peace betwixt thoſe two Kingdomes. And ſecondly, becauſe if iſſues males and females failed of the bodies of his two ſonnes, then the Kingdome and the Crown of this Realme deſcending to the ſaid Lady *Margaret*, and to her iſſue, would draw the Scottiſh King into England, as unto an eſtate of greater power, magnificence, honour, and riches; whereas if ſhee were joyned to a Prince equall, or exceeding her father in thoſe reſpects, this Kingdome would then wait upon the greater and more worthy, and ſo might bee guided, governed, directed, and commanded by a Deputy, or a Subſtitute, which would bee derogatorie from the Majeſtie of ſuch a Monarchie and Commonweale.

Theſe Halcyon dayes, which made King *Henry* fortunate and happy, were ſuddenly exchanged into daies of heavineſſe and of ſorrow: for Prince *Arthur* within five moneths after he was married, departed out of this troubleſome and tranſitorie vale of miſery, and was buried with great pompe, and incredible lamentation both of the Nobles, Gentlemen, and common people, in the Cathedrall Church within the City of Wincheſter: by whoſe deceaſe without iſſue, his brother *Henry* Duke of Yorke (without Creation) was Prince of Wales, as unto him (of right) that dignity did belong and appertaine: and the next yeere after hee was created Earle of Cheſter by his father.

Prince Arthur dieth.

1502 18.

The King not long after (by an honourable attendance of Lords, Knights, Ladies, and men and women of eſpeciall note and qualitie) ſent his eldeſt daughter, the Lady *Margaret*, into Scotland, to her eſpouſed husband *James* the Fourth, who received her upon the limits of his own Kingdome, from the Earles of Surrey and Northumberland, and was the next day married to her in his City of Edenburgh, to the great rejoycing of the people of both thoſe Nations.

1503 19.

Now when King *Henry* had thus overcome his enemies and the Rebels, and had ſettled himſelfe in peace, hee determined to plucke downe the high ſtomackes and ſtout courage of his people, ſuppoſing that their wealth and riches occaſioned their rebellions, and was the cauſe that many enormous inſolencies were done and committed in the Commonweale. And by that meanes he alſo intended to enrich himſelfe. And the plot whereby he intended to effect it, was by taking of the advantage of the breach of penall lawes. And the principall charge of that polling buſineſſe hee committed to Sir *Richard Empſon* and *Edmund Dudley*, men learned in the Law, but ready enough to execute the Kings commands in a worſer matter, if occaſion did ſo require.

1504 20.

The King taketh advantage of forfeitures upon penall lawes.

Theſe two being attended by troupes of baſe Informers, Promoters, Catch-poles, Cheaters, Knaves, and couſening Raſcals, proſecuted and perſecuted many of the Kings good Subjects, to their utter ruine and overthrow; inſomuch that many people in every Shire of this Kingdome (by their oppreſſions) waxed poore, and were utterly decaied in their eſtates. But the Kings Coffers were filled, his Bagges were ſtuffed,

Many are undone.

and

and thoſe two graceleſſe and cruell cormorants got to themſelves the devill and all. But no remedie there was to cure this malady: for the King authorized them: and they ſo rigorouſly, and ſo unconſcionably executed their tyrannie, that no man could aſſure himſelfe that hee was free, and without the danger of their laſh.

In the one and twenty yeere of King *Henries* reigne, *Elizabeth* Queen of Caſtile, and wife to *Ferdinande* King of Aragon and Spaine, died without iſſue male of her body, ſo that her Kingdome not being devidable among ſiſters (according to the cuſtome of that Country) deſcended to her eldeſt daughter the Lady *Jane*, wife to *Philip* Arch-Duke of Auſtria, and Duke of Burgoine, ſo that hee (being King of Caſtile in her right) prepared a Navie of ſtrong and well appointed ſhips, and entred into the Sea, purpoſing to take the poſſeſſion of his new Kingdome. But (by the violence of an outrageous ſtorme) himſelfe with his Queene was driven into Waymouth in Dorſet ſhire: where at his landing, he was received by Sir *Thomas Trenchard*, a worthy and a complete Knight, who inſtantly importuned the King to accept of the entertainment of his houſe, untill King *Henry* was certified of his being there: which courteouſly he did. Whereof when he had lovingly accepted, he was conducted thither, and feaſted like (as he was) a King. The Knight forthwith ſent divers Poſters to King *Henry*, who (being much gladded by this newes) becauſe the ſaid King and he were unfained and faithfull friends, forthwith ſent for his better direction and attendance, the Earle of *Arundel* and ſome others, who invited him and his Queen and their Companie to the Kings Court, which was then at his Caſtle of Windſor, of which great courteſie he accepted with a kind heart: and as he came within five miles of the Caſtle, he was met by the noble *Henry* Prince of Wales, who was accompanied by divers Earles, Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen of choice reckoning and account: and within halfe a mile of his journies end, the King himſelfe, with the greateſt part of his Nobility, Ladies, and Perſonages of great worth and honour (being richly apparrelled, and bravely mounted) met him likewiſe; where kind ſalutations, and friendly greetings proceeded from the heart, and were performed with the moſt exquiſite complements of love, that by any could be imagined.

1505 21.

The King and Queene of Caſtile doe come into England by a ſtorme.

Sir Thomas Trenchard entertaineth them at his houſe.

They are entertained by the King.

From the Kings Caſtle of Windſor, the King conducted him and his Queen to the City of London: where nothing was omitted, that any device or coſt could make ſumptuous, thereby to expreſſe the hearty welcome of ſuch beloved gueſts. And thus when (with great contentment, mirth, and paſtime) the King and hee had ſpent ſome daies, they renewed the League which was betwixt them, and taking kind farewels each of other, the ſaid King and Queene imbarked themſelves againe, lanched into the Sea, and ſafely arrived according to their owne wils. But not long after, King *Philip* and his wife died, and that Kingdome deſcended to *Charles* his eldeſt ſonne.

From this time forwards King *Henry* waxed ſickly, weake, and infirme, and by meanes thereof the two ſcourgers of the Commonweale, *Empſon* and *Dudley*, tooke larger liberty to extend their villanies, than was given to them, and did oppreſſe, torment, and vexe the people of this land.

1506 22.

1507 23. The King waxeth ſickly. His deedes of charity.

But when the King perceived that his time was ſhort, hee deprived them of their authority, remitted and pardoned all offences committed againſt his penall Lawes, and enlarged all priſoners, which were in durance for any offence (treaſon and murder excepted only:) hee alſo paid the debts of all ſuch as for trifling and ſmall ſummes were priſoners in any Ward, and gave certaine ſummes of mony unto ſome poore folkes who had beene unconſcionably devoured, robbed, and ſpoiled, by thoſe two graceleſſe and ungodly Cormorants. He alſo was exceeding penitent and ſorrowfull for thoſe wrongs and injuries which (with too much ſeverity) they had done unto many: and hee diſburſed by way of loane freely, and without reward, divers great ſummes of mony to his Merchants. By meanes whereof their gaines and his cuſtome were mightily encreaſed. Finally, when he had reigned twenty and three yeeres and ſome moneths, and when he had lived fifty and two yeers, he died, and was buried with great ſolemnity and honour by Queen *Eliſabeth* his wife, in his owne Chappell at Weſtminſter which he had with great coſt and skill founded, and cauſed to be built not long before.

He repenteth of his actions by the penall lawes.

1508 24. A notable police.

The King dieth.

THE

The most high and [illegible] mightie Prince HENRY *the* VIII *by the grace of God King of England France and Ireland*

20

THE HISTORIE OF KING *HENRIE* THE EIGHT.

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before ſhe had beene his brother Prince *Arthurs* wife: by which match much trouble afterwards enſued, as in this diſcourſe of his government it will appeare.

The King is gracious to ſuch as were oppreſſed by Empſon and Dudley.

In his firſt beginnings hee ſeemed tenderly to affect his peoples love, and to execute his Lawes with mercy, and with compaſſion. And whereas oppreſſion (in the end of his Fathers dayes) had much vexed and grieved the Subjects of this Land, he (by open Proclamations) made it knowne, that hee would not onely heare the lamentable complaints of ſuch as by the Tyrannous Rapine, and greedy Covetouſneſſe of *Empſon* and *Dudley*, and of ſome other tormenting Promoters, had beene undone; but would alſo redreſſe and recompence their wrongs. By meanes whereof great throngs of people daily reſorted, flocked, and ruſhed into the Kings Court: among whom many complained moſt who had leaſt cauſe; but they received ſharpe puniſhment for their impudencie and boldneſſe; and to the reſt the King gave liberall reſtitution and amends. And the more frankely and freely to content ſuch as had beene juſtly offended by thoſe extremities, after all legall proceedings finiſhed, hee cauſed the heads of thoſe two devouring Caterpillers to bee ſtriken off at the Tower hill: and the reſt of that raſcall rabble were diſgracefully corrected by the ſtockes and pillories in ſundry places of this Realme.

Empſon and Dudley put to death.

1511 3. Ferdinando craveth and obtaineth aide, but did nothing.

Thus when the King had well buſied himſelfe in the ſettlement of his Kingdome the firſt two yeares of his reigne, he was by his wives father, *Ferdinando* King of Aragon, entreated to enter into more turbulent actions, by aiding and aſſiſting him againſt the Moores; which willingly hee did. But by reaſon of a ceſſation of thoſe jarres, the Engliſhmen returned out of Spaine, having beene rudely entertained, and ſpent all.

The French King warreth on the Pope.

About the ſame time the French King *Lewis* the twelfth (by reaſon of ſome private quarrellings betwixt himſelfe and Pope *July* the Second) tranſported an Army into Italy, and by ſtrength and violence (as a Conquerour) he poſſeſſed himſelfe of the faire and rich Citie of *Bologna la Graſſa*, and inſolently did much harme.

Whereupon King *Henry* (in favour to the Pope, becauſe he diſpenſed with his late marriage, and was united unto him by more than by the ordinary bonds of friendſhip and of love, and becauſe the Pope himſelfe was unable to reſiſt or to maintaine his owne quarrell) interpoſed himſelfe as an indifferent mediator, and as an interceſſor for amity and for peace.

Warres betwixt King Henry and Lewis the twelfth.

But the French King (taſting the pleaſant and the profitable fruits of his ſucceſſefull fortune, and longing to extend his government into ſo rich a Countrie) turned the deafe eare, and would not hearken to this motion. Whereupon King *Henry* (whoſe bodie was young and luſtie, and whoſe high heart was repleniſhed with true fortitude, magnanimity, and valour) made it knowne to the Chriſtian world, that as he ſcorned to be neglected in ſo good a ſuit, ſo he loathed to be idle, and a looker on, in a time of ſuch negotiation and employment, and therefore would attempt by his beſt meanes to withdraw the French Kings wars from the Popes Countries. Upon which reſolution, forthwith by his Ambaſſadors he required the French King to give unto him the full and peace-

able

able poſſeſſion of his two Dutchies of Guyan and of Normandy, together with his ancient inheritance of Aujou and of Mayne, which wrongfully was kept and detained from his Anceſtors and from him.

The ſmall acquaintance which at that time the French King had with King *Henry*, and the contempt of his youthfull yeeres, made him to returne a ſcorneſull deniall to his demand; inſomuch that King *Henry* proclaimed warre againſt him, and prepared daily to ſend a puiſſant Army into Guyan. Upon which occaſion, and others, and in regard that thoſe broiles were chiefly undertaken to relieve the Pope, King *Henry* was by him enſtiled with this addition to his Kingly Title, *Defender of the Faith.*

Defender of the Faith.

This reſolution being notified to his Father in law *Ferdinando* King of Aragon (who was crafty, and cunningly intended, under the colour of much friendſhip, to uſurpe, and treacherouſly to win unto himſelfe the Kingdome of Navarre, for which immoderately his ambitious heart did thirſt) he made unto King *Henry* a large proffer of great aſſiſtance and helpe, with horſes, tents, carriages, ordnance, and ſundry other things needfull and expedient for thoſe warres, if hee would land his Army within his Countrey of Biskey, and march from thence into Guyan.

Ferdinando promiſeth aide to King Henry.

The King (who dreamt not of any fraud, but was perſwaded of good performance of more than had beene offered) moſt thankfully accepted of this great courteſie, and ſent (for the aforeſaid purpoſe) ten thouſand men into Biskey, under the principall command of *Thomas Grey* Marqueſſe Dorſet, who was their Generall in that warre.

The Kings Armie landeth in Biskey.

But *Ferdinando* (whoſe owne plot touching the ſurpriſall of Navarre was not fully perfected, and who intended nothing leſſe than according to his promiſe to aide the Engliſh Army) by flattering meſſengers to the Marqueſſe maintained his hopes, but yet ſuffered both him and his (without imployment or ſuccour) to lye idle, to their great diſhonour and reproach.

Ferdinando yeelds no help.

In the end he prepared a ſtrong Armie, which was conducted by the Duke *D' Alva*, and outwardly pretended to unite them to the Engliſh forces. But as a river growing outrageous by the abundance of much raine, overfloweth the low adjacent grounds, ſo this Army with great violence and ſtrength unexpectedly ruſhed into the unprovided Territories of Navarre, ſurpriſed the City of Pampalona, and treacherouſly (without blowes or reſiſtance) ſubdued the greateſt part of that Kingdome, which (without right or title) the Spaniards doe hold and enjoy at this day.

The Kingdome of Navarre taken, and conquered by the Spaniards.

And although that King *Ferdinando* (by this unjuſt and deceitfull practice) had eaſily attained to the height of his ambitious deſires concerning that conqueſt, yet did he continue falſe and unkind to the Engliſh Armie, whom he aſſiſted not at the laſt, but ſuffered them for the ſpace of foure moneths to be oppreſſed with a thouſand wants, and to be conſumed by the fluxe and other calamities in the open field: by meanes whereof, the common ſouldiers (being heartleſſe, and hopeleſſe of better uſage from the King of Aragon) forſooke the field, and (without the licence of their Generall) returned ſtragglingly into England. And thus

Ferdinando affords no helpe or aſſiſtance at laſt.

The Engliſhmen returne home without leave.

was

was King *Henry* groſly abuſed and wronged by his father in law the ſecond time.

1512 4. Sir Edward Howard plagueth the Britons.

Whileſt the Engliſh Armie was thus unkindly deluded in Biskey, the right valiant Knight Sir *Edward Howard* (Lord Admirall of England, and a younger ſon to the Earle of Surrey) with a well appointed Fleet of ſhips (which were well furniſhed with brave and luſtie men) kept and commanded the narrow Seas, daily tooke the French Merchants, oftentimes landed in ſundry places within the Dutchie of Britain, forraged their Fields, ranſacked their Villages and their Townes, ſet them on fire, and enriched his companies with great ſpoiles.

The Britons dare him, but run away.

The Britons (being hourely endammaged, and knowing that no better fortune would attend them, except by true valour and manhood they encountred the Engliſh aſſailants) braggingly dared the Admirall into the field; of which challenge he joyfully accepted, although that with five and twenty hundred (and no more) he was to fight againſt more than ten thouſand men. And incontinently with martiall skill and policie he ordered his battell in the open field. But when the Britons approched neere, and with judicious eies beheld the order and courage of the Engliſh ſouldiers, their hearts fainted, their Leaders retired, their common ſouldiers fled, and would not once looke on an Engliſh face.

The King ſendeth him more aide.

The King being advertiſed of the valour of his Admirall, and of the haughty courage of his men, and intending to give them ſtrength which ſhould bee anſwerable to their deſires, did ſend unto them ſome of his ſhips royall, and many others, which were well ordnanced, and plentifully manned, both for the Sea, and alſo for the Land.

He fighteth at Sea with the French Fleet.

When the Admirall was thus provided, and had reduced all his ſhips into one Fleet, within few daies after he met and fought with the French Navie; at which time death was deſpiſed, in regard that every man ſought by bloud to purchaſe honour and renowne: untill the Regent of England, and in her Sir *John Carew* of Devonſhire, and Sir *Thomas Knyvet*, with ſeven hundred more, and the great Carrick of Breſt, and in her Sir *Pierce Morgan*, and nine hundred men of warre, both thoſe ſhips being faſt grappled together, were unfortunately burnt, ſlaine, and drowned in the Sea. The view whereof being unuſuall, was ſo terrible, that whileſt men fearefully looked on, the fight ceaſed, and the Frenchmen (ſcattering themſelves) returned into the Sea.

The Regent and the Carricke are burned.

The French Fleet entreth into the Haven of Breſt.

King Henry augmenteth his Fleet.

The French King (to make his match the better with the Engliſh Navie) augumented the number of his ſhips and men, and ſent them thorowly provided with ordnance, powder, ſhot and other neceſſaries, into the Haven of Breſt. And King *Henry* (who ſcorned that his Admirall ſhould be oppreſſed with a greater ſtrength than he ſhould bee well able to reſiſt) rigged up the moſt part of his Royall Fleet, and ſome others, which ſafely arrived in Bartram Bay within the Dutchie of Britaine. With theſe, and with all the reſt, the brave Admirall attempted to aſſaile the French Bottoms as they lay at anchors within the Haven of Breſt. But as he was entring in, the foremoſt ſhip, which *Arthur Plantagenet* did command, was ſplitted in ſunder upon a Rocke, which made the reſt doubtfull to proceed, except with better guidance they might ſafely enter in.

The

The French Captaines perceiving the Engliſhmens intent, anchored as neere to the Caſtle of Breſt as they were able, and placed foure and twenty old Flemiſh Hulkes towards the mouth of the Haven, betwixt themſelves and the Engliſh Fleet, which they appointed to bee ſet on fire, and to bee unmoared when the ſhips of England did approach towards them, that by them they might be endangered. They alſo raiſed and fortified divers Rampiers and Bulwarkes upon the entrance of the Haven, from which their great Ordnance might play upon their enemies. The Frenchmen doe fortifie the Haven.

The Lord Admirall of England (doubting leſt the Haven of Breſt was too ſhallow to ſupport his ſhips of greateſt ſtrength and burthen, and finding that the French cowards meant nothing leſſe than to expreſſe their manhood by a reſolute encounter) reſolved with oared Barges to be rowed into the Harbour, and there to doe ſome memorable exploit upon his enemies ſhips. With this determination (which more manfully than adviſedly he did put in practice) hee with ſuch an haughty courage and with ſuch violence aſſailed the three great Gallies of the Rhoads, which were brought thither by a gallant Knight, named *Prior John*, that hee won them quickly, and poſſeſſed them as his owne. But when the Frenchmen perceived that the Engliſh Barges were gone out of the Haven, and were returned to their owne Fleet, they then with great numbers of well armed men ruſhed into the ſaid Gallies; where the brave Admirall with that ſmall remnant which were with him, defended themſelves a long time with great courage. But being over-maſtered, and too much wearied with freſh ſupplies, which every minute did aſſaile them, the greater part of his men were ſlaine, the Admirall with a pike was violently borne over-boord, and drowned in the Sea, and the reſt of them were taken priſoners by their enemies. And thus were they overthrown, who (if they had beene more provident, and better counſelled) might have triumphed in their victories. And within few daies after, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, the eldeſt brother of the ſaid deceaſed Knight, was by the King made Admirall, who with all the extremitie of warre became a cruell revenger of his brothers death. 1513 5. The Admirall in Boats entreth into the Haven. He is drowned. His brother is made Lord Admirall.

The King (not minding any longer to trifle or to dally with the French King) levied two Armies. In the one of them were eight thouſand men, and in the other ſixe thouſand. The former of them was commanded by *George* Lord *Talbot* Earle of Shrewsbury, and the other by Sir *Charles Somerſet*, Lord *Harbert*, Chamberlaine to the King. Theſe two Generals with their companies (departing from Portſmouth) arrived ſafely at Callice, from whence they marched to the ſtrong City of Tyrwyn, and beſieged it on every ſide. And within few weekes after, the King himſelfe (having firſt committed the government of this Kingdome to the generall charge of the Queene his wife, and the particular protection of the Northern parts unto the noble and worthy Lord *Thomas Howard* Earle of Surrey, if peradventure the Scots, according to their cuſtome, ſhould in his abſence beyond the Seas, enter into thoſe Countries) being accompanied with many of his Nobles and Gentrie, and having an Armie of eleven thouſand luſty and gallant men, departed out of England, came to his Towne of Callice, and marched forth in warlike Two Armies ſent into France. The King with a third Armie commeth before Tyrwyn.

warlike order, untill hee had joyned himſelfe with all his other force, which lay ſtrongly encamped before Tyrwyn.

Now whileſt King *Henry* thus lay in this ſiege, the Inhabitants oftentimes ſallied out of their gates, and with great reſolution skirmiſhed with their enemies, but were alwaies loſers in their retreats.

The French Armie attempteth to raiſe the ſiege.

By the Engliſhmen likewiſe daily batteries and hourely aſſaults were made, and manfully reſiſted by the Citizens, untill the French King (to raiſe the ſiege) cauſed a huge Armie to bee levied, which appeared and approached neere to the Engliſh Campe, and made many a boaſting and a proud bragge, as if they were determined to doe much: but ſtill and ſtill they trifled, not doing any thing which might merit praiſe. But in the end (they being provoked more by the taunting reproches of their owne Nation, and by the daily ſcornes which for their want of courage they received from the ſharpe tongues of their daring enemies, than by their own valour) they attempted to raiſe the ſiege by ſtrong blowes: in ſo much, that the two Armies met together, fought ſtoutly, and on either part performed many brave deeds of Chivalrie, with great courage: But the preſence of King *Henry*, and his example of good Knighthood, ſo animated his men of Warre, that with undaunted ſpirits, they redoubled their ſtrength, in times and in places of greateſt need and extremitie; ſo that at the laſt, the Frenchmen being diſſolved into many heapes of breathleſſe carcaſſes, and many of their Nobles and Gentry being taken priſoners, the reſt fled; and within few daies after, the City of Tyrwyn (by compoſition) was yeelded to King *Henry*, who (only preſerving the Biſhops Palace, in which he lodged, and the Cathedrall Church) razed the Walls, Towers, Bulwarkes, and Fortreſſes thereof to the ground: and conſumed the reſt of that City with fire.

The French Army is overthrowne. Tyrwyn is yeelded and burnt.

The Emperor ſerveth under King Henry.

In this ſiege *Maximilian* the Emperour, with thirty approved men at Armes, repaired to the Kings campe; and (after his great welcome, amply expreſſed by his Princely entertainment) hee with them were all enrolled into the Kings pay.

This victory, and the ſaid City, being thus won, King *Henry* (with all convenient expedition) beſieged the ſtrong and the warlike Citie of Tournay, which (for a while) was by the Inhabitants manfully defended and preſerved: But after many bitter and ſharpe aſſaults, and bloudie skirmiſhes, when they perceived that their hopes for ſuccour and helpe were fruſtrated and in vaine; they then by compoſition, yeelded themſelves to the Kings mercie; who, for the ſum of ten thouſand pounds, graciouſly received them as his owne ſubjects, and by his Almoner, *Thomas Wolſey*, tooke the oathes of their fidelity and allegeance, as to their ſoveraigne Lord and King. And then King *Henry* (leaving there a ſtrong Garriſon) committed the governement and ſafety of that City to Sir *Edward Poynings*, who was valiant, and a worthy Knight. And (diſſolving his Armie, becauſe the cold winter was unfit for the continuance of warlike imployments) hee ſafely returned to England, where hee was received by his ſubjects with lovely acclamation, and great joy.

King Henrie returneth into England.

The Lord Admirall vexeth the French Nation.

Now muſt wee underſtand, that whilſt the King was thus buſied in France, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, his chiefeſt Admirall, intolerably tor-

tormented, vexed, and daily grieved the French nation, both by Sea and Land.

And likewiſe at the ſame time, *James* the Fourth, King of the Scots (although he had married with the Lady *Margaret*, the eldeſt ſiſter of King *Henry*) made open warre, and wilfull breach of his Promiſe, and of the peace, which had beene confirmed by his ſolemne Oath; and began unjuſtly to picke quarrels againſt the King. In ſo much, that (upon notice given to the Earle of Surrey, that in Scotland daily preparations and proviſions were made for war) he commanded Sir *William Bulmer*, a valiant Knight, with two hundred luſtie and tall Archers, to harbour in ſome Towne, or Village, neere to the Scottiſh Pale; to the intent, that he might not onely give ſpeedy notice and intelligence how things paſſed, but alſo might doe his beſt, to withſtand and to reſiſt their power. James the fourth King of Scots (in the abſence of his brother, King Henry) invadeth England.

Within few dayes after, the Lord *Humes*, Chamberlaine to the King of Scots, entred with an Armie of eight thouſand men into the Kingdome of England, ſlew the Inhabitants, burned their houſes, ranſacked their goods, and forraged their fields: And having enriched himſelfe and his ſouldiers with money, and great ſpoyles, he returned ſecurely, not thinking that any reckoning was to bee made for his good ſpeeding. But on a ſudden, and unexpectedly he was encountred by Sir *William Bulmer*, who with one thouſand Archers, and no more, ſo thickly ſhowred arrowes upon the Scots, and with their ſwords in ſuch a deſperate and ſtrange manner aſſailed, and aſſaulted them, that quickly they were overthrowne: and five hundred of them being ſlaine, and foure hundred at the leaſt taken priſoners, the reſt fled, leaving their ſpoiles and their booties behind them, and ſo returned beggarly into Scotland. Sir William Bulmer, a valiant Knight.

The King of Scots (who not onely meant to revenge this diſgrace, but alſo to worke wonders, if he might, in the abſence of King *Henry*) entred into this Realme with an Army, in which were more than one hundred thouſand fighting men; and beſieged the ſtrong Caſtle of Norham, which (through the Captaines prodigall expence of all his powder and ſhot, to little or no purpoſe) he tooke, and kept it as his owne. 100000. fighting men.

The valiant and renowned Earle of Surrey was no idle perſon in this buſineſſe: but being aided and aſſiſted by his eldeſt ſonne the Admirall (who underſtanding of his Fathers preparations for thoſe warres, came from the Sea to New-caſtle, and brought with him one thouſand Mariners and luſtie fighting men) and by the Lord *Dacres*, *Clifford*, *Conyers*, *Latymer*, *Scrope*, *Ogle*, and *Lomley*, and by Sir *Edward Stanley*, Sir *William Bulmer*, Sir *Nicolas Appleyard*, Sir *William Sydney*, Sir *Stephen Bull*, Sir *John Everingham*, Sir *Henry Sherborne*, Sir *Thomas Metham*, Sir *Marmaduke Conſtable*, Sir *William Percy*, Sir *Chriſtopher Ward*, Sir *Philip Tylney*, Sir *William Gaſcoyne*, Sir *Thomas Barkeley*, Sir *Walter Griffeth*, Sir *George Dorſy*, Sir *Chriſtopher Pickering*, Sir *Thomas Butler*, Sir *Guy Dawney*, Sir *John Booth*, Sir *John Rowcliffe*, Sir *John Stanley*, Sir *John Normaville*, Sir *Lionel Percy*, Sir *John Willoughby*, Sir *Edward Echingham*, and Sir *Brian Stapleton* Knights, and by *Ralfe Brearton*, *John Laurence*, *Brian Tunſtall*, *Richard Reid*, *John Don*, *John Bygod*, *John Clarvis*, *Thomas Fitz-Williams*, *Brian Stapleton*, *Robert Wartop*, and *Richard* The Earle of Surrey marcheth againſt the King of Scots.

Richard Cholmley, Eſquires, and by many other Gentlemen of worthy reputation and great valour. And having in his Army ſixe and twenty thouſand men, able and fit for warre, hee marched towards the King of Scots: and upon the ninth day of September, in the yeere of our Lord God 1513. in a field which was called Flodden, both the Armies came in view each of other. The Engliſh forces (being marſhalled in good order) made two maine battells, both which were politickly and ſtrongly guarded by their wings. And the Scottiſh Army was divided into foure battells. All theſe (after ſome few skirmiſhes, and the expence of much ſhot, both ſmall and great) joyned together pell mell, and fell to handy ſtrokes, and made ſuch an incredible expreſſion of their manhood, by the indifferent exchange of blowes and wounds, that many a ſtrong and luſtie man was quickly deprived of his life. Nobility and Gentry were no priviledges to protect any man from danger, nay from death; inſomuch that King *James* himſelfe fighting courageouſly among his people as a common ſouldier, triumphed over the dead carcaſſes of ſuch as (by his ſword) hee had prepared for the grave. But in the end he himſelfe was alſo ſlaine, and ſo were two Biſhops, twelve Earles, foureteene Lords, and twelve thouſand Knights, Eſquires, Gentlemen, and common ſouldiers of the Scottiſh Nation. And on the Engliſh part, fifteen hundred and no more were ſlaine. Thus was this field won by the bleſſing of Almighty God, and by the victorious courage and true manhood of the Earle of Surrey, and of his ſonne, and of ſuch Nobles, Knights, Gentlemen, and brave ſouldiers, as in that battell approved themſelves hardie and ſtrong in Armes. And the ſurviving Scots (finding their chiefeſt helpe and ſafety to conſiſt in the agility and nimbleneſſe of their light heeles) forſooke the field, and with more than poſting ſpeed they fled, and returned with heavie hearts into their owne Country.

26000. fighting men.

1513.

The Scots are overthrown.

The King of Scots is ſlaine.

King *Henry* (after his returne into England) bountifully rewarded ſuch as in France, and againſt the Scots in England, had done him the beſt ſervice, and ſome of them hee advanced to higher places, by giving to them an increaſe of dignity and of honour. For hee created *Thomas Howard* (who was then Earle of Surrey) Duke of Norfolke, and the Admirall his ſon was made Earle of Surrey. Sir *Charles Brandon* (being Viſcount *Lyſle*) was made Duke of Suffolke, Sir *Charles Somerſet* (being then Lord *Harbert*, and Chamberlaine to the King) was created Earle of Worceſter, Sir *Edward Stanley* was made Lord *Mounteagle*: and the Kings Almoner *Thomas Wolſey* was created Biſhop of Loncolne; which favour hee unthankfully requited, to his owne ruine, as hereafter wee ſhall ſee.

Noblemen created.

In the end of this yeere, the Inhabitants of Iſlington, Hoxſton, Shoreditch, and of other Townes and Villages bordering neere to the City of London, incloſed their Champion Fields (in which the Citizens were accuſtomed, for their recreation and paſtimes ſake, to walke, run, ſhoot, leape, and to uſe ſuch like ſports at their wills and pleaſures) with high hedges, and wide ditches, becauſe they would more privately appropriate the commodities of thoſe grounds unto themſelves. But multitudes of the meaner ſort of the Citizens iſſued forth with mattockes, ſpades, ſhovels, and ſuch like tooles of husbandry, with which they overthrew

The encloſures about London thrown down.

threw the ſaid hedges, filled up thoſe ditches, and levelled the ſaid grounds, uſing in them their former exerciſes and paſtimes, and ſo they are enjoyed at this day.

Not long after the Kings returne into England, the before named *Prior John*, with his Gallies, and ſome Foiſts, being well manned and provided, arrived in Suſſex, and landed in the night, and burnt a poore Village named Brigh-helmſton. But being diſcovered, himſelfe wounded in the face with an arrow, and divers of his men ſlaine, hee with the reſt were compelled to run into the Sea, out of which, being drawne into their veſſels, they returned with ſmall gaine. 1514 6. Prior John landeth, but is well beaten.

But to requite their boldneſſe, the Lord Admirall of England, with ſome few ſhips, and eight hundred ſouldiers beſides the Mariners, ſent Sir *John Wallop* to the Sea, whoſe often landing in Normandie was very prejudiciall to the Inhabitants: for hee burnt one and twenty of their Villages and Townes, and many boates and ſhips which were anchored in Traport, and in other Havens, ranſacked the Countrey, and ſlew much people. And much wondring there was, how with ſo ſmall a number he could land ſo often, and performe ſuch great things. Spoyles in Normandie by Sir John Wallop.

The old French King *Lewis* the Twelfth (underſtanding that the Flemings would not, according to their former agreements, receive into their Country the goodly, faire, and vertuous Lady *Mary*, ſiſter to King *Henry*, to be eſpouſed unto *Charles*, the young Prince of Caſtile, becauſe the Spaniards had not conſented to that match) by his Embaſſadours craved peace, and became an earneſt ſuter to the King that ſhee might be his wife: whereupon (to ſettle love and amity betwixt thoſe two Kings, and their Kingdomes; and to make the ſaid Lady ſo great a Queen, & that ſhe might be endowed with an yeerly penſion of ten thouſand Markes during her life, and might againe return into England if the French King died) the King, and the ſaid Lady conſented and yeelded to his requeſt: And thereupon the Duke of Longevyle, and ſuch other Frenchmen as had been taken at the battell of Tyrwyn, were now releaſed and ſet free. And within few dayes after, the ſaid Lady (being by the King and Queen accompanied to Dover, and there ſhipped, and attended on by *Thomas* Duke of Norfolk, *Thomas* Marqueſſe Dorſet, and his foure brethren, the Earle of Surrey, the Lords *De la ware*, *Barnes*, and *Mounteagle*, Sir *Maurice Barkley*, Sir *John Peche*, Sir *William Sandes*, Sir *Thomas Bulleyn*, Sir *John Carre*, and by many other Knights, Gentlemen and Ladies of great worth, ſhe landed at Bollen: where (with great magnificence and honour) ſhee was received by the Dolphin, and by many Lords of France, who brought her to Abuyle, where ſhe met with, and was married to the King: And (within few daies after) at Paris ſhe was crowned Queen; *the French Nation thinking their King and Country to be happy, who to their Queen had the faireſt Lady in the world.* The French King marrieth with the Kings ſiſter.

And at her Coronation, the Dolphin (upon a generall challenge formerly made by himſelf, *Charles Brandon* Duke of Suffolke, *Thomas Gray* Marqueſſe Dorſet, his foure brethren, and two others, againſt all commers) erected many honourable and martiall games: as the Juſts, Turuay, Barriers, and ſuch like: all which were performed with great valour, and to the great pleaſure of the King and Queen. But within twelve weeks

after the ſaid marriage, King *Lewis* died, and *Francis* the Firſt ſucceeded him in that Kingdome. And by the Duke of Suffolke the ſaid Queene *Mary* was brought againe into England, where hee won her love, and married her with the Kings conſent.

1515 7. In the ſeventh yeere of King *Henries* reigne, the former peace betwixt him and King *Lewis* the Twelfe was renewed and confirmed with King *Francis* the Firſt, and great amity and love was exchanged betweene thoſe two Kings.

It now ſo chanced that *Thomas Wolſey* (who was borne of baſe Parentage in the Towne of Ipſwich, and was firſt made the Kings Almoner, then Biſhop of Lincolne, and then of the Privie Counſell) ſucceeded the Archbiſhop and Cardinall of Yorke, who was named Doctor *Benbrick*, in the ſaid Archbiſhopricke. And not long after hee was made Cardinall of Yorke, by the mediation and procurement of thoſe two Kings.

All the deeds and actions of Cardinall Wolſey, touching this ſtory are here ſet together, becauſe the diſcourſe of the reſt would otherwiſe by them be too much interrupted.

And now, becauſe the Kings affections towards him were extraordinarie, his authority above all others eminent, his covetouſneſſe inſatiable, and his exceſſive pride and ambition boundleſſe and unlimited, which made him bold and peremptorie, to doe all in all; from henceforth (for many yeeres) all things were commanded and governed according to his directions and will, untill his monſtrous oppreſſions and ſawcie practices brought him to ruine, and to deſtruction. And leſt his deeds and his actions by often interviewing ſhould interrupt the diſcourſe of other occurrences and negotiations, happning in this Kings reigne, wee have therefore thought it convenient, yea neceſſarie, to proſecute the Hiſtorie of his proceedings to a concluſion, before we intermeddle much with the narration of other paſſages and things.

He intermeddles in other mens offices.

This proud Cardinall ſo eagerly hunted after authoritie and power to rule and to command all others, that (not contenting himſelfe with his owne offices, though they were great) hee intruded malapertly into the enquirie and determining of ſuch things as properly belonged unto others; but eſpecially into the Chancellorſhip of this Realme.

He is made Lord Chancellor.

The Archbiſhop of Canterbury, unto whom it appertained, was much troubled with thoſe his intermedlings. But (being old, and perceiving that the Kings affections were faſt bound to his humours; and that to croſſe with him, it was the ready way to croſſe himſelfe) hee therefore delivered up the great Seale into the Kings hands, who no ſooner accepted of it, but hee beſtowed it upon *Wolſey:* which favour and dignity might well have ſatisfied his proud humour, but nothing could. For now he (being an Archbiſhop, a counſellor of Eſtate, a Cardinall, Chancellor of England, and the Kings eſpeciall favourite) directed all, commanded all, and did all.

1516 8. Hee being thus imperiouſly great, required an accompt of the Captaines, Treaſurers, and other Officers of the Kings wars: ſo that ſome of them (who by the Kings connivence had gotten much) by exceſſive bribes excuſing themſelves, inriched him, and left themſelves poore. Others whoſe eſtates were more powerfull, to pleaſe him, ſhared that which unjuſtly they had gotten. And ſome others, who had deceived the

He demands accompts, and enricheth himſelfe thereby.

King,

King, and had prodigally ſpent all, had nothing left, and therefore were puniſhed publikely, and expoſed to open ſhame.

Hee alſo erected ſundry Courts of equity (which might more truely be termed Courts of Iniquity) under a colour and pretence to heare and to determine the caſes of diſtreſſed and poore people: by meanes whereof ſeates of Juſtice, belonging to the common Lawes, were little frequented for a while; and by them he gained a maſſe of treaſure to himſelfe, untill the people (perceiving that by them he waxed rich, and they poore; and that the Sentences and Judgements of thoſe Courts were not finall, but controlable, they (of their owne accord) forſooke them, and commended their controverſies to the cenſure of the common Lawes. He erecteth new Courts.

In the ninth yeare of King *Henries* reigne, Pope *Leo* ſent unto him Cardinall *Campeius* as his Legate, to ſolicite him (as likewiſe hee had done to the Kings of France and Spaine, and the Princes of Germany) to make warre upon the Turkes. But ſo outrageous was the ocean of *Wolſeys* pride, that (becauſe hee knew that *Campeius*, in regard of his power Legantine, was to have the precedency of place when they two met) he cunningly informed him by certaine Biſhops (who went unto him to Callice, under a fained colour to viſit him) that his journey would not bee ſucceſſefull, but come to none effect, except *Wolſey* were joyned in equall authority with him in that buſineſſe; whereupon *Campeius* (with all expedition) diſpatched Meſſengers unto Rome, by whom within forty dayes he received a new Commiſſion; by which *Wolſey* was alſo made the Popes Legate and Commiſſioner as well as he. Then was *Campeius* admitted to come into this Realme, and both thoſe two Legates (within few dayes after) repaired to the Kings Court at Greenwich (having two ſilver Croſſes, and two Pillars of the ſame metall, two Axes gilt with fine gold, and two embroydered Cuſhions borne before them:) but the Cardinall of York preferred his elder brother to the inferiour place. And by an eloquent Oration (which by an Italian was made unto the King) he was enformed of the ſubſtance of their meſſage; but to make anſwer thereunto, the King deſired reſpit for a few dayes, in which he might be adviſed and counſelled in that matter. Then did *Wolſey* (by his authority Legantine) erect an honourable Court, without the Kings notice or licence, and called it the Legantine Court. By the authority whereof, hee viſited all Biſhops and their Dioceſſes, and other clergie men, puniſhing ſuch as were poore and unable to give bribes, but enriching himſelfe by the enforced bounty of ſuch as had ſtore of money and offaults. 1517. 9. By ſubtiltie he is made a Legate.

By the ſame authority, he alſo ſequeſtred unto himſelfe the probate of all Wills and Teſtaments. And ſuch was his intolerable pride, by reaſon of his Legantine authority, that when (before and after meat) he waſhed his greaſie fiſts, hee was at his Lavatory attended and ſerved by Dukes and Earles, for that purpoſe. Wolſeys intolerable pride.

This his example of haughtineſſe, made the Clergy of this Land ſo proud and inſolent, that their induſtrious labours, which formerly they applyed to the ſtudies of morall Vertues, and of Divinity, were now employed to deviſe curious faſhions in their behaviour, in their apparell, and in their dyet.

King *Henry* and his Queene, in the twelfth yeare of his Reigne, reſolved 1520. 12.

King Henry and his Queen goe into France.

ſolved to travell into France, for love and friendſhips ſake, to glad themſelves with the ſociety of the French King, *Francis* the Firſt, and of his Queen. For which journey, it cannot well be reported was coſt in apparrell, what proviſion for attendance, what furniture for horſes, what charges for jewels, and what preparations for rare banquetings and Princely gifts, were made both in England and in France.

And when the appointed time drew neere, the King and the Queene (being accompanied with the Cardinall of Yorke, and with many Dukes, Earles, Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, and faire Ladies of principall reckoning and accompt) ſayled from Dover, and ſafely came to Callice, and the French King and his Queene, with their Royall and goodly traine, came to Arde.

And (becauſe it was intended that the peace which was betwixt the two Kings, ſhould be inlarged and confirmed) King *Henry* appointed the Cardinall to goe before him to the French King, and to conferre with him touching that matter. For which purpoſe hee gave unto him (by Letters Patents, under the great Seale of his Kingdome of England) full power and abſolute authority, in all points, to doe therein as himſelfe liſted.

The Cardinall goeth to the French King.

The Cardinall (being infinitely prided by reaſon of this unreaſonable, and unlimited authority and power which he had gotten) tooke his journey towards Arde, being attended on by ſome hundreds of Lords, Knights, Eſquires, and Gentlemen: all which were clothed in crimſon Velvet, and wore chaines of gold; and with as many Yeomen and Groomes, whoſe apparrell was made of rich Scarlet.

Now, when he came unto Arde, he was royally entertained by the French King, and alſo by all the Nobility of his Court, who gave their attendance on the King. But when the French Councell had viewed his Commiſſion, and the unlimited extent thereof: the French King (by their advice and counſell) granted to him the like authority and commiſſion, in all reſpects, under the great Seale of France: which hee diſſemblingly refuſed, untill hee was licenced by King *Henry* to accept thereof. After this great honour unto him done, both the ſaid Kings and their Queenes met together divers dayes in the Valley of Andren, where they feaſted, banqueted, cheered, and gladded each other, and with great bountie communicating their rich gifts each one to the other, and to the great men and Ladies of each others Nation, they tooke an unwilling and a friendly leave, and King *Henry*, with his Queene and honourable traine, returned to Callice, and from thence into England, where they were received with much joy. But in the meane time the Cardinall ſo earneſtly gaped after honour, and the reverence of the people, that he did little or nothing touching the ſaid peace.

The Cardinals large Commiſſions.

1521 13.

Now muſt wee underſtand, that all places and all Countries were filled with the frequent reports of warre to be made betwixt the Emperour and the French King, with both which Princes King *Henry* was in league; by meanes whereof, King *Henry* ſolicited amitie and peace. Whereupon it was concluded, that the Commiſſioners of thoſe three great Princes ſhould meet together at Callice, where that matter ſhould be debated and concluded, if poſsible it might be.

King

King *Henry*, the more to honour and to exalt his Cardinall, gave unto him, and to the Earle of Worceſter, and to the Lords *S. John Ferrers*, and *Harbert*, and to the Biſhops of Durham and Elie, and to Sir *Thomas Bulloine*, Sir *John Peche*, Sir *John Huſſey*, Sir *Richard Wyngfield*, and Sir *Henry Guilford* Knights, & unto ſuch others as he made Commiſſioners for that purpoſe, as large and as ample power and authoritie touching that buſineſſe, as by any meanes could be deviſed, or by any words be uttered: and then (being fully furniſhed & provided) this proud Cardinall with his Colleagues (whom he reſpected as his underlings) paſſed to the Tower-Wharfe thorow the City of London, and in his paſſage was met by the Lord Maior, Aldermen, and by the Companies in their ſeverall Liveries, who did unto him all honour and reverence; and then proceeding forwards, he with the reſt of the Commiſsioners and their Attendants tooke their Barges, landed at Graveſ-end, and comming to the Citie of Canterburie, the Arch-biſhop, and the prime ones of the Clergie of England, met the proud Cardinall without the Citie Gates, with a ſolemne Proceſsion, and magnified him as a King. Then being ſhipped at Dover, he with his companie ſafely arrived at Calice, where hee was too much elated, and made too arrogantly proud, by receiving of too much reverence and honour: yet all was done by the Kings command. Thither alſo reſorted the other Embaſſadours, and betwixt them often conferences were had. But the Commiſſioners of the Emperour were ſtiffe, and the French were ſtout.

The Cardinall is honoured.

The Cardinall is received with Proceſsion.

The King commands he ſhould be honoured.

The proud Cardinall (not contenting himſelfe with ſuch honours as formerly had been given to him) would needs proclaime and publiſh his greatneſſe in the Emperour *Maximilians* Court at Brudges, where he hoped to receive the greater eſteeme, becauſe he had with him the great ſeale of the Kingdome of England, which never before that time any Chancellor dared to tranſport beyond the Seas out of this Realme. For this purpoſe he entreated ſome few daies abſence of the Commiſſioners of the two other Princes, that in the meane time he might viſit the Emperour: For he pretended that their perſonall preſence and conference might greatly further and expedite that buſineſſe. Wherefore being accompanied with foure hundred and threeſcore horſe, he paſſed by Graveling, Dunkerk, Newport, & by Odenburge, & was every where met and ſaluted by the Noblemen and Gentry of thoſe Countries. And comming towards Brudges, he was met one mile out of the town by the Emperour himſelfe, and by the prime & flower of all his Court. Where the Emperour did him the more reverence principally for two cauſes: Firſt, becauſe he was informed of the large extent of his commiſſion, granted by King *Henry*. And ſecondly, becauſe the great ſeale of the Kingdome of England was in thoſe Countries borne with great ſtate before him, which ſeemed to be the chiefeſt marke and badge by which King *Henry* would expreſſe the extraordinary truſt and confidence which he repoſed in him; when as in truth and indeed he fooliſhly and unadviſedly carried the ſaid Seale with him for his owne glory, without the Kings leave: ſo that in his abſence no Sheriffes could be made, nor any Writs, Commiſſions, or Patents could be ſealed, which wronged many particular men, and was very prejudiciall to the preſent eſtate of the whole Kingdome.

The Cardinall goeth to the Emperours Court.

He had the great Seale of England.

His great ſtate. The Emperour meeteth him.

His Oration.

Within a day or two after the Cardinals comming to Brudges, the Emperour with his Councell, and *Wolſey* with his Aſſociates, ſeriouſly diſputed and debated of the cauſes of the jarres and wars intended betwixt his Majeſtie and the French King. But when the Cardinall perceived that the Emperour (without reſtitution unto him made of ſuch of his Caſtles, Forts, Townes, Cities, and Territories, as by the French King were detained from him) would not incline to any peace, hee then (like a learned and like a wittie Oratour) diſcourſed largely of the happineſſe of peace, and of the unſpeakable and inſupportable miſeries of bloudy warre, and forgat not to ſhew unto the Emperour the kingly ſtrength and puiſſance of his Soveraigne, both in men, and alſo in horſes, ſhips, armour, ordnance, and all other materials fot the warre. And further adding, That in regard of the league which was betwixt thoſe two Kings, his Lord and Maſter ſhould be urged to take part with the French King, if any violence by any other Prince ſhould be offered to him,

The Emperors anſwer.

The Emperour, acknowledging all to be true, whatſoever the Cardinall had ſpoken touching the benefits of peace, and the incommodities of warre, anſwered, That God, who had given honours and poſſeſſions unto Emperours and Kings, had (includedly in the ſame gifts) appropriated ſuch an inheritable right in them unto thoſe to whom they were ſo given, that he doubted not but (with the pleaſure of Almighty God) they might not onely defend and keep them with the ſword from all uſurpers and intruders, but might alſo by force and violence regaine them, if injuriouſly and beſides right they were kept and detained. And ſeeing that all Kings and Princes were bounden to ſupport right, and to ſuppreſſe all injuries and wrongs, hee ſaid hee doubted little of his Uncle King *Henries* helpe and comfort, if betwixt himſelfe and the French King there were no peace to be made without blowes. He alſo informed the Engliſh Commiſſioners, that when his forces (hee being at that time but Arch-duke of Auſtria) had overthrowne the Armie of King *Charles* the eighth at Gingate, then the ſaid King (to procure his peace) deſired and eſpouſed the Lady *Margaret* his daughter (now wife to the Duke of Savoy) and upon the ſame concluſion of the ſaid marriage, he gave with her to the ſaid French King a good portion in money, with divers Townes and Caſtles in Picardie, which were ſtill detained and kept from him, notwithſtanding that the ſaid King *Charles* perfidiouſly refuſed afterwards to marrie her, and ſent her home.

The Emperors grievances.

He told them likewiſe, that he himſelfe being lawfully betrothed unto the Lady *Jane*, the young Dutches of Britaine, hee trecherouſly gat her from him, and tooke her to his owne wife.

He ſhewed them alſo, that whereas the Duke of Guelders was his ſubject, and ought to live under his homage and obedience, he (by the procurement of the now French King) ſtood out as a rebell, refuſing to bee reformed without blowes.

He complained alſo that the French King trecherouſly ſurpriſed from the houſe of Caſtile the Realme of Naples, but ſhould reſtore it againe by friendſhip or by warre.

Thus when the Emperour had diſcourſed, and had made an end of ſpeaking, the Cardinall replied little, leaving him to his owne will; and taking

taking a friendly and a kind farewell, he returned to Calice: where hee againe (but more coldly than before) debated with those Embassadours upon the conclusions of a peace: but when hee perceived that no such matter could be effected, he tooke his leave and returned into England, and was graciously welcommed as a friend, and liberally feasted as a stranger, by the King.

In the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth yeeres of King *Henries* reigne, this proud Cardinall (under the colour of the Kings partaking with the Emperour in his warres against the French King) of his owne authoritie, and without the Kings commandement, granted forth Commissions under the great Seale of England, into every Shire and Province of the Kingdome, and directed them to the principall and chiefest men, and gave unto them private instructions, how, and in what sort, they should proceed, and demeane themselves in the execution of that businesse. And by the same Commissions, every man was required to depose the certaine and true value of his estate: and then, of every fiftie pounds and upward, there was demanded foure shillings the pound; and for every pound, above twenty, and under fiftie, two shillings; and for every pound, above twentie shillings, and under twenty pounds, twelve pence; the payment thereof to be in money, or in plate. And in London, he made himselfe the chiefe Commissioner: In which he behaved himselfe insolently as a Tyrant, not so much to enrich the King, as to stuffe up his owne purse. The like Commissions he granted forth against all the Clergie of this Land, of whom hee demanded foure shillings the pound of all their livings. 1523 15. 1524 16. 1425 17. He granteth strange commissions for taxes.

These unjust proceedings grieved the Clergie, and common people at the heart; and generally they refused to submit themselves in that businesse. The commons will not obey.

1. First, because those Commissions were not established, nor were grounded upon the Lawes of this Kingdome and Common-weale. Their reasons.

2. Secondly, because the execution of them would bee a dangerous president against the libertie and freedome of this Kingdome, in time to come.

3. Thirdly, because many mens credits exceeded their estates; and to discover their inabilities, either upon their oathes or otherwise; it might, and would tend to the subversion and utter overthrow, both of them, and of their Families.

4. And lastly, because the thing demanded and required to be paid was so much, that not one man (among ten generally) had that value in mony or in plate, though he were worth much more: And therefore if the King, by force of these Commissions, should get into his hands all his subjects plate and money, they then should for necessities sake be constrained to barter, and to exchange and chop Lead for Clothes, Tin for Bread, and Cloth for Cheese.

But these reasons prevailed not with the Cardinall: but contrariwise, he (being by a generall petition entreated to perswade the King to desist from that course, and by the Lawes to devise some other:) made this froward and sullen answer; That he would rather have his tongue plucked out of his mouth with pinsers, than he would move any such matter; and His tyrannie.

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that the ſaid ſummes demanded ſhould be payed, or levied, whether they would or no. And in Hampſhire the common people ſo much repined and grudged at theſe demands, that the Lord Viſcount *Lyſle*, and Sir *Richard weſton*, and the other Commiſsioners for that buſineſſe, greatly doubted what would enſue thereof. Wherefore (to pacifie the people) he, by his letters, moſt humbly entreated the Cardinall, that the twelfth penie, proportioned with the ſums before demanded, might ſuffice, that thereby future dangers and troubles might bee avoyded. But when the Cardinall with malignant eyes had peruſed the Viſcounts Letters, hee deeply ſwore that they ſhould coſt him his head, becauſe in them his preſumption did manifeſtly appeare, taking to himſelfe leave and liberie to differ from thoſe inſtructions which were given him. Thus was he requited and recompenced for his good ſervice to the King, and for his duteous deſire to preſerve the peace and quietneſſe of his countrey, and of this common-weale.

New Commiſſions.

The Cardinall perceiving that the people would not ſupport this heavie burthen, recalled thoſe Commiſsions, and ſent forth others; whereby a ſixt part of their ſubſtance was demanded, according to the aforeſaid rates, whereto he doubted not but willingly they would yeeld: but they refuſed not onely to ſubmit themſelves therein, but in every Shire they curſed the Cardinall to the pit of Hell; and were ſo incenſed, that much trouble among them was likely to enſue. The King, who was informed in what ſtrange ſort and faſhion his people were uſed, and underſtanding that every place was filled with clamours, with diſcontentment, and with danger, grieved thereat exceedingly. And being reſolved to reforme what was amiſſe; with all expedition, he (by his letters, which were directed into every County within his Kingdome) commanded a preſent ceſſation of all executions of the ſaid Commiſsions, and proteſted that they were granted forth without his knowledge or conſent, and that he would not but by the courſe of Law, require any thing from his people, though his wants were great, to maintaine his warres. But if by way of a benevolence they would of their owne accord enlarge themſelves towards him, he then would accept thereof, and take it as an infallible proofe of their love and dutie towards their King.

The Cardinall curſed.

The commiſſions are recalled.

The Cardinals baſe flatterie.

The ambitious Cardinall privately grudging that the King in his letters had includedly laid the fault on him, and intending to rob his Majeſtie of his peoples good affections towards him, and practiſing to win it unto himſelfe, required the Lord Maior and Aldermen of London to come before him, to whom by a ſubtle and a cunning ſpeech he proteſted, that becauſe he ſaw and perceived that thoſe Taxes were too heavie for them to beare, and becauſe in his heart he loved them, he therefore had kneeled to the King, and had perſwaded him to revoke the ſaid Commiſsions, and wholly to relie upon their free benevolence and good will. Wherefore he courteouſly adviſed them to be voluntarily bountifull and liberall of their owne accord. Then with great expedition he diſpatched his letters to that effect into every Shire and County of this Kingdome. But in regard that the King in his letters had proteſted his ignorance touching the ſaid former Taxes, therefore the proud Cardinall was ſtill condemned, and mortally hated by the people.

Then

Then forthwith (by the incitation of the Cardinall) new Commiſsions for the ſaid benevolence were made. And in the execution of them ſome of the Commiſſioners endeavoured fairely to perſwade, but others of them by rough and unkind ſpeeches procured men to give largely, whether they would or no. Yet they prevailed little: for the greateſt part of the people refuſed to give any thing, ſome of them alledging the Statute which was made againſt the demanding of benevolences in the firſt yeere of the reigne of King *Richard* the Third, and ſome others alledging for their excuſe, their povertie and their want. Commiſſions for the benevolence.

It is now ſeriouſly to be obſerved, that the Cardinall having newly erected two Colledges, the one in Ipſwich, where he was borne, and the other in Oxford, and intending to make their poſſeſſions faire and great, as their foundations were wide and large, procured a licence from the Pope, by vertue whereof (as he was authorized) he plucked done certaine ſmall Abbies, Frieries, and Religious Houſes, to appropriate their lands and revenues to thoſe Colledges: which example and preſident firſt moved the King, for other reſpects, within few yeeres after to plucke downe all ſuch Religious Houſes. For if it were religious in the Pope and Cardinall ſo to doe, the King little doubted (ſeeing the groſſe enormities and evill life of moſt of thoſe men) but it was likewiſe lawfull for him to plucke them downe. The Cardinall ſuppreſſeth ſome Religious Houſes. Note this.

And becauſe the buſie head of the Cardinall could not be idle, therefore he made the King to beleeve, that the eſtate and condition of his owne houſe was unprofitably diſordered, and out of tune. Whereupon, for the reformation thereof, he removed divers of the Kings meniall ſervants and houſhold Officers from their places, and beſtowed them upon others whom he more fancied, although they deſerved worſe. He alſo beſtowed his Manour of Hampton Court, with all ſuch coſtly buildings as he had erected there, upon the King; in regard whereof, the King gave him leave to keepe his Court in his Palace of Richmond, wherein King *Henry* the Seventh did extraordinarily delight. Theſe his two actions made him hatefull to the Commons, who mutteringly repined, ſaying, that the King and they were much abuſed, ſo to be uſed by a Butchers Dogge. He reformeth the Kings houſhold.

At this time the French King became an earneſt ſuter to King *Henry*, to have in marriage for the Dolphin, the Lady *Mary*, the Kings onely daughter, and heire apparent to the Crowne. But the ſaid motion was croſſed by a double encounter. The firſt was, the diſlike which the States-men and the Commons of this Realme had conceived touching that match; which publikely they declared by their ſolemne proteſtations, and frequent ſpeeches, that if King *Henry* ſhould die without iſſue male of his body lawfully begotten, as hee then had none, they would not receive a Frenchman to be their King, becauſe he poſſeſſing a greater eſtate and kingdome, would make this but a ſervant and an attendant upon that. The ſecond was a ſcruple caſt in the way (as moſt men thought, upon the ſecret intimation of the Cardinall, in diſpleaſure to the Emperour, becauſe by ſtrength he had not made him Pope) by the Preſident of Paris, who made it queſtionable, whether or no the Lady *Mary* were legitimate, and borne in lawfull matrimonie, becauſe the King had begot- 1527. 19. The Kings marriage called into queſtion.

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ten her upon the body of the Lady *Katherine*, Aunt to the Emperour, and who had ſometimes beene his brother Prince *Arthurs* wife. And from this doubt and from this ſcruple (which before that time was not thought on) infinite vexation and trouble did enſue, as in this diſcourſe it ſhall appeare. For thereupon the Kings Confeſſor, Doctor *Longland*, Biſhop of Lincolne, and many other profound Divines, informed the King, that almoſt twentie yeeres hee had lived inceſtuouſly with the Queene, and that now (for his conſcience ſake) he ought truly and heartily to repent for that great ſinne, and to leave her bed.

The Cardinall is Ambaſſadour for France.

The Cardinall, who (as hee thought) had a long time lien lazily at home, would now be gadding into France, in an Ambaſſage to the French King, the ſubſtance whereof was onely knowne to the King and him. And at his departure, the King (in the preſence of all his Lords) embraced him as his familiar friend. And at that time ſuch was his great eſtate, that paſſing thorow the Citie of London, hee was attended by twelve hundred horſe. And when hee came to Callice, he was received with as much honour as by the Towne and Garriſon could be preſented unto him. And at Bulleine (among many other devices to magnifie his greatneſſe) he was entertained with two ridiculous Pageants.

Two ridiculous Pageants.

In the one of them there was a Nun, called the holy Church, unto whoſe perſon and chaſtitie three Spaniards and three Almaines attempted to offer violence; but by a Cardinall ſhee was reſcued and delivered from them all.

And in the other there was repreſented a Pope lying on the ground, and an Emperour ſitting in an Imperiall Throne; but a Cardinall plucked him from his ſeat, raiſed the Pope, and placed him therein.

The French King meeteth him.

From Bulleine he came towards Amyens: he was met upon the way by the Provoſt and the moſt ſubſtantiall Citizens on horſe-backe, and by them he was ſaluted and reverenced as a King. And when hee came within halfe a mile of the City, the King himſelfe with his Nobles met him, cheerefully embraced him, and in a wonderfull and magnificent pompe conducted him to his lodging, on the gates whereof was written in large and faire letters, *Cardinalis pacificus*, *The peaceable Cardinall*, or *The Cardinall of peace*. And at their departure the proud Cardinall would have vouchſafed to have brought the King to his Court, but the King would not ſuffer him ſo to doe. Thus Kings, Nobles, Times and Places conſpired (if it had beene poſſible) to have made him more proud, whoſe heart was ſo haughty, that he ſuppoſed he could never be humbled and brought low.

He concludes a peace.

Then daily almoſt for the ſpace of three weekes together, the French King, his Councell, and the Cardinall (with his Aſſociates, who were obſcured by his greatneſſe, as the Moone is by the direct oppoſition of the Sun) conferred ſeriouſly: and in the end hee concluded a peace betwixt the two Kings, in the honour whereof, and of the proud Cardinall, the inſtrument in which the Articles of the ſaid peace were contained, was ſealed with a ſeale purpoſely made of fine gold, whereof hee boaſtingly bragged the next Terme in the Starre-chamber, affirming before the whole Aſſemblie, that the peace which by him was concluded, was ſuch an abſolute, perfect, and ſound peace, that it would continue *in ſecula ſeculorum*,

ſeculorum, world without end. But the people mutteringly repined thereat, ſaying, that England never long enjoyed any benefit by any peace which was concluded with the French, whoſe propertie it was (for their advantage, without cauſe) to ſtart aſide from any thing which they had ſaid, and ſworne to performe. They alſo ſaid, that to enter into a fained league with the French King, the Emperour and his friendſhip was abandoned, and that old enemies were entertained, and old friends were unadviſedly (by the Cardinals meanes) caſt off. And therein they ſpake truely: for by the Cardinals enticement, and ſecret perſwaſions, the King (without good cauſe) ſhewed himſelfe an enemie to the Emperour, and to the Flemings, and unto others of his people, although the Emperour by all fitting and beſeeming meanes had wooed him to obtaine and to keepe his love.

By theſe jarres, thus cunningly broached by the Cardinall in favour of the Pope, and of the French King, the queſtion touching the lawfulneſſe or nullitie of the Kings marriage was ſmoothered for a while. But not long after, ſuch as ſeemed to be tender over the Kings conſcience, and provident to eſtabliſh the true ſucceſſion of this Kingdome in a lawfull heire, revived the ſcruple, and therewithall ſo buſied the Kings cogitations and thoughts, that a religious ſorrow began to ſeize upon him. And (to avoid the continuance in that inceſtuous ſinne, untill by a judiciall ſentence the doubts were cleared) hee refrained from the Queenes bed. And the Cardinall (to make himſelfe more great than he was) procured a commiſſion from the Pope, to bee directed to him, and unto his ancient brother *Campeius*, that before them, as ſupreme Judges, that queſtion (by legall proceſſes and proceedings) might be heard, debated on, and cenſured, according to the Lawes of God and the lawes of man. 1528 20. The marriage in queſtion. A power Legantine is granted.

Theſe two Lagates (having received this commiſſion) informed the Queen of their authoritie and power: and ſhe (in ſome paſſion) accuſed *Wolſey* as the principall broacher of that doubt, and the maintainer of that contention, partly to be revenged thereby upon her Nephew the Emperour, becauſe he would not make him Pope (as ſecretly he had requeſted him) and partly, becauſe oftentimes in a moſt ſecret, loving and gentle faſhion, ſhe had admoniſhed and warned him of his covetouſneſſe and tyrannie, of his extortions and oppreſſions, and of his pride and lecherie: but he excuſed himſelfe, as if he had beene an honeſt man. Wolſey is accuſed.

The King (pretending nothing in this buſineſſe but truth, ſinceritie and juſtice, according to the Lawes of God and man) was well contented that the Queene ſhould make choiſe of the greateſt Clerkes, and of the beſt learned men within his Kingdome, to defend and to maintaine her cauſe: Whereupon ſhe elected *William Warham* Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and *Nicolas Weſt* Biſhop of Ely, who were Doctors of the Lawes, and *John Fiſher* Biſhop of Rocheſter, and *Henry Standiſh* Biſhop of Aſſaph, who were Doctors of Divinity, and ſome others: and they (as occaſions did require) did for her as much therein, as by wit and learning could be done. The Queen chooſeth Counſellors.

Now for the proſecuting of this buſineſſe, the two Legates cauſed a ſtately Court to be erected at the Black-fryers in the great Hall, in which (for 1529 21.

The King and Queene are ſummoned.

(for them) were placed two Chaires and two great Cuſhions, covered over with cloth of gold: and at the appointed day the two Legates tooke their places; but the Cardinall of Yorke (as his cuſtome was) preferred his elder brother *Campeius* to the left hand: and then having cauſed their commiſſion publikely to be read, the King and the Queen were cyted in their owne perſons, or by their Proctors to appeare. The King by his Proctors ſubmitted himſelfe to the Apoſtolicall authority and power which by the Pope to the two Legates was given. But the Queen her ſelfe (being accompanied with many Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, Ladies, and Gentlewomen, and having firſt done great reverence to the Legates) appealed from them (as from Judges which were not competent, and indifferent to determine betwixt the King and Queene) to the Court at Rome. This appeale they allowed not: but in the ſame Court they ſat weekely. And before them many learned and ſubtill diſputations touching the lawfulneſſe, and alſo concerning the inſufficiencie of that marriage, were daily made.

The Queene appealeth.

The Kings proteſtation.

But the King (perceiving that no quicke diſpatch was uſed, though oftentimes deliberately they conſulted) came with the Queene into the ſaid Court, where his Majeſtie ſolemnly proteſted his infinite love towards her; acknowledging her to be the moſt amiable, loving, kinde, duteous, modeſt, and ſweeteſt wife, that (he thought) was in the whole world: and that therefore he ſhould not take ſo much joy and comfort in any thing elſe whatſoever, as he ſhould doe in her, if by the lawes of God and man ſhe might remaine his wife: and therefore, for the determining of that queſtion, and for the quieting of his troubled conſcience, hee inſtantly importuned a quicke diſpatch and a finall end. Then was the Queen demanded, whether ſhee would ſticke to her appleale or no? who anſwered, yea: yet (for all that) the Court proceeded weekely (though ſafely) as before.

Hee deſireth a quick end.

The King is delayed.

Within few dayes after, the King being informed that after the laſt day of that moneth of July, the Legates would not ſit any more, untill the fourth day of October, hee was thereat vexed and troubled above meaſure: Wherefore (at the next ſitting) hee ſent the Dukes of Norfolke, and of Suffolke, with ſome other Lords, to the Legates; requeſting them to diſpatch their judiciall ſentence one way or other, that long delaies might not augment the anguiſh of his troubled conſcience. The Dukes, in a reverent, and in an earneſt manner delivered their meſſage in the open Court. But by *Campeius* it was anſwered, That there was yeerely, and of cuſtome, a ceſſation in the Court of Rome, betwixt the aforeſaid daies, from all Legall proceedings whatſoever: and that if any ſentence in the Interim were given, it was utterly voyd in Law, and of no force at all: And therefore, ſeeing that their Court was a branch of the Court of Rome, they could not (untill the day prefixed) intermeddle any further in that buſineſſe. This anſwer ſo much offended *Charles* the Duke of Suffolke, that (ſtriking his fiſt upon the board) he ſwore, that the old ſaying was too too true; *That never Cardinall or Legate did any good in England:* and therewithall the offended Lords departed, and ſo did almoſt the whole companie, leaving the two Legates to looke one upon the other.

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The King being thus troubled with an enforced delay, contented himſelfe as patiently as hee was able, hoping that in October that buſineſſe would have an end. But within few dayes after, hee was informed that *Campeius* (being ſent for by the Pope) made great preparations for his returne to Rome: whereby he perceived plainly, that the two Legates had groſly diſſembled with him; and that they had ſecretly plotted theſe delayes, that the matter ſhould not be definitively cenſured and ſentenced by them, but in the Court at Rome, where infinite coſts and charges would be expended, the buſineſſe would be lingred on with arguments and long diſputes, and that his conſcience ſhould bee unſettled in the meane time. And for this cauſe, from this time forward, the King in his heart hated and maligned his unthankfull and diſſembling creature baſe *Wolſey*, whom (from a contemptible birth & eſtate) he had preferred, and made Abbot of S. Albons, his Almoner, a Councellor of Eſtate, Biſhop of Wincheſter and of Durham, Arch-biſhop of Yorke, an Embaſſadour to Kings and Princes, his Chancellor, and a Cardinall.

Campeius is bound for Rome.

The King hateth Wolſey.

And thus this buſineſſe which he plotted to make himſelfe gracious with the King, eminent above others, and to be revenged upon his enemies, turned to his owne ruine and utter deſtruction in the end.

For the Kings Councell and the Nobles of this Land (perceiving that the Kings heart was changed from him) were not a little glad, becauſe generally he was hated. And (to preſſe him downe in his falling) they framed againſt him divers Articles, ſome demonſtrating his exceſſive pride, others his inſulting tyrannie, others his grievous oppreſſions, others his monſtrous injuſtice, others his inſatiable covetouſneſſe, others his abominable lecherie, others his eager and ſharpe courſes to revenge, and others his ſecret and his cunning dealing betwixt the Pope and him, whereby his Majeſties regall authoritie and his prerogative royall in all things touching the Clergie and Church, was made voyd. And thereupon they concluded that he was guiltie of the Premunire, and conſequently had forfeited all his promotions, lands, goods, chattels, and his libertie to the King. Theſe Articles being reduced into good forme, and fit order, were by the Nobility ingroſſed into a booke, ſubſcribed with their hands, and then it was delivered to the King, who concealed it for a few dayes.

Articles againſt Wolſey.

The two Legates (not knowing what had paſſed) came to Woodſtocke to the King, where *Campeius* tooke his leave to goe to Rome: and *Wolſey* (who purpoſed to have left him, and to have remained with the King) was frowningly commanded to accompany his honeſt brother unto London, where he ſhould be further informed of the Kings minde. When they were come thither, and from thence were journying towards the Sea coaſts, by order and direction from the Councell, *Campeius* his truncks and cheſts were broken up, and a diligent ſearch was made, to finde ſuch letters, as they conjectured were by *Wolſey* ſent to Rome: but none were found: For by a Poſt, they were ſent away a day or two before.

Campeius taketh his leave.

His cheſts are broken up.

The next Terme the King cauſed his Atturney Generall, named Sir *Chriſtopher Hales*, to preferre into the Kings Bench, an inditement upon the Statute of Premunire, againſt the Cardinall, upon the aforeſaid

The Cardinall is indicted.

The great Seale is taken from him.

His goods are ſeazed.

Articles, which he performed accordingly: And by the Grand-Jurie it was found againſt the Cardinall. Then forthwith the Dukes of Norfolke, and of Suffolke, were required to take from him the great Seale, which the King beſtowed upon Sir *Thomas Moore*: hee alſo cauſed Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, Knight of the Garter, and Treaſurer of his Majeſties houſhold, and Doctor *Stephen Gardiner* his new Secretary, ſo to guard, and ſo to watch his Houſe and Palace at Weſtminſter, that none of his moveables whatſoever might bee imbeaſelled, or purloyned, or carried away from thence. And the Cardinall himſelfe being confined to Aſher, not farre from Kingſton, and moſt of his Attendants being diſplaced, and removed from him, a ſmall allowance of things needfull was appointed to him for his neceſſary uſe, whereat hee infinitely grieved.

He confeſſeth this indictment.

Then was he required by the King, to plead to the ſaid Indictment: but by his Atturney (ſufficiently authorized under his hand and ſeale) he confeſſed every materiall point thereof.

His dignities taken from him.

Then the King conferred the Abbie of Saint Albones upon the Prior of Norwich, the Biſhopricke of Durham upon Doctor *Tonſtall*, and the Chancellorſhip was ratified to Sir *Thomas Moore*. But the King (of his gentleneſſe, and in regard of his former favours towards the Cardinall) left unto him the Arch-biſhopricke of Yorke, and the Biſhopricke of Wincheſter, and ſent unto him much plate, houſholdſtuffe, and many other things (part of that which had beene taken from him) to a great value. Yet in his heart he remained unthankfull, grudging, and malicious towards the King.

The King (in former times) had intermedled very little with the government of this Common-weale, for he was almoſt altogether ruled and directed by the Cardinall, and by the Clergie of this Land. But he now began to be ſenſible of that errour, and to caſt away that yoke: ſo that he tooke the reines into his owne hand. And (firſt of all) hee aſſembled his High Court of Parliament, in which the Commons of the Lower Houſe ſharply complained of the miſdemeanors of the Clergie: but eſpecially in theſe ſixe things.

Articles againſt the Clergie.

1 *FIrſt, becauſe (with great extremity) they exacted unreaſonable ſummes of money, as due fees, for the Probate of mens laſt Wils and Teſtaments.*

2 *Secondly, becauſe they were exceſſively covetous and cruell, in demanding for Mortuaries, eſpecially of ſuch poore people as ſcarcely left two kine for the maintenance of their wives and children.*

3 *Thirdly, becauſe their full purſes made them to become Farmors of great Granges, Bartons, and temporall farmes, taking them*

them in leaſe in every Shire, and become Husbandmen and Graziers, to the prejudice and hurt of ſuch as were trained and brought up only to be Husbandmen.

4 *Fourthly, becauſe many of them kept Tanning houſes for their private gaine, and were Brokers, Buyers, and Ingroſſers of Wooll, Cloth, and other merchandizes, ſnatching up all, and enforcing tradeſmen, and clothiers to buy thoſe commodities at the ſecond or third hand, and at unreaſonable prices.*

5 *Fiftly, becauſe ſuch Clergie men as had the beſt, and the greateſt Spirituall livings, did (with great extremitie) take the utmoſt of their rights: and yet they lived in the Court, or in the houſes of Noblemen, and Biſhops; ſo that they ſpent nothing in Hoſpitalitie among their Neighbours, nor did feede their flocke with the milke of Gods moſt holy and ſacred Word.*

6 *And laſt of all, becauſe divers ignorant men among them, held and enjoyed eight, ten, twelve, yea more Benefices and Spirituall promotions to themſelves ſeverally, and yet lived not upon any one of them: but kept great Scholars and learned men, at a ſhort commons, in one of the Univerſities, who were better able to doe more good than they.*

Doctor Fiſher wrongeth the lower houſe of Parliament.

The Biſhops perceiving that theſe matters much concerned them, and the whole Clergie of this Land, ſtrongly oppoſed themſelves againſt ſuch as exhibited the ſame complaints; inſomuch that Doctor *Fiſher* Biſhop of Rocheſter (being more earneſt than well adviſed) deſired the Lords to remember well, and to conſider, that when the Bohemians abuſed the eſtate and dignitie of their Clergie, they then ruinated and deſtroyed their Kingdome and Common-weale: Wherefore hee inſtantly requeſted them to bee well adviſed, before they entertained theſe objections: for (quoth hee) they are not religious, nor doe proceed from Faith.

They complaine to the King.

When the Commons had underſtood what the Biſhop of Rocheſter had ſpoken, then by *Thomas Audley* their Speaker, and by thirty others of the houſe, they informed the King of the ſaid injury and wrong: alledging that if the Lower Houſe of Parliament were reputed to want Faith, then they were eſteemed to be Heretickes, and conſequently, that all ſuch Bills as they preferred, or did paſſe, ſhould be preferred and concluded on by Paynims, Pagans, and faithleſſe men, and ſo were unlawfull, and unfit to rule, and to governe Chriſtians, and ſuch as truly and ſincerely honoured and adored God.

The King (who was much offended and grieved at the Biſhops ſpeech) gave them this gentle anſwer; That hee would underſtand his meaning concerning thoſe words, and that (with all convenient expedition) hee would informe them of his anſwer. And within a day or two after, the ſaid Biſhop and ſix others were ſent for; and the Biſhop of

Rocheſter was reprehended by the King. But with many ſolemne proteſtations, he aſſured the King, that he referred thoſe words, *They proceeded not from Faith*, to the doings, deeds and actions of the Bohemians, and not to the doings of the Lower Houſe; which likewiſe was affirmed by the reſt. This his excuſe was by the King ſent to the Commons; who ſpake liberally of the Biſhop, and repayed their debt with unbeſeeming termes. In ſo much, that at a Committee (in which the Biſhops ſtrongly perſiſted to maintaine and to juſtifie the taking of their Fees for probates of Teſtaments to be lawfull, becauſe the ſame paiments had beene of a long time uſed) a Gentleman of the Lower Houſe replyed to the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, That Theeves on Shooters Hill uſed to take purſes there: *Ergo* it was lawfull. This ſpeech pleaſed the Commons well: for they thought that they had now angred the Biſhops, as the Biſhop of Rocheſter had angred them. Then were the matters aforeſaid compriſed in the ſame complaint, reduced into a formall Bill: which (being long, and ſubſtantially diſputed on, and in ſome points qualified) were aſſented unto by both the Houſes, and afterwards (for Lawes) eſtabliſhed by the King.

The Booke alſo which contained the Articles which were drawne againſt the Cardinall, was ſent by the Lords to the Lower Houſe. In which (among divers other things) he was principally accuſed of theſe great faults.

The Articles againſt Wolſey.

1 *First, That by diſhoneſt and cunning reaſons, he had deceitfully induced the King to conſent that hee ſhould be made a Legate to the Pope, which authoritie did (indeed and in effect) fruſtrate and make voide all the authoritie and juriſdiction of all other Biſhops and Clergie men within this Kingdome, and alſo the authority of the King in Eccleſiaſticall things and cauſes.*

2 *Item, That in all his letters, and other paſſages to forraigne Eſtates and Princes, his phraſe in writing was*, Ego, & Rex meus; *I, and my King: as if the Kings Majeſtie had beene his inferiour, and at his command.*

3 *Item, That (to induce the Pope to give unto him a power Legantine) he in his letters for that purpoſe had this phraſe*: Eccleſia Anglicana facta eſt in reprobum ſenſum; *The Church of England is become reprobate: whereby he unchriſtianly diſgraced and abominably ſlandred the Church of England, as being faithleſſe. And that therefore neceſsitie did inſtantly urge and require, that by a power Legantine, to be granted unto him, it might be reduced to a right beliefe.*

4 *Item, That when he was ſent an Ambaſſador to Callice, there to conferre with the Ambaſſadors of the Emperour, and of the French King, hee carried with him, without the Kings leave,*

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the great Seale of this Kingdome: and from thence he alſo carried it into Flanders to the Emperours Court for his own honour and vaine glory.

5 *Item, That without the Kings knowledge or conſent he had ſent a commiſsion, ſealed with the great Seale of England, to Sir* Gregory de Caſſado, *authorizing him thereby in the Kings name, to conclude a peace betwixt the Duke of Ferrara, and the Kings Majeſtie.*

6 *Item, That he being filthily powdred with the French pocks, by reaſon of his exceſsive lecherie, and diſhoneſt life, did oftentimes preſume to talke with, and to caſt his unwholſome breath into the Kings face.*

7 *Item, That to magnifie his owne power both at home and with forraine Nations, he cauſed a Cardinals hat to bee ſtamped on ſome of the Kings coine, without his Majeſties appointment or conſent.*

8 *Item, That he would not ſuffer the Kings Clerke of the market to execute his office in S. Albons, becauſe the ſame Towne was parcell of his Abbey.*

9 *Item, That (to obtaine his dignities, and to continue the love and favour of the Pope and of his Cardinals towards him) hee had in ſixteene barrels conveied to Pope Clement the ſeventh, and to his Cardinals, toward their redemption out of priſon, wherein after the ſacking of Rome they were kept by the Emperour Charles the fifth, and to the French King in the Popes behalfe, to make warres upon the Emperour, ſo much gold as did amount to the ſumme of two hundred and fortie thouſand pounds at one time, and incredible ſummes of other money at other times, to the great impoveriſhing of this Kingdome and Common-weale: and to enrich the King againe, had of his own accord ſent out ſuch Commiſsions into all Shires within this Kingdome, for the exacting of infinite ſummes of money, as quenched the peoples love towards the King, and made them rebellioúſly to diſturbe the peace of this Kingdome in Norfolke and elſewhere.*

Theſe Articles and many more being comptiſed in the ſaid booke, the Cardinall by a ſubſcription written with his owne hand, frankly and freely confeſſed, and ſubmitted himſelfe to the Kings mercy. Wolſey confeſſeth the Articles.

About the ſame time the King (for honourable and good ſervice) created Sir *Thomas Bulleine* (who was Viſcount Rochford) Earle of Wiltſhire, and Viſcount *Fitz-water* was made Earle of Suſſex, Noblemen created.

ſex, and the Lord *Haſtings* was created Earle of Huntingdon.

An embaſſage. The King (becauſe hee was informed that the Emperour and the Pope were together in Bononie) ſent thither (as Ambaſſadors) the ſaid Earle of Wiltſhire & ſome others, proteſting that the queſtion touching his marriage was not begotten nor motioned by him, nor by his conſent, but firſt by the Preſident of Paris, who received it (as he affirmed) from the Counſell of Spaine, and ſince by the graveſt and the beſt learned Divines within his Kingdome, and not upon any diſlike which he conceived againſt his Queene, nor for any deſire to change: and therefore hee earneſtly entreated them, that for the clearing of his troubled conſcience, the ſame matter might one way or other receive a ſpeedy and a finall end by a ſentence or judgement declaratorie in the Conſiſtorie of Rome. The Emperour ſaid little, but onely anſwered, that the judgement of the Law ſhould content and ſatisfie him in that point. And the Pope ſaid, that when hee came to Rome, the matter ſhould receive an end; but yet hee meant nothing leſſe: for hee knew right well, that if he pronounced ſentence againſt the diſpenſation granted by Pope *Julie* his predeceſſor (although hee knew well that it was flatly againſt the Law of God) then the Popes future diſpenſations would be little or nothing at all reſpected or regarded. And hee likewiſe knew, that by giving of ſentence againſt the Queene, hee ſhould againe make the Emperour his enemy, who was now newly become his freind. Thus this unthankfull Pope flattered and dallied with the Kings Ambaſſadors, making them hopefull, but in vaine; yet with this anſwer they returned to the King, who (fearing left the Pope and his Cardinals would indeed by long delayes abuſe and dally with him) employed divers Lords, and the greateſt Divines within his Kingdome, at his exceeding great coſts and charges, to travell into all the Univerſities in the Chriſtian world, and there to be reſolved of their opinions touching the validitie or nullitie of his ſaid marriage. And when they all returned, they brought with them twelve Inſtruments, ſealed with the publike Seales of ſo many Univerſities, and alſo the opinions of ſundry great and famous learned men; by all which it appeared that they agreed and conſented in one, that the Kings marriage with his brothers wife was utterly void, and contrary to the Lawes of God and man, notwithſtanding the diſpenſation of the Pope.

The King craveth a ſentence.

The opinion of Univerſities.

Wolſey is licenſed to goe to Yorke. The King at this time (by the advice of his Counſell) licenſed *Wolſey* to live within his Dioceſſe of Yorke; for which cauſe he went thither. But divers of his ſervants (by their friends meanes) got into the Kings ſervice; among whom *Thomas Cromwell* (being a wiſe and a diſcreet man) was one, whom the King entertained with publike demonſtration of his good affections towards him, and of his favour.

The Cardinals Colledges. Now though ſuch of the Cardinals lands as hee intended to have beſtowed upon his two Colledges were clearely forfeited unto the King, yet his Majeſtie in regard of his great love which he bare to learning, and unto learned men, beſtowed the ſame wholly upon his Colledge founded in Oxford, called the Cardinals Colledge, but then newly named the Kings Colledge, but now it is called Chriſts Church. And the other of his Colledges (founded at Ipſwich) the King deſtroied, as being unprofitable, and ſerving to no purpoſe.

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The King being ſecretly informed that the Cardinall had gotten a Bull from Rome, to curſe him, except hee would reſtore him to all his goods, lands, and dignities, and that none but hee (no not the King himſelfe) ſhould for any offence whatſoever correct or puniſh any Clergie man, proclaimed that all proviſions, appeales, and inſtruments, within the ſpace of one yeere next before that time procured, or which at any time from thenceforth ſhould bee procured from the See of Rome, whereby the authority royall and prerogative of the King might in any jot be leſſened or diminiſhed, ſhould bee utterly void and fruſtrate in all reſpects, and that the procurers of them ſhould bee puniſhed at the Kings will. 1530 22. A Bull from the Pope.

The proud Cardinall, ſcorning to bee humbled and trodden downe, and purpoſing to ſet new broiles and diſturbances in the Common-weale to moleſt the King, wrote ſecret letters to the Pope and to his Cardinals, to animate and to exaſperate them againſt the King. And they (underſtanding in what a diſgracefull plight the Cardinall then ſtood) encouraged him not to faint, nor to ſhew himſelfe a coward, and a heartleſſe man, by yeelding to the perverſneſſe of his preſent fortune, promiſing his reſtauration, and that (for his ſake) the King ſhould be effectually croſſed in his weightie buſineſſe betwixt the Queene and him. Wolſey writes to Rome. The anſwer.

Hereupon the Cardinall began to take heart: and nothing doubting but that he ſhould againe bee advanced, if not by the Kings conſent, yet *volens nolens*, and againſt his will, made great preparation for his enſtalment into his Archbiſhoprick at Yorke; which hee intended to ſolemnize with ſuch magnificence and pompe, as the like before had never beene ſeene in that place. For which purpoſe hee erected in that Cathedrall Church a ſtately ſeat, of an extraordinary height, not much unlike to a Kings throne. He alſo wrote to the Nobles, Knights, and chiefeſt Gentlemen in the North, many fawning, flattering, and kinde letters, entreating and inviting them at a prefixed day to accompanie him (at his inſtalment) to the City of Yorke, where hee provided for them great cheere, not ſparing any coſt. His pride.

The King (who was advertiſed what he had written to Rome, and what anſwer was made thereunto, and perceiving that he intended with extraordinarie pompe and ſtate to be inſtalled, for which his doings he had no licence from his Majeſtie) imagined (and therein he was not deceived) that thoſe great preparations were made of purpoſe, and in an outfacing faſhion, to confront him.

Wherefore to prevent his ſaid inſtalment, he ſent a commiſſion under his great Seale of England, whereby he required *Henry* the ſixt Earle of Northumberland, to attach and to arreſt the body of the ſaid Cardinall, to bring him to the Caſtle of Sheffield, and there to deliver him to the ſafe cuſtodie and keeping of the Earle of Shrewsbury: which he did, although the Cardinall prowdly checked him, and told him that he was a member of the Colledge of Cardinals in Rome, and that neither the King, nor any other temporall Prince under heaven, could, or ought to intermeddle with him for any cauſe or matter whatſoever. Yet for all this (aſſoone as hee was gone) all his plate, good, horſes, and houſhold-ſtuffe were ſeized on to the Kings uſe: his Officers were diſcharged, Wolſey is arreſted. His goods are attached.

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and his Phyſitian Doctor *Auguſtine*, was by Sir *Walter Welſh*, one of the Kings chamber, conveyed to the Tower.

Aſſoone as the King was informed of the executing of his commiſſion, he ſent Sir *William Kingſton*, the Captaine of his Guard, and Conſtable of the Tower, with certaine Yeomen of his Guard, to fetch the Cardinall to that pirſon.

The ſight of this Meſſenger more daunted and appalled the Cardinall than all the reſt: for now he was right well aſſured, that his head was in great danger. This feare made him to fall into a ſudden ſickneſſe, ſo that (purpoſely, as it was conjectured, to diſpatch himſelfe out of this life) hee tooke a purgation, which was more ſtrong than the weakneſſe of his nature could controll, by reaſon whereof hee dyed two nights after.

He dyeth.

Thus lived, and thus died this Cardinall, who was proud and ambitious, wanton and lecherous, rich and covetous, a lyar and a flatterer, a tyrant and mercileſſe: forgetfull of his beginnings, diſdainefull in his proſperitie, and wretched in his end: *whoſe death made the King joyfull, his Nobles jocund, and the People glad.*

His deſcription.

Hee being thus dead, the King by his Councell was informed, that all the Clergie of England were guiltie of the Premunire; becauſe (in all things) they had ſupported and maintained the authoritie and power Legantine of the Cardinall: Wherefore (to prevent a miſchife before it fell upon them) they gave to the King for their redemption, and for their pardon, the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds: and by a publike inſtrument in writing, ſubſcribed, and ſealed by all the Biſhops and Fathers of the Church, they plainely, voluntarily, and willingly acknowledged the King (within his owne Kingdomes and Dominions) to bee the ſupreme Head of the Church, as well in all matters Eccleſiaſticall, as in all Temporall things and caſes whatſoever. Yet not long after the King diminiſhed their number and their ſtrength, as hereafter it ſhall appeare.

The Clergie feared the Premunire.

The Kings Supremacie acknowledged.

The Cardinall being thus gone, the King intending nothing leſſe than to dance attendance in the Court at Rome, cauſed the ſaid inſtruments procured from ſo many Univerſities, together with the opinions of ſo many learned men, and of his two Univerſities of Oxford and of Cambridge, publikely to bee ſhewed in both the houſes of his Parliament: which being done by divers honourable Lords, both ſpirituall and temporall, he cauſed them to be ſhewed to the Queene, and the queſtion to be demanded of her, whether ſhe would relinquiſh her appeale to the See of Rome, and referre her ſelfe and her cauſe to any Nobles and Biſhops within this Kingdome? whoſe anſwer was, that ſhe would not: whereupon the King reſolving in his conſcience that his ſaid marriage was void in Law, began to bend his love and kinde affections to a goodly, faire, and beautifull Lady in his Court, named *Anne Bullen*. Her hee created a Marchioneſſe of Pembroke, and after tooke her to his wife. And ſome few moneths after, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury (being accompanied with the Biſhops of London, Bath, Lincolne, and ſome others, together with divers Doctors, Advocates, Proctors, and Officers of the Eccleſiaſticall Court) repaired to Dunſtable, where the Princeſſe Dowager

Opinions ſhewed.

The King marrieth Anne Bullen.

Dowager (for ſo ſhe was then called) lay. Her the Archbiſhop peremptorily aſcited perſonally to appeare before him in a caſe of matrimonie: and the like he did for fifteene daies together. And then upon the default and contumacie of the ſaid Princeſſe, the Archbiſhop pronounced the ſaid marriage (being againſt the Law of God) to be meerely and utterly voide, the Popes diſpenſation notwithſtanding. The King is divorced from Queene Katherine. 1516 8.

Having diſcourſed of all things memorable which were done by *Thomas Wolſey* Cardinall of Yorke, and concluded the contention touching the marriage of King *Henry* with the Ladie *Katherine* his brothers wife, it will be very expedient and fitting that we now returne to the narration of ſuch other things as are worthy to be compriſed in this Storie, and which were done whileſt King *Henry* lived. The Author returneth to the hiſtorie, which is interrupted by the relation and connecting together of the deeds and actions of Cardinall Wolſey.

Firſt therefore we may underſtand, that in the end of the eighth yeere, and in the beginning of the ninth yeere of his reigne, the Citizens of London heartily hated ſuch Merchant ſtrangers and ſtrangers Artificers as dwelt among them; partly becauſe by their great wealth and extraordinarie labour and induſtry they tooke from them the greateſt meanes whereby they were to live, and partly becauſe their riches made them ſo proud, that in deriſion and in ſcorne, privatly and publikely, they would deprave and abuſe the Citizens with many mockes and frumps: ſo that they (being reſolved no longer to endure or to beare them) upon May day many hundreds of them riotouſly aſſembled themſelves together, and with great outrage and violence rifled, robbed, and ranſacked the houſes and the ſhops of all ſtrangers, and intended to have done more miſchiefe, if the prouident care and induſtry of the Lord Maior and chiefeſt Citizens had not ſuppreſſed them. For ſome of the malefactors (by flying) ſhifted for themſelves, and many (who were moſt of all notoriouſly faulty) were committed to ſeverall Goales and Priſons; and being afterwards indicted, arraigned, and found guilty, were condemned of high Treaſon, becauſe their injurie and wrong tended to the breach of the League which was betwixt the King and their Soveraignes. Wherefore ſome of them were executed as Traitors, according to their judgement; and the reſidue of them (being about foure hundred) were pardoned by the King, who in his owne perſon ſat in the Guildhall of London. And then all things were againe ſettled in proſperitie and in peace. 1517 9. A riot on Merchant ſtrangers. Evill May day.

The French King now longed to be againe owner of the faire Citie of Tourney, which by conqueſt was poſſeſſed by King *Henry*. Wherefore by his Embaſſadours hee not only deſired the ratification of the peace which was betwixt the King and him, but alſo a reſtitution of the ſaid City, for money to be unto him paid. The King ſo lovingly accepted of this meſſage, that forthwith the peace was confirmed; and further it was concluded, that for 60000. Crownes to bee paid for the Towne, and for 400000. Crownes more to bee paid for the Caſtle, which by King *Henry* was erected, and almoſt finiſhed, and for 24000. pounds ſterling to be paid in diſcharge of a debt due and owing by the Citizens for the preſervation and redemption of their liberties, according to the compoſition and their owne agreement, the Towne and Caſtle ſhould bee ſurrendred up into the hands of the French King. 1518 10. A peace with the French King. Tourney is delivered up by compoſition.

Where-

Whereupon ſome great Hoſtages (for the true payment of the ſaid ſums of mony at the appointed daies) were ſent over, and accepted by the King. And then the Earle of Worceſter, Sir *Edward Belknap*, and ſome others, were ſent over, who delivered the Town and Caſtle (according to both the ſaid Kings Commiſſions) to Monſieur *Chaſtilion*, who was not ſuffered to make his entrie with Banners diſplayed, but rolled up, becauſe it was not wonne, nor conquered, but yeelded up by compoſition.

The ſurrendring of this City was much diſliked by many wiſe and prudent men, for two reaſons. Firſt, becauſe that the holding thereof was a curbe and a bridle to the French Nation. And ſecondly, becauſe the Garriſon of that place was a very profitable Nurſerie for the training up of Gentlemen and younger brothers in feats of Armes, and in Martiall Diſcipline.

Maximilian dieth. Charles is elected Emperour. He commeth into England.

About the ſame time the Emperour *Maximilian* died, and *Charles* King of Caſtile (Nephew to Queen *Katherine*) was elected in his ſtead; who ſhortly after comming out of Spaine towards the City of Acon, where he was to receive his firſt Crowne, came into England, was with all pompe and princely magnificence welcommed and entertained by the King and Queene, to his good liking and contentment.

1519
11.
A rare example.

A wiſe King.

The Lords of the Councell of Eſtate perceiving that certaine Gentlemen of the Kings Privie Chamber (who were the Kings Minions) were ſo much Frenchified, that they were ſcoffed and derided by all wiſe men, and that they were overbold, ſaucie, & malapertly familiar with the King, to his great diſgrace, beſought his Majeſtie to reforme them and himſelfe therein. The King not only thanked them heartily for this their friendly admonition and fatherly care of his well-doing, but alſo referred to them the abſolute ordering and diſpoſing of thoſe metamorphoſed Gentlemen. Wherefore they baniſhed them from the Court, and placed in their roomes Sir *Richard Wingfield*, Sir *Richard Jerningham*, Sir *Richard Weſton*, and Sir *William Kingſton*, who were diſcreet, temperate, and valiant men, of whom the King graciouſly accepted, and received them into his extraordinary favour.

1520
12.
The King and Queen ſaile into France.

The King and Queene having made large and coſtly proviſion for the meeting of the French King and Queene, according to promiſe, neere unto Arde, ſhipped themſelves at Dover, and with their ſtately and honourable traine they landed at Callice, and afterwards effected their journey in Princely faſhion; as formerly in this diſcourſe it is more particularly ſet downe.

The King viſiteth the Emperour.

Within few daies after the King and Queenes returne from Arde unto Callice, he with an honourable traine rode to the Towne of Graveling in the Low Countries, to ſee and to viſit the Emperour, and his great Aunt the Lady *Margaret* Dutcheſſe of Savoy, by whom he was received with great familiaritie and bountie, and was by them both brought back againe to Callice, where their welcome, cheere, and entertainment farre exceeded meaſure and their owne deſires and expectation. But this exchange of love and of kindneſſe grieved the French King at the heart, who was inwardly diſpleaſed and revengefull, becauſe he practiſed, but could not be elected Emperour according to his hopes. Yet becauſe he could

The French King is angrie.

flatter

flatter and diſſemble, therefore hee ſent unto them the Lord *de la Roch*, not onely to congratulate for former courteſies received, but alſo to conclude a peace betwixt them three, which for his part he never intended to obſerve. But the peace was fully agreed unto, with this condition, that hee who firſt made breach thereof, ſhould bee warred on by the other two.

1521 13. The Duke of Buckinghams overthrow.

Not long after the Kings returne into England, he was ſecretly informed (and it was true) that by a Monke the haughty and ambitious Duke of Buckingham was much abuſed in this, that he was by him perſwaded, and did beleeve, that he ſhould be the King of this Realme; which could not be, but by uſurpation, and the confuſion of the Kings royall perſon. And this conceit ſo pleaſed him, that he now and then would babble and reveale it to ſome of his inward and familiar friends, and ſome of them diſcovered it, to his deſtruction and utter overthrow. Likewiſe this hope framed him to a more ambitious courſe in his carriage, and made him negligent of his ſervice and duty to the King; inſomuch that his Majeſty, by his letters, required him with all convenient expedition (privately) to repaire unto the Court. But as hee was in his Barge upon the Thames, hee was by Sir *Henry Marney* Captaine of the Kings Guard (who had with him an hundred of the Kings Yeomen ſubject to his command) attached and arreſted of high treaſon, and as a priſoner conveied to the Tower. And being afterwards legally and according to the due forme of Law indicted by ſundry Knights and Gentlemen, for that (as much as in him lay) he had conſpired and contrived the Kings death, to make himſelfe his ſucceſſour, hee was brought to a Barre a Weſtminſter Hall, before the Duke of Norfolke, high Steward of England, and his chiefeſt Judge. And having holden up his hand, he was arraigned of treaſon upon the ſaid indictment, and pleaded thereunto that he was not guilty, and did referre himſelfe for his triall to God and to his Peeres, who were theſe; the Duke of Suffolke, the Marqueſſe Dorſet, the Earles of Oxford, Devon, Darbie, Shrewesbury, Eſſex, Worceſter, and Kent, and the Lords *De la ware*, *Fitz-Warren*, *Willoughby*, *Harbert*, *Cobham*, *Brooke*, and *Morley*. Theſe Noble men in the preſence of the Priſoner, had witneſſes face to face (who were all priſoners for concealment of the ſame offence) and depoſition in writing; which when they had done, they aroſe from the Bench, retired into a private roome, and after a ſhort abſence returned againe to their places: and the Duke of Buckingham being againe brought unto the Barre, the ſaid Lords, one by one, proteſted with great ſolemnitie, and proteſtations on their honour, that they thought him to be guiltie, according to the indictment. And thereupon the Lord high Steward, with many teares, pronounced againſt him that judgement which againſt meaner offenders in that nature is given. Whereupon he was taken from the Barre, and having an axe borne before him, with the edge thereof turned towards him, becauſe hee had his judgement to die, hee was conveyed by water to the Temple ſtaires, and was there received on land by Sir *Nicolas Vaux* and Sir *William Sands*, both Baronets, who conducted him thorow the Citie of London to the Tower: and within two or three daies after he was beheaded on a Scaffold at the Tower Hill.

About

The King writeth againſt Martin Luther.

About the ſame time the King himſelfe wrote and publiſhed in the Latine tongue a booke againſt *Martin Luthers* aſſertions, diſputes, and arguments, touching indulgences and the Sacraments of the Church; for which cauſe he was by the Pope enſtiled *Defenſor Fidei, Defender of the Faith*. Yet ſome doe affirme, that he was ſo intituled in requitall of the aide and ſuccour, which by the gift of exceſſive ſummes of mony (when he and his Cardinals were priſoners to the Emperour) was extended to him and them.

1522 14. The French King firſt breaketh the peace.

Wee have alreadie heard how that Cardinall *Wolſey*, being ſent to Callice to ratifie and to confirme the Peace which not long before was concluded there betwixt the Emperour and the two Kings, did therein little good. And wee muſt now know, that the firſt breach of that peace was made by the French King, who began to warre ſharply on the Emperour, both by Sea and Land. And becauſe he ſuſpected that King *Henrie* (partly for affinities ſake, and partly by reaſon of the condition of part-taking, annexed to the ſaid peace) did ſecretly ſide with the Emperour againſt him, therefore hee dealt thus unkindly with King *Henrie*.

The French King wrongeth King Henry.

1 Firſt of all (contrarie to his faith and promiſe) hee ſent *John* Duke of *Albanie* into Scotland, to raiſe new warres, and many miſchiefes againſt this Realme, to the end that the King might not have any leiſure to joyne with the Emperour, and to make warre upon him.

2 Secondly, he detained and kept from the King, that yeerely Tribute, which for Normandie, Aquitaine, and other the Kings inheritance in thoſe Countries, was due and payable by the Kings of France.

3 Thirdly, contrarie to his promiſe, and ſafe conduct given to the Merchants of England, no warre betwixt the two Kings being proclaimed, he ſeized on all their wares and merchandizes in *Bourdeaux*, and committed them to priſon.

4 Fourthly, upon the Seas he rifled, robbed, and ſpoiled the Merchants of England daily; and upon complaints promiſed liberall reſtitution, but made none.

5 Fiftly, he refuſed to pay to Queen *Mary*, Dowager of France, her yeerely penſion, contrarie to the agreement made betwixt King *Henrie*, and the whole eſtate of France.

6 And laſt of all (neglecting his Hoſtages, and making a wilfull breach of his promiſe) hee would not pay thoſe ſummes of money which were concluded to be paid for the ſurrendring and yeelding up of the Citie and Caſtle of Tourney into his hands.

King Henries courſe for requitall.

Theſe injuries and wrongs, firſt of all procured the King to make generall Muſters through his whole Kingdome, and then to apparell, provide, and furniſh his Navie Royall, and to commit them to the charge and government of the Earle of Surry, his high Admirall, the ſcourger of the French King for all his faults. To him hee gave ample and large commiſſion, to vex and to annoy the French King and his Subjects both by Sea and Land.

He alſo reſtrained the French Embaſſadour of his libertie, not permitting him to goe abroad without his leave.

Hee alſo cauſed the merchandizes, wares, goods, and money of all Frenchmen

Frenchmen within his Kingdome (not being Denizens) to bee attached to his owne uſe.

Alſo he committed their bodies to Goales and Priſons, uſing them in the like ſort as his Subjects and Merchants were miſ-uſed in France.

King *Henrie* (being informed that the French King, having levied an Armie, hovered up and downe neere unto the marches of Callice) to prevent danger, and to meet with him at all aſſaies, ſent many thouſands of gallant and brave Souldiers to the Sea, which were by the Admirall received into his Fleet, ſo that (upon any occaſion or need) they might quickly be ſet on land. But when they perceived that Callice was not in any hazzard, for that the French Armie was vaniſhed and diſſolved, then the Admirall (becauſe hee loathed to be idle) landed many of his men upon the coaſt of Britaine, and with great confidence and reſolution conducted them to Morleyes, where (a principall gate of the Citie being battered and beaten open with ſome great ſhot) the brave Engliſh men boldly entred in, rifled, ranſacked, and ſpoiled the towne, and by the commandement of the Admirall, they conſumed it with fire, and razed it to the ground. This ſervice was by divers Gentlemen ſo gallantly performed, that in honour thereof the Admirall dignified with the honour of Knight-hood, theſe worthy Gentlemen, *Francis Brian*, *John Ruſſell*, *Anthonie Browne*, *John Rainsford*, *George Cobham*, *Giles Huſſey*, *Richard Cornwal*, *John Cornwallis*, *Thomas Moore*, and ſome others. And daily other brave and warlike exploits were ſtill made and performed in Brittaine, neare unto the Sea coaſts: of which it will be too tedious to make particular relation: neither will wee much buſie our ſelves with the diſcourſe of ſuch things as hapned betwixt the Emperor and the French King in their warres, becauſe they doe not properly belong to the Hiſtory of this Kingdome.

The French Armie vaniſheth.

The King (who was informed that the Duke of Albanie intended to invade the Northerne marches of his Realme) commanded the Lord *Roos*, and the Lord *Dacres* of the South (by an anticipating warre) to enter into the borders of Scotland, with a ſleight Army; which they did, and burnt foureſcore Hamlets, Villages, and Townes; razed and deſtroyed divers Caſtles, Bulwarkes, and Towers; forraged their fields, and without any encounter returned into England. The King likewiſe made the Earle of Shrewsbury Lievtenant generall of the North, whoſe charge was to make ſtrong proviſion to withſtand all ſudden invaſions which the Scots ſhould attempt to make.

The Scots are troubleſome.

And likewiſe hee levied an Army of twelve thouſand men, which hee commended to the government of the Admirall, for the ſupply and maintenance of his warres in France.

Another Armie ſent into France.

Thus the King, being daily imployed, and wanting money to defray his charge, by way of Loane upon privie Seales, hee borrowed of the Citie of London twenty thouſand pounds: and of many others great ſummes of money, in all Shires and Provinces within his Kingdome, whereat his Subjects much grieved: But afterwards they were much more diſpleaſed thereat, becauſe the ſaid Loanes by an Act of Parliament were clearly releaſed to the King. And yet for all this, *Wolſey* (by ſtrange commiſſions, and by other unlawfull meanes, without the Kings conſent

or notice) endevoured to raiſe and to levie more money, as formerly we have heard.

Brave ſervice in France.

The Admirall, who (maugre his enemies, having landed his Army at Callice) marched from thence, and paſſed in good order of battell over Newnam bridge, waſting, ſpoiling, burning, & ranſacking ſundrie Towns, Villages, Caſtles, and Forts (as namely, Selloys, Brunbridge, Senkerke, Frynge, Blanjoy, Dorlans, and other places as they paſſed by) ſo terrified the people, that they would not abide his ſight. And in thoſe ſervices theſe Gentlemen (as chiefe Captaines, and worthy of the beſt praiſe) are principally to be noted, Sir *William Sands*, Sir *William Fitz-William*, Sir *Maurice Barkley*, Sir *John Wallop*, Sir *Richard Jerningham*, Captain *Coe*, and Captain *Thwayts*. The three former of them (among other imployments) were by the Admirall ſent with three thouſand men to the ſtrong Town of Marquiſon, which was newly builded, fortified, and well defended for a while: But at length they tooke it, ranſacked it, and utterly conſumed it with fire. The like they did at the Townes of S. *Johns* Rode, and Temple, and with great ſpoyles returned to their Generall. Then all the Armie being collected, the Admirall marched unto Callice, and brought thither with him 14000. Sheepe, 1400. Oxen and Kine, 1300. Hogges, and 700. Horſes, Geldings, and Mares. And then hee commended and rewarded his ſouldiers, diſſolved his Armie, and with great honour, and in the eſpeciall favour of his Soveraigne, he returned into England.

The Scots invade.

Whileſt theſe things were thus ordered in France, the Kings profeſſed enemie, *John* Duke of Albanie, Protector to the young King, and of his Realme, by the procurement of the French King, levied a great Armie, purpoſing with fire and ſword to have entred into the Weſt Marches of England. But the Lord *Dacres*, and the Lord *Roos*, and many other Knights and Gentlemen, having carefully provided and well furniſhed an Armie of eight and twenty thouſand men, to make head againſt him; and likewiſe the Earle of Shrewesburie having levied another Armie of great ſtrength, and appearing boldly into the Scots ſight, the Scots began wiſely to doubt of their ſucceſſe, and the rather becauſe the moſt of them knew not the cauſe or ground of that quarrell, and therefore would not fight, but (leaving to aſſiſt their Captaine) they returned home, and were not purſued by the Engliſh, who by their Commiſſion were not authorized to invade, but to defend themſelves.

1523

15. The Duke of Suffolke warreth in France.

The next yeere, *Charles Brandon*, Duke of Suffolke, was ſent to Callice with an Armie of thirteen thouſand men, with which hee marched forth, burning, ſpoyling, and foraging without compaſſion, untill he came to the ſtrong Caſtle of Bell, which (after many gallant and brave aſſaults) was yeelded, and razed to the ground.

Aide from the Emperour.

Thither repaired to the Dukes Armie, as ſervants to the Emperour, three thouſand footmen, and five hundred horſemen, being Burgundians, Flemings, and of their neighbouring Nations: all which beſieged the ſtrong Towne of Bray, which was well fortified, and furniſhed with goodly Ordnance, and with two thouſand men. This Town they tooke, not by compoſition, but by aſſault. But becauſe the Frenchmen themſelves had firſt fired it, and were runne away, the Engliſhmen and their friends (beſides the winning of it) receive[illegible] ſmall commoditie.

Then

Then with undaunted courage they paſſed over the river of Some into France: and to them (upon ſeverall ſummons) were yeelded up the Townes of Roy and Lyhome. But they were compelled to beſiege the warlike Towne of *Mount dedyer*, in which were two thouſand men, and five hundred horſe. This Towne they daily battered with the continuall ſhot of their great Ordnance, ſo that it was made aſſaultable, and then the Frenchmen (upon compoſition to depart with bag, baggage, and with their Armes) yeelded the Towne to the Dukes forces, in which there was exceeding plentie of coſtly linnen, arras, tapeſtrie, bedding, and of choiſe houſhold ſtuffe. Afterwards they tooke the Caſtle of Boghan, which (had not the Mariſhes beene exceſſively hardned by a continuall froſt) was not acceſſable, nor pregnable by any ſtrength. This Caſtle they razed to the ground, becauſe it was not commodious to their ſervice.

Theſe atchievements being thus manfully and honourably performed, the Engliſh ſouldiers (by reaſon of the extremitie of the weather, and the ſharpneſſe of the winter, long nights, and ſhort dayes) were altogether unwilling to proceed any further at that time; and the rather for theſe two other cauſes: Firſt, for that the Duke of Burbon (who was revolted from the French King to the Emperour) came not (according to his promiſe) to the Dukes Armie with ten thouſand men, but applied them about Marcelles, and by them they had no helpe. And ſecondly, becauſe the Burgundians, Flemings, and their companions, having Carts, Waggons, and other carriages, & being neere unto their own Countries, tooke and were able to carry away the greater and the better part of all their ſpoyles, and yet they would ſeldome fight, as the Engliſhmen were compelled and enforced to doe. The Duke (not knowing what allowance the King would give to the diſſolving of the Armie without his conſent) ſent the Lord *Sands* and Sir *Richard Jerningham* to the King, to informe him of the ſtate of his Armie, and alſo to know his pleaſure touching the breaking of it up. But the King would not in any ſort aſſent to their returne, but prepared the Lord *Mountjoy* with an Army of 6000. men, mony, and ſtore of victuals, and of other neceſſaries, to haſten unto their aide. But before the return of thoſe two meſſengers, the ſouldiers (without the Dukes leave) wilfully departed home thorow Burgundie and Flanders. And becauſe the greater number of them had ſo done, therefore the Duke was compelled to breake up his whole Armie; whereat the King was highly diſpleaſed for a while: but at length (finding the Duke and chiefeſt Captaines faultleſſe) they returned home, and were by his Majeſtie received into his eſpeciall grace and favour.

Engliſh ſouldiers returne without leave of the Generall.

The Armie is diſſolved.

Whileſt the Duke of Suffolke was thus buſied in France, the Duke of Albanie raiſed another Armie of 80000. men. But to reſiſt and to fight with them, the Lord Admirall and Treaſurer of England marched forth with an Armie of fortie thouſand. But the Scots (not well enduring the ſight of ſuch powerfull and well appointed enemies) preſently ran away, and would not ſtrike one ſtroke. And had the Earles commiſſion been enlarged, and given them leave to have followed them into their own Countrie, undoubtedly the Scots had received a fatall blow at that time: but by quick meſſage, the Queen of Scots (who was the Kings

The Scots are againe buſie.

eldeſt ſiſter) againe obtained a truce: ſo that in the meane time a triall might be made, whether a peace would be concluded, and agreed on, or no. Betwixt the Marches of Bulleyn and of Callice, divers feates of Armes were evermore valiantly performed for honours ſake: in which ſometimes the vanquiſhed were againe victors, and ſuch as prevailed now, were by and by overcome.

1524 16. The Duke of Albanie perceiving that the Nobilitie of Scotland would no longer endure that he (being a Frenchman borne, and (next to the King the inheritor of that Crown) ſhould have the rule and government of their King and Countrie; feared leſt any miſchiefe might befall him, or leſt by ſome device, he ſhould bee delivered to the King: Wherefore he ſecretly fled into France; upon whoſe departure much peace & quietneſſe enſued betwixt the King and that Kingdome. For the Queen and Nobles of the Realme of Scotland, by their Ambaſſadors deſired peace: and that the Lady *Mary* (who was then the only daughter of King *Henrie*, & Heire apparent to his Crown) might be given in marriage to *James* their young King. To this motion it was anſwered, That touching the ſaid peace (if honourable and fit conditions might be propoſed and concluded) the King would willingly aſſent thereto: but concerning the other point of their demand, he ſaid, That he was not yet reſolved how to diſpoſe of his ſaid daughter, for that ſhe was but young: yet in the end a peace was aſſented unto, and proclaimed in both thoſe Realmes.

The Duke of Albanie forſaketh Scotland.

The Scots deſire peace.

Likewiſe the Ladie *Margaret*, Dutches of Savoy, and great Aunt to the Emperour, and (in his abſence) the Governour of the Low Countries, by her Embaſſadours, propoſed to his Majeſtie theſe requeſts.

The Emperours Regent craveth peace.

Firſt, that the Lady *Marie*, his daughter, might be given in marriage to the Emperour, who longed for her with his beſt affections, and reſpected her with his heartie love.

Secondly, that (becauſe the Emperour intended to give unto her for her Dowrie, the Provinces of the Low Countries) his deſire was, that forthwith ſhee might bee ſent thither to officiate the Protectorſhip of them in his abſence.

Thirdly, that ſuch ſummes of mony as the King intended to give unto her as her marriage portion, might preſently be diſburſed for the maintenance of the Emperours warres.

And laſt of all, that the King himſelfe would bee pleaſed (in his owne perſon) the next ſpring to enter with a Royall Armie into France, upon the Territories of the French King, who (in contempt of them both) did divers injuries and wrongs unto their Subjects, and had made the firſt breach of the peace, which was concluded, and by their oathes confirmed betwixt them three.

But becauſe King *Henrie* was ſecretly diſpleaſed with the Emperour, for that he (by the raiſing and enhauncing of the prices and value of the gold, and other coynes, within the Provinces of the Low Countries) had politikely drawne the greateſt part of his money out of this Realme, and in ſome other things had not reſpected him as his enleagued friend, therefore he onely returned thanks for a faſhions ſake: but made anſwer, That his daughter was too young to bee married to the Emperour, and was (as yet) unfit to be coupled with any Prince.

At

At the ſame time alſo, the French King, by his Embaſſadours, deſired, that the ſaid Ladie might be eſpouſed to his ſon the Dolphin. And that the former peace (betwixt the King and him) might bee renewed, and revived, during both their lives. The French deſire to renevv the peace.

Theſe his motions (to ſpeake truly) were beſt received and digeſted, and were moſt likely to have taken place, if the French King himſelfe, and his children, had not (ſhortly after) beene taken priſoners by the Duke of Burbons Armie, and by the Marqueſſe of Peſcarie, as he lay at the ſiege of Pavia, where he loſt fourteene thouſand men, and was defeated: although he had then in his Armie almoſt fiftie thouſand men.

Among theſe friendly motions for peace and marriages, an evill chance hapned to the King. For one day, as he hawked for his recreation and delight, he offered to leape over a wide and a watrie ditch, but his ſtaffe brake in ſunder, and his head pitched faſt into the clay; ſo that hee had aſſuredly died there, if a footman of his owne, named *Edmund Moody*, had not quickly plucked his head out of the dirt. The King in danger of death.

About this time died the moſt Noble and Victorious, *Thomas Howard* Duke of Norfolke, and was honourably buried at Thetford in his owne Countrie.

The King (who for a long time had wantonly converſed with a beautifull, and a laſcivious Gentlewoman of his Court, named *Elizabeth Blunt*) begat on her a ſonne, who by the King was called *Henrie Fitz Roy:* This young Gentleman (being now of the age of ſixe yeeres) was by the King created Earle of Nottingham, and forthwith Duke of Richmond. And at the ſame time the Lord *Henrie Courtney*, Couſen german to the King, was made Marqueſſe of Exeter: the Lord *Henrie Brandon*, the eldeſt ſonne of the Duke of Suffolke, and of the French Queene *Marie* his wife (being but two yeeres old) was created Earle of Lincolne: Sir *Thomas Manners* Lord *Roos*, was made Earle of Rutland: and Sir *Henrie Clifford* was created Earle of Cumberland: and Sir *Robert Ratcliffe*, Lord *Fitz Water*, was made Earle of Suſſex: and Sir *Thomas Bullein*, the Treaſurer of the Kings houſhold, was made Lord Rochford: And thus, in regard of great ſervices honourably performed, the King requited them with ſuch honours as were anſwerable to their deſerts and callings. 1525 17. Noble men created.

The Queen Regent of France (foreſeeing what preſent miſerie was likely to ruinate that Eſtate and Kingdome, if in time by carefull providence it were not prevented) ſent Monſieur de *Bryond*, chiefe Preſident of Paris, and ſome other Lords, Ambaſſadors into England: who not only (according to their commiſſion) in a moſt ſubmiſſive and an humble ſort confeſſed the injuries & the wrongs done by the French Nation, to King *Henry*, and to his ſubjects, both by ſea and land, in the abſence of King *Francis*, but (for a requitall and ſatisfaction thereof) and for the arrerage of his tribute, they made offer to pay unto the King the ſum of twenty hundred thouſand crownes; whereof fiftie thouſand pounds ſterling ſhould be paid in hand, and fitting ſecuritie ſhould be given for the reſt: they alſo promiſed the continuance of the ſaid tribute, and aſſumed to pay Queen *Marie* her dowrie, and all the arrerages thereof, if the King would grant them peace, and receive them into his love and favour. The French were humble to ſerve their owne turnes.

Peace concluded.

The King and his Councell having ſeriouſly conſidered of theſe motions and large offers (for many important cauſes) aſſented to their requeſts, and cauſed thoſe his concluſions and agreements to bee proclaimed ſolemnely, both in England and in France, and received both money and good ſecurity accordingly.

1526 18. Warres betweene the Emperour and King Henry.

But betwixt King *Henrie* and his Nephew the Emperour (by the ſubtill practiſes and craftie jugglings of *Thomas Wolſey*, Cardinall of Yorke) wars were denounced with evill termes, but little or nothing was done thereon, ſaving that in England, Spaine, and in the Low-Countries, the Merchants of either Nation, and their goods and ſubſtance were attached, to the infinite loſſe and damage of them all: but upon ſeverall truces oftentimes concluded, and againe broken, they were releaſed, and againe arreſted; whereby the ancient ſaying of the Poet was truely verified:

Quicquid Delirant Reges, Plectuntur Achivi:

When Princes jarre, and for revenge doe ſeeke,
The meaner ſort muſt pay for their diſlike.

But in this place we muſt now obſerve, that in regard of thoſe often concluded truces, and in regard of the peace which united the Kingdomes of England, France and Scotland in one minde, little or nothing worthy of our diſcourſe (more than hath formerly beene written) happned in ſix of the next enſuing yeeres; for the greater part of that time was ſpent and conſumed in debatings, enquirings, ordering, handling, and diſpoſing of the buſineſſe of the Kings marriage with the Ladie *Katherine* of Spaine, ſometime his brothers wife.

And now the King (who in a manner was wholly guided and directed by the private advice & counſell of his chiefe favourite, *Thomas Cromwell* (ſometimes ſervant to Cardinall *Wolſey*) whom he had made a Baron, and a Counceller of State, proceeded daily more and more to diminiſh, nay (by ſucceeding degrees) clearely and abſolutely to abrogate, and to make voide the claimed power and authority of the Pope within this Realme. In ſo much, that in his Parliament he procured it to be enacted for a law, that the penaltie of the Premunire ſhould be inflicted upon the bodies, lands and goods of every ſuch perſon, as for any matter, thing, or cauſe whatſoever, appealed to the See of Rome, or did procure from thence any proceſſe, citation, inhibition, ſuſpenſion, ſentence, or judgement whatſoever.

1532 24. The Popes authority curbed.

And in the next Seſſion of the ſame Parliament (to pleaſe, and to content him) the whole Clergie of this Kingdome freely ſubmitted themſelves to the King, touching their Spirituall and Eccleſiaſticall affaires and buſineſſe: and the Pope was utterly deprived of all Annates and firſt fruites, which formerly for Biſhopricks, and other ſpirituall promotions and dignities, had uſually beene payed unto him: and likewiſe to eſtabliſh and to confirme the lawfulneſſe of his marriage with Queene *Anne*, and to ſettle the inheritance of his Crown upon her iſſue, he procured it by Parliament to be enacted, that his former marriage with his brothers wife was abſolutely void, and of none effect in Law, becauſe it was contrarie to the Law of God, and that the Popes diſpenſation had none

none effect or power to make it good: and by the ſame Act, the Crown of this Kingdome was entailed to the King, and to the heires of his body (out of which the Lady *Marie* was incluſively excluded.) And to this Act all the Lords and Burgeſſes there preſent, were particularly ſworne, ſaving Doctor *Fiſher* Biſhop of Rocheſter, and Sir *Thomas Moore* Knight (ſometimes Chancellor of England) who ſome few yeeres before, diſliking the Kings proceeding againſt Queen *Katherine*, and againſt the authoritie and juriſdiction of the Pope, had delivered up the great Seale of England into the Kings hands. Theſe two not onely refuſed to ſweare, as the reſt did; but publikely conteſted, and proteſted, againſt the ſaid Act of Parliament, which nullified the Kings ſaid firſt marriage, by reaſon of the Popes diſpenſation given to inable the ſame, and to make it lawfull. For which cauſes the ſaid Biſhop and Knight were ſent unto the Tower, where they remained, untill (as Traitors) they loſt their heads for denying of the Kings Supremacie in Eccleſiaſticall things and cauſes, and attributing it to the Pope of Rome: of which the Kings Supremacie a Statute was made in Parliament the next yeere after.

The Kings marriage made voide. The Crowne entailed.

Biſhop Fiſher. Sir Thomas Moore.

They are beheaded.

About this time, divers treaſonable practiſes (by malicious and lewd Conſpirators) were ſurmiſed and intimated to have beene intended and contrived againſt the Kings perſon, by the Lord *Dacres* of the North. And thereupon hee was indicted and arraigned; but the guiltleſſe and well affected Lord (with ſuch a temperate boldneſſe, and with ſuch a modeſt courage) ſo diſcreetly, and ſo wiſely defended his innocencie againſt thoſe falſe ſuggeſters, that he was freely acquitted, and diſcharged from all ſuſpition, and from all blame. But (by the whole Parliament) *Eliſabeth Burton* (nicknamed the *holy maide of Kent*) and her Companions in miſchiefe (who under an hypocriticall ſhew and ſhadow of Religious devotion and of holineſſe, had conſpired the Kings death) being attainted and condemned, were executed as Traitors according to their deſerts.

The Lord Dacres.

The holy maid of Kent.

The next yeer the King in Parliament was made and acknowledged to be the ſupreme head of the Church within all his Countries and Dominions, in all Spirituall and Eccleſiaſticall things and cauſes: and the Popes Buls, Pardons, Indulgences, and other Inſtruments of the like nature, were utterly baniſhed, fruſtrated, made voide, and of none effect, validitie, or force concerning the King and his Subjects. And likewiſe the firſt fruits and tenths of all Benefices and Eccleſiaſticall dignities and promotions were in the ſame Parliament given and granted to the King, and to his heires and ſucceſſors for ever.

1534 27. The Supremacie of the King.

And not long after, Queen *Anne* (ſometimes the Kings deareſt wife) was beheaded, yet innocently, as at her death ſhee religiouſly proteſted, and as all men preſent did beleeve; for that it was unjuſtly ſurmiſed, and falſly teſtified, that ſhee had inceſtuouſly converſed with, and proſtituted her body to the Lord *Rochford*, her owne brother, who likewiſe (with ſome others) received the like ſentence, and were put to death.

1535 27 Queen Anne Bulleine beheaded.

This Tragedie being thus ended, the King (within twenty daies after, married a vertuous and a faire Gentlewoman, whoſe name was *Jane*) the

The King marrieth.

the daughter of Sir *John Seymor* Knight, who bare unto him a goodly Prince, named *Edward*, who ſucceeded, and was King: but within few daies after his birth the good Queen died.

We have formerly heard, that *James* the fourth, King of Scots, was ſlaine at Flodden field. And we muſt now know, that Queen *Margaret* his wife, being the eldeſt ſiſter of King *Henry*, was married afterwards unto *Archibald Douglas* Earle of Angus, who by her had a daughter named *Margaret*. This Ladie, the Lord *Howard* (without the Kings notice or conſent) tooke to wife; for which unadviſed boldneſſe and offence (ſhee being of the bloud royall) he was condemned as a Traytor, and loſt his head.

The Lord Thomas Howard is beheaded.

The King, who within his owne Territories and Dominions daily furthered his owne intentions, to abrogate the authoritie, power, and juriſdiction of the Biſhop of Rome, procured it by Parliament to bee enacted, that thirtie and two ſuch perſons ſpirituall and temporall as his Majeſtie ſhould under his great Seale nominate and appoint, ſhould have authoritie and power to make and eſtabliſh Lawes and Ordinances Eccleſiaſticall, which ſhould binde the Subjects of this Kingdome. And by the ſame Parliament all religious houſes, whoſe poſſeſſions in yeerely revenue exceeded not the ſum of two hundred pounds, were ſuppreſſed and diſſolved, and all their ſites and poſſeſſions whatſoever were given for ever to the King.

The booke of Articles.

The Clergie alſo (at the ſame time, of their own accord, and to inſinuate themſelves into grace and favour with the King) compoſed and publiſhed in printed bookes, certaine Articles for the ordering and governing of the Church, in which mention was made of three Sacraments only: and the reſt of them (which former times ſuperſtitiouſly received and did maintaine) were left out of the ſaid bookes.

A rebellion in Lincolnſhire.

Theſe proceedings of the King and Clergie againſt the Pope and holy Church, were ſo generally diſliked by the rude, ignorant, and wilfull people, that in many places their laviſh tongues were witneſſes of their inward griefe and diſcontent; ſo that they publikely affirmed, that the Kings Councell irreligiouſly and abſurdly adviſed and directed him amiſſe, and that the ſoothing, ſmoothing, and temporizing Clergie of this Land, profanely and wickedly practiſed by all meanes poſſible to extinguiſh all devotion, and utterly to ſubvert the ancients rites, ceremonies, and commendable government of the Church. And in madde humour, and franticke faſhion, the rude and unruly people in Lincolnſhire, to the number of 20000. aſſembled themſelves in armes, taking upon themſelves to frame and to deviſe better orders for the governing of the Church and Common-weale.

The King marcheth againſt the Rebels.

The King (who ſcorned to bee thus checked by his owne Vaſſals, and loathing to prove himſelfe a coward at home, ſeeing that forraine Nations had found him to bee valiant and full of courage) levied a ſtrong and a puiſſant Armie, with which (in his owne perſon) he marched with princely magnanimitie againſt thoſe rebellious people, who (as he drew towards them) by their petition craved a reformation of thoſe things which lately had beene done and concluded againſt Religious Houſes, and againſt the former and ancient government of the Church: which things

things being conſented and yeelded to, they ſolemnly proteſted their humble dutie and ſervice to the King.

But he (who highly diſdained that ſuch plaine ſwads and ruſtick people ſhould preſume to give inſtructions unto him, and unto his whole Clergie and Court of Parliament, in matters ſo farre above their underſtanding and capacitie) rejected their petition, and reſolved by an exemplarie courſe of juſtice (to be by the ſword martially uſed in the open field) to puniſh and to correct them, except one hundred of thoſe their chiefeſt Conſpiratours might be ſent and delivered abſolutely into his hands. This reſolution and quick demand ſo appalled the fainting hearts of the rude and headleſſe multitude, that they (ſuſpecting each other of being to be ſent unto the King) forſooke the field, and with all ſpeed reſorted to their owne houſes. But Captaine *Cobler* (their chiefeſt Ringleader, being indeed Doctor *Makarell*) with ſome others, were ſhortly after apprehended, and executed according to their merits and deſerts.

A rebellion in the North.

The King (who now ſuppoſed that all things had beene ſettled in a ſure and a firme peace) was ſuddenly informed of another Inſurrection in the North, and that their grievance was grounded upon the ſame points, and that the number of thoſe Rebels exceeded the number of 40000. men, who termed themſelves the *Holy Pilgrims*, who intended nothing but the eſtabliſhing of true Religion, and the reformation of great abuſes, which defaced the government of the Church.

To encounter theſe men, and to correct their braine-ſicke humour and fooliſh madneſſe, the King appointed the two Dukes of Norfolke and of Suffolke, and ſome other Lords, with a ſtrong and well appointed Armie, to march againſt them with all ſpeed. And the Rebels (expreſſing much joy becauſe they were to fight) came neere unto the Dukes Armie, and before them expreſſed many ſignes and tokens of undaunted courage and deſperate boldneſſe. But in the night before the two Armies intended to have joyned together in handie ſtrokes, a little brooke which ran betwixt them, and which with a drie foot might the day before have beene paſſed over, grew ſo outragiouſly great and violent, by the fall of immoderate and continuall ſhowres of raine, that the Armies could not meet as they determined. This miraculous pitie, and this mercifull compaſſion, which by almighty God himſelfe was immediately extended towards his people for the preſervation of their lives, ſo effectually wrought in the hearts and minds of the two Armies, that (upon the faithfull promiſe of the two Dukes, that the Kings free and ample pardon ſhould remit and acquit them all) the Rebels left the field, and quietly departed to their own houſes. And thus was this Kingdome and Common-weale delivered the ſecond time without blowes, from as great danger and perill as at any time before had threatned the ruine and deſtruction of the people of this land. By meanes whereof the King waxed more abſolute and more ſtrong in his government than he was in former times, eſpecially concerning his Clergie, and the ordering of the Church, wherein he diſpoſed of all things (uncontrolled) according to his owne will.

A ſtrange accident.

The Rebels quietly depart home.

Yet as a lightning, ſo on a ſudden in Weſtmerland *Thomas Tilby* and *Nicolas*

Nicolas Muſgrave, with ſome others, for the onely cauſes above mentioned, and for none other) brake forth into an open rebellion, with eight thouſand men againſt the King. But by the Duke of Norfolk many of them were ſlaine, the reſt were overthrowne, and threeſcore and foureteene of their Commanders and chiefeſt Actors in that Rebellion, were (as Traitors) by martiall law and judgement executed in ſundry places in the North.

The Rebels overthrown.

1526 28. At this time (before *Henry Courtney*, Earle of Devonſhire, Marqueſſe of Exeter, couſin german to the King, and Lord high Steward for that day) were brought, arraigned, found guiltie, and condemned, the Lord *Darcy*, and the Lord *Huſſey*, and both of them were executed accordingly; the former for a murder, and the latter for High Treaſon. Likewiſe Sir *Robert Conſtable*, Sir *Thomas Percy*, Sir *Francis Bigot*, Sir *Steven Hambleton*, and Sir *John Bulmer*, Knights, *William Lomley*, *Nicolas Tempeſt*, *Robert Aske*, two Abbots, and ſome others, being comdemned as Traitors for denying of the Kings Supremacie, were executed in divers places of this Realme: and Friar *Foreſt* for the ſame matter, and alſo for maintaining certaine hereſies with an obſtinate and unrepentant reſolution, received the judgement of a Traitor, and of an Hereticke, and (being hanged in irons upon an Gibbet) he was burnt.

Execution touching the Supremacie.

The King being gracious to ſome whom he much favoured, and who had deſerved well, beſtowed Titles of Honour on them. For the Viſcount *Beauchamp* was created Earle of Hartford, Sir *William Fitz-William*, High Admirall of England, was made Earle of Southampton, Sir *William Paulet*, Treaſurer of the Kings houſhold, was made Lord St. *John*, Sir *John Ruſſell* Knight was made Lord *Ruſſel*, and Sir *Thomas Cromwel*, a Councellor of Eſtate, Knight of the Garter, Lord Privie Seale, Lord *Cromwel*, was made the Kings Vice-gerent in all caſes and matters Eccleſiaſticall and Spirituall; by vertue whereof, both in Parliament and elſewere, he had the precedence of the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and (almoſt in all things) did all in all: ſo that (by reaſon of that authoritie) he utterly defaced, burnt, and deſtroyed all ſenſeleſſe and dumb Images & Shrines, to whom any thing was ſuperſtitiouſly offered, or unto whom Prayers, Invocations, or Pilgrimages, were fantaſtically and fooliſhly made. He alſo ſuppreſſed the Orders of begging and craftie Friars, and puling Nunnes, whoſe houſes and poſſeſſions came unto the King. And about the ſame time, the Marqueſſe of Exeter, *Henry Poole*, Lord *Montague*, and Sir *Nicolas Carew* of Beddington in the County of Surry, Knight of the Garter, and Maſter of the Kings horſes, were attainted and executed for High Treaſons, eſpecially, becauſe that with Cardinall *Poole* (brother to the Lord *Montague*) they endevoured to procure forraine Princes (in the Popes aide) to invade this Land, and to reforme the buſineſſes of the Church by the Apoſtolicall authoritie of the See of Rome. For this offence the ſaid Cardinall (being beyond the Seas) was by Parliament attainted: and within a few moneths after, his mother, the Lady *Margaret* Counteſſe of Salisbury (who was the laſt of the Princely line of the *Plantagenets*, the ſaid Cardinall onely excepted; for ſhee was the daughter of *George* the laſt Duke of Clarence) together with *Gertrude* the widow of the late Marqueſſe

The Lord Cromwell made Vicegerent in Eccleſiaſticall matters.

Images and Shrines ſuppreſſed.

Marqueſſe of Exeter, Sir *Adrian Forteſcue*, and divers others, were alſo attainted of high Treaſon for the ſame Conſpiracie: and ſo were the Abbots of Reading, Colcheſter, and Glaſtenburie, with many Monkes, Friars, and religious men, becauſe they obſtinately denied the Kings Supremacie, and confidently attributed it unto the Pope. And all theſe (except the Cardinall, who came not home whileſt the King lived) were afterwards executed in ſundrie places of this Realme. Many others alſo (for the ſame offence) ſuffered the like deaths, whoſe names (by reaſon of their meane eſtate, and undignified qualities) may not (in this our Hiſtorie) challenge a place of particular remembrance.

Whileſt the King was thus buſily imployed in cutting off his ſubjects heads, the Great *Oneale* and *Odonell*, with a rude rabble of ſavage Outlawes, wild Kernes, and deſperate Iriſhmen, entred more than twenty miles within the Engliſh Pale, and did much miſchiefe. But by the Lord Deputy (being the Lord *Leonard Grey*, brother to the Marqueſſe Dorſet) they were ſo well fought with in the open field, that hee obtained the victory. But ſuch was the nimbleneſſe of thoſe Rebels, that when by blowes they failed to maintaine their match, then (according to their common uſe and cuſtome) they ſwiftly ran over the bogges and mariſhes into the woods and rockes, unto which the more ſober and well ordered Engliſhmen could not approach, without apparent hazzard and danger to their lives.

The King (who in a manner was wholly directed and governed by the Lord *Cromwel* now Earle of Eſſex, and made high Chamberlaine of England) pretended many quarrels againſt the fat Abbots, Priors, Monks, Friars, Nunnes, and Cloiſterers of this Kingdome, for many exorbitant miſdemeanours daily by them committed and done, eſpecially becauſe they were abominably lecherous, and unmeaſurably idle, and flow-bellies, *fruges conſumere nati*, unprofitable, yea a burthen to the Church and Common weale. 1539 31. A rebellion in Ireland.

Thoſe faults the King endevoured not (like a good Magiſtrate) by correction to amend, but he reſolved with the deluge of his diſpleaſure to waſh them cleane away. And ſo he did indeed. For his high Court of Parliament (which was then holden at Weſtminſter) utterly diſſolved and cleerly ſuppreſſed all Abbies, Monaſteries, Priories, and other religious houſes (ſome few being onely excepted) and gave their houſes, ſites, Lordſhips, and poſſeſſions (which in yeerely revenue amounted to more than two hundred thouſands pounds) unto the King, who with his worldly policie (to the intent that future poſteritie ſhould not bee enabled to reſtore them backe againe to their former uſes) exchanged them liberally for other lands, with his Nobles and Gentry of his Kingdome, many of whoſe Eſtates at this day doe wholly conſiſt of poſſeſſions of that nature, or elſe are greatly advanced by thoſe lands. Religious houſes ſuppreſſed.

This havock thus made on Churchmen, and of their poſſeſſions, proceeded not (as moſt men thought) from the love which the King bare unto the reformation of Religion, out of extraordinarie devotion, nor from the puritie of his mind, deſiring the extirpation of that wickedneſſe and ſinne (which indeed abundantly reigned and ruled among thoſe irreligious religious men) but from the covetous humour of his Nobles,

and

and from the ſecret grudge, and unreconcileable hatred which hee bare unto the Pope. But thus the world then fared, and thus the Church was pared and pruned, and made a prey, every bird being deſirous to beautifie her ſelfe with her faire feathers.

When the Lord *Cromwell* had thus effected that great buſineſſe, then he undertooke another, which in the end brake his owne necke. For upon his perſwaſive motions, ſtrengthened by the view of flattering pictures, and of unmerited immoderate commendations, the King tooke to wife the Lady *Anne* of Cleve, who was exceeding religious, and repleniſhed with many vertues; but in her perſon and countenance ſhee was neither well compoſed, faire, nor lovely.

The King marrieth Anne of Cleve.

Her religion and her vertues were not much reſpected by the King. For when he firſt ſaw her he liked her not, inſomuch that albeit he were married unto her foure moneths and ſomewhat more; yet his amorous appetite towards her was ſo amated, and ſo inſenſible was he of wanton paſſions when hee was private in her company, that hee never did nor could know her as his wife.

His marriage is diſſolved.

Whereupon the Biſhops and Clergie of this land (who for feare of after-claps were well pleaſed to dance after the Kings pipe) in their ſolemne Convocation publiſhed an Authenticall Inſtrument in writing, under the ſeales of the two Archbiſhops, by which they made it knowne to the Chriſtian world, that the Kings marriage with the ſaid Lady *Anne* of Cleve was a nullitie, void, fruſtrate, and of none effect, becauſe the ſaid Lady under her owne hand, had (upon due examination) confeſſed, that the King never had, nor could performe to her, that benevolence which by a husband was due unto his wife.

The like ſentence was enacted, pronounced, and publiſhed by the Parliament with theſe additions: That it was lawfull for his Majeſtie, whenſoever, and with whomſoever, to marry and to take another wife, according to the Eccleſiaſticall lawes of this Realme: and likewiſe, That it was lawfull for the ſaid Lady *Anne* of Cleve to marry and take another husband when ſhe ſhould pleaſe, according to the lawes of the holy Church. And further it was then enacted, That all ſuch as by writing, printing, ſpeaking, or by any other overt act did expreſſe or maintaine the contrary, ſhould be guilty of Treaſon, and receive puniſhment accordingly.

The King marries againe.

The King (who was thus enlarged and freed from his bonds of diſcontented matrimony) tooke to wife within twenty dayes after *Katherine Howard*, the daughter of the Lord *Edmund Howard*, brother to the Duke of Norfolke. And from henceforth hee began to alter the copie of his countenance, and looked diſcontentedly upon his great Favourite and inward Councellor, the Lord *Cromwell*, who had fettered him in thoſe his former troubles. And becauſe this alteration in the King was quickly perceived by many who longed for his ruine and downefall, a long and a tedious Bill by ſome of them was unexpectedly preferred againſt him into the Parliament: in which (rather in a generality than by any particulars) hee was accuſed of ſundry Treaſons, Miſpriſions, and of Hereſie.

Cromwell accuſed.

And among other objections laid unto his charge, it was ſuggeſted that (joyning with the laſt Queene *Anne*) he favoured the Lutherans above meaſure, and ſo ſtrongly ſupported them againſt the Catholike Prieſts and

and Prelates of this kingdome; that when by ſome of the Clergy he was told, that they doubted not but that the King would ſhortly curbe their boldneſſe and preſumption, the ſaid Lord *Cromwell* did reply, that the King ſhould allow of their religion whether hee would or no. But how true or how falſe ſoever theſe ſurmiſes were, the ſaid Bill was found. Yet was he not called to make his anſwer or defence thereto: ſo that being by the ſaid Parliament attainted of Hereſie and of Treaſon, he, with the Lord *Hungerford*, was beheaded on a Scaffold on the Tower-hill: whereat his enemies did rejoice; ſome of them attributing the cauſe to his haughtineſſe and pride: and ſome of them affirming, that it was Gods revenge and puniſhment, for his hatefull defacing and waſting of the Church.

Th: Lord Grey executed.

And neare about the ſame time the Lord *Leonard Grey* (who not long before had been the Kings Deputy of Ireland) was condemned for many treaſons by him committed in that countrey during the time of his government: eſpecially, for that ſecretly he had once procured the Iriſh rebells to enter into, and to make havock within the Engliſh Pale: all which he of his owne accord confeſſed to be true; wherefore hee received his judgement, and loſt his head.

Queen Katherine executed.

The King (who was but newly married to Queene *Katherine*) was now informed by ſome, who preſumed that they knew it well, that before her marriage with the King, ſhee had lived a licentious and an evill life, with a Gentleman named *Francis Dyrham*. And furthermore, it was much preſumed and ſuſpected, that ſince ſhe was the Kings wife ſhe had unchaſtly converſed with another Gentleman named *Thomas Culpeper*; for it was fully proved, that in her laſt Progreſſe the ſaid *Thomas* was ſecretly brought, by the Lady *Rochford*, into the Queenes chamber, at eleven of the clocke in the night, and that he remained there almoſt five houres; and that at his departure hee was gifted with a chaine of gold, and a rich wrought cap. For theſe offences the ſaid two Gentlemen at Tyborne ſuffered death: And not long after the Queene by Parliament was attainted, and ſo was the Lady *Rochford* and ſome others, and loſt their heads for the ſaid offence. And in the ſame Parliament the King was proclaimed King of Ireland, which title his Predeceſſors never had.

The King marrieth againe.

The King likewiſe tooke to wife the Lady *Katherine Parre*, ſiſter to the Marqueſſe of Northampton, and ſometimes wife to the Lord *Latimer*, who in the end of the Kings reigne was in a faire poſſibility to have loſt her head, if her owne vertue, modeſty, and the Kings ſudden ſickeneſſe and death had not reſerved her for a better fortune.

At this time *Euſtace* the great *O-Neale*, and *Matthias* his ſonne, repaired to the Kings Court, and with all ſubmiſſive and humble contrition they confeſſed their late rebellion and treaſons: and ſo gracious was the King unto them both, that he not onely gave them his free pardon, but in hope of future ſervice, according to their promiſe, hee created him Earle of Tyr-Oen, and made his ſonne Lord of Duncan.

The Scots, who for a long time had been quiet, did now begin to ſwagger, and by ſudden invaſions to hurt and damnifie the ſubjects of this land: which occaſioned the King,

Contention with the Scots.

1. To require of their King *James* the fifth, and Nephew to the King, theſe things: Firſt, that the ſaid King *James* ſhould doe his homage and

his fealty to King *Henry* for his kingdome of Scotland, as his anceſters in former times had often done: But the Scottiſh King with great obſtinacy, and froward meſſages, refuſed to yeeld thereto.

2. King *Henry* likewiſe required the delivery of ſome ſmall and trifling Territories, bordering cloſe upon the inheritance of the ſaid Scottiſh King. And for the proofe of his rightfull title thereunto, hee cauſed certaine ancient and old Evidences to be ſhewed forth. But the Scottiſh Commiſſioners (not without taunts and ſcornes) rejected them, ſaying, that they were written and ſealed by Engliſhmen, who for their owne profit and gaine might write and ſeale what they liſted.

3. Upon theſe and ſome other grievances, King *Henry* (who rather deſired a friendly reconciliation betwixt himſelfe and his Nephew, than by the dint of ſword to ſhed Chriſtian blood) concluded to meet and to conferre with King *James* in kinde manner, upon the borders of either kingdome. For which purpoſe King *Henry* made his Progreſſe unto Yorke, and was there certified that the Scottiſh King intended not (according to his promiſe) to meet with him; but would by Commiſſion authorize ſome of his Councellors of eſtate, to conferre and to conclude with his Majeſties Commiſſioners of England, touching the matters then in difference betwixt them two.

4. The King (though he were thus deluded) yet did he not expreſſe any touch of impatience for that wrong; but authoriſing certaine Commiſſioners in that behalfe, hee ended his Progreſſe and returned home. All theſe Commiſſioners met: but whileſt they were in Parley two notorious and great deſpights were offered to King *Henry*.

5. For though the Commiſſioners daily communed of unity and of peace, yet at the ſame time the Scots invaded the Weſterne Marches of this Realme, burnt, ſlew, ſpoiled, and rifled beyond charity and reaſon, and yet no warre was then denounced betwixt the ſaid two Kings. For this injury and for this wrong, ſufficient and liberall amends and recompence was promiſed by the ſaid Commiſſioners, but no manner of reſtitution or ſatisfaction was made in that behalfe.

6. And laſtly, although the King of Scots commiſſion was very large and ample, and authorized thoſe his Agents to doe almoſt whatſoever they themſelves pleaſed, yet did the ſaid Commiſſioners ſo ſtrictly ſtand upon ſundry points (which were too too much unreaſonable and diſhonourable for King *Henry* to yeeld unto) that by the Engliſh Commiſſioners (who had throughly viewed and peruſed their authority and power) they were condemned as enemies to the peace, and to their own Countrie, for that (by the meanes of their frowardneſſe) there would bee wars. Whereupon the Scottiſh Commiſſioners (to cleare themſelves of this blame, imputed to their obſtinacie and follie) ſhewed forth their private inſtructions from their King, which (for feare of death) they dared not to exceed: By which inſtructions it appeared plainly, that their authority, expreſſed in their ſaid Commiſſion, was (in all things) curbed, and made of little, or of no force; except the ſaid Engliſh Commiſſioners would yeeld to ſuch demands, as were unprofitable, and diſhonourable to their King.

Theſe notorious injuries and wrongs, and this dalliance, and crafty diſſimula-

diſſimulation, enforced King *Henry* to ſend an Armie of twenty thouſand men into Scotland, under the command of the Duke of Norfolke, who was accompanied by the Earles of Shrewesbury, Darby, Cumberberland, Surrey, Hertford, Angus, and Rutland; and with the greateſt part of the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen of the North: All theſe marched on their journey, and for eight dayes ſpace (being unreſiſted, and unfought with) they killed, rifled, burned, forraged, and ſpoiled the Scottiſh Townes, Caſtles, Fortreſſes, houſes and fields, with as much cruelty, violence, and fury, as the extremity of warres could execute in ſo ſhort a time. Which when they had done, the army retired, was diſſolved; and every man, being well contented, repaired to his owne home. The army returneth.

With this deſerved and ſevere revenge the King of Scots was infinitely grieved and perplexed at the heart; inſomuch that he cauſed with all expedition to be raiſed an army of fifteen thouſand men, which was ſent into the Weſt Marches of this kingdome, where they began to ſpoile, and did much miſchiefe. But *Thomas* the baſtard *Dacres*, *William Muſgrave*, and *Thomas* Lord *Wharton*, having at ſhort warning collected a ſmall number of valiant and approved men at Armes, taking with them ſome part thereof, and leaving the reſt for a ſecret ſtale or ambuſh, to annoy their enemies when time ſhould ſerve, encountred unexpectedly with the Scots; on whom in the Rereward the ſaid ambuſh valiantly iſſued: which did ſo terrifie and affright them, that they ſuppoſed verily the Duke of Norfolke with a great army did fall on them; wherfore to ſave themſelves they fled: and in the purſuit there were taken priſoners, the Earles of *Caſſels* and *Glencarn*, the Lords *Maxwell*, *Fleming*, *Summerwell*, *Oliphant*, *Gray*, and *Oragy*, and the Lord *Car* of Gredon; 200. Gentlemen, & about 800. common ſouldiers; ſo that every Engliſhman had two or three Priſoners, to recompence their adventurous paines and travell. The Engliſhmen alſo tooke and brought away foure and twenty pieces of Ordnance, and foure carts loaden with ſpeares. This overthrow many men imputed (and peradventure truely) to the Scottiſh Kings unadviſed and indiſcreet direction, who made ſo meane a Springall the Generall in that army, in which were ſo many Lords, Earles, and worthy Captaines, who ſcorned to bee commanded by ſuch an underling; and therefore hazzarded their owne lives by a willing flight, rather than by obtaining the victory, to lay on him ſuch an honour, as they knew he was not able to deſerve. Priſoners.

Of theſe priſoners, foure and twenty of the chiefeſt were ſent to the Tower of London; from whence (after two dayes) they were removed, and committed to the care and cuſtody of divers Noblemen, Knights, and Gentlemen of worth: at whoſe hands they received ſuch kind welcome and bountifull entertainment, that (with multiplied words of extraordinary praiſe and commendation) they ceaſed not to extoll their friendly and good uſage to the skies.

This unexpected, ſtrange, and unfortunate overthrow of ſo faire an Army with ſo ſmall an handfull, ſo much diſturbed the patient diſpoſition of the Scottiſh King, that with melancholy and inward griefe he died within few weekes after, leaving behind him (as to ſucceed) his onely The King of Scots dieth.

daughter and heire, Queene *Mary*, a childe who was then but newly borne.

When the newes of this Kings death was voiced to the Scottiſh Priſoners, it is not to be marvelled at if penſive ſorrow and anguiſh appalled them for a while: but at length (making a vertue of neceſſity, and recomforting themſelves with ſome hope which they conceived of future happineſſe) they counſelled King *Henry* to procure their ſaid young Queen to be by the State of Scotland given in marriage unto Prince *Edward* his ſonne: for the furtherance whereof, they all proteſted, ſwore, and promiſed to imploy their beſt travailes, and their chiefeſt friends.

A motion for marriage.

The King ſo thankfully entertained this their motion, and proffered ſervice for the furtherance thereof, that he not onely enlarged them all without ranſomes, but alſo gave unto them rich and great gifts: for which they were exceeding thankfull, and departed joyfully into their owne countrey.

Now muſt we know, that as the Scots without cauſe had made breach of the former peace, ſo did the French King; who ſuffered his ſubjects upon the ſeas to robbe and ſpoile the Merchants of this Kingdome: and thereupon King *Henry* permitted his ſubjects to doe the like. Divers complaints of theſe injuries and wrongs were firſt made unto the French King, becauſe his ſubjects had firſt tranſgreſſed: but he neither afforded anſwer, redreſſe, or recompence therein. And by reaſon of this debate and variance betwixt the two Kings, the Merchants of either Nation were arreſted and impriſoned, and their goods and merchandiſes were attached and ſeized on in each Kingdome. Likewiſe the French and Engliſh Embaſſadors were for a time reſtrained of their liberties, but were quickly ſet at large againe: yet ſtill the poore Merchants were compelled to pay the reckoning, although they fared ill, and were enforced to ſuſtaine puniſhment for the faults of other men. Such was the iniquity of thoſe times, wherein warre and rapine did beare the chiefeſt ſway, and ſuch were the miſeries which harmeleſſe men ſuſtained, becauſe peace and juſtice were not ſuffered to moderate betwixt right and wrong. For the French King did utterly forget in what a deſperate caſe his kingdome ſtood, when King *Henry* (upon the humble ſupplication of the Queene Regent and of his Nobles, when he and his children were priſoners in Italy) gave unto him peace. Wherefore to correct his monſtrous ingratitude, and to be revenged of daily wrongs, the King to defie him ſent his Heralds towards France. But the French King would not in any ſort permit them to come into his kingdome. Whereupon King *Henry* (under the principall command of Sir *John Wallop*, Sir *Thomas Seymour*, and Sir *Richard Cromwell*) tranſported a ſtrong army; who (preſently upon their landing) beſieged the town of Landerſey, and by continuall batteries and fierce aſſaults brought it into ſome neceſſities and danger: but the French King, knowing well the diſtreſſed eſtate in which the towne then ſtood, in his owne perſon with a huge army came to relieve it; by meanes whereof the Engliſh Generalls raiſed the ſiege, and made themſelves ſtrong and ready to encounter the French King: of which he made great bragges. This expectation of a bloody skirmiſh, cauſed the Engliſh army (who would not then diſorder nor incumber themſelves with other

The French men break the peace.

An army ſent into France.

Landerſey beſieged.

The ſiege abandoned.

employ-

employments) to ſuffer the ſaid towne to be newly victualled and relieved. But in the midſt of the night before it was intended by the Engliſh army that this battell ſhould have beene fought, the French King (being ſhrowded in the darke) ran away, and all his companies returned with ſpeed into their owne countries; inſomuch that for that time no more was done, but (by command) the Engliſh Army returned into England.

A marriage concluded with Scotland.

In this meane while, the aforeſaid motion concerning the marriage of the young Prince with the infant Queene of Scotland, was ſo well applauded and entertained by the Scots, that in their Parliament it was firſt concluded, and then confirmed by an inſtrument in writing, under the hands and ſeales of the Nobility, and ratified by their oathes, that the ſaid intended match ſhould be effected, and that their young Queene for that purpoſe ſhould be conveied into England. But within few moneths after, by the ſecret and cunning plots and practices of the French King, the Nobility of Scotland neglected their law, their promiſe, and their oath; which occaſioned King *Henry* with all ſpeed to make new and unwonted preparations and proviſions, not onely to invade that countrey, but alſo to make warre upon his enemy the King of France.

The Scots doe breake their oath.

1544
36

An army ſpoileth Scotland.

And to effect his purpoſe in that behalfe, firſt hee ſent a puiſſant army (which was tranſported in two hundred warlike ſhips) into Scotland; under the generall command by ſea of his high Admirall the Viſcount Liſle, and under the generall command by land of the noble and right valiant Earle of Hertford.

All theſe ſhippes ſafely entred into the Frith, where they tooke many good veſſels, which were exceeding ſerviceable to their proceedings. And then was the whole Army ſet on land, and being well ordered into three battailes, and marching towards Leyth, they firſt tooke view of ſixe thouſand Scottiſh Horſemen, with whom they encountred for a while. But when the Scots perceived that the Engliſhmen tooke more delight to fight with courage than to dally, as being fearfull of their lives, they made a quicke retrait, and ſuddenly fled away, leaving their Artillery and that Towne to their enemies; who appropriated to themſelves every good thing which they found there, and then conſumed the towne with fire. From thence they marched towards Edenborough, the principall City of that kingdome: But on the way the Provoſt, and ſome of the chiefeſt Burgeſſes of that towne, made offer to the Earle of Hertford (Generall of the field) to deliver to him the keyes, conditionally, that hee would preſerve it from fire, and ſuffer the ſouldiers and the inhabitants thereof with bagge and baggage to depart.

But the Generall made anſwer thus: That hee was ſent into that countrey to take revenge upon that Nation, becauſe their Nobility (with one conſent) by the perverſe and unfriendly inſtigation of the French King, had violated their owne Law, their promiſe, and their oath, touching the marriage agreed on, to be ſolemnized betweene Prince *Edward* and their young Queen. And therefore if all the Souldiers, and all the Inhabitants of that City would come diſarmed into the open field, and yeeld their ſubſtance and their lives to be ordered according to his pleaſure and will, he then would doe as he thought good: but if they refuſed ſo to doe, he

then proteſted to viſit the Towne and them with all the extremities which were incident to ſuch a warre.

This quicke anſwer ſo little pleaſed the Towneſmen, that they returned, purpoſing to reſiſt: and ſo they did. But by ſtrong batteries and fierce aſſaults, their gates and their walles were beaten downe and entred, ſo that many thouſands of the Scots were ſlaine, their riches were poſſeſſed by the Engliſh Armie, and a great part of that Citie was conſumed by fire. Now whileſt the Armie was thus buſied, there came unto them from the King foure thouſand Engliſh horſemen: ſo that when the ſpoiles and booties were by the ſouldiers imbarked, and by water ſent into England, the Engliſh Armie coaſted thorow a great part of thoſe Countries, unfought with, burning, killing, and forraging in all places, as they pleaſed: ſo that they having taken, ranſacked, and burnt a good part of the Citie of Edenborough, Holy-rood houſe, and the Kings Palace there, and having rifled and defaced the Townes of Leyth, Haddington, Dumbarre, Dyrlaw, Broughton, Dudiſton, Beverton Markle, Hatherwike, Bowland, Blackborne, Weſt-Crage, Cheſterſels, Stonehouſe, Travent, Trapten, Belton, Butterden, Raunto, Enderligh, Crawenden, Shenſton, the Fycket, Eaſt-barne, Kyrklandhil, Quickwood, part of Muskelborough, & many other Villages, beſides Abbies, Monaſteries, & Religious Houſes (which particularly we cannot name) they returned powerfully, with rich booties, and with the only loſſe of fortie men, into England.

Two Armies ſent into France.

And thus did King *Henry* in ſome ſharpe meaſure correct and puniſh the unſtable dealings of the Scots. Which troubles when he had finiſhed, hee then forthwith made ſuch plentifull preparations to invade France, that he ſent unto the French Kings Dominions two ſtrong Armies, of which the one was commanded by the Duke of Norfolke, and by the gentle Lord *Ruſſell*, who was then newly made Lord Privie Seale, who therewithall beſieged the ſtrong Towne of Muttrell, where they loſt much time, and much labour, and were enforced to leave it in the end. And the other of the ſaid two Armies was commanded by the Duke of Suffolke, with which the ſaid former Armie inbodied it ſelfe: and then they all encamped about the ſtrong and warlike Citie of Bulleine, and after many ſharpe conflicts and hot skirmiſhes, they firſt tooke the Old-town, and ſhortly after baſe Bulleine.

Muttrell beſieged and abandoned.

Bulleine is beſiged.

To this ſiege King *Henrie* himſelfe (being attended by many a worthie man) repaired, & after his comming thither, ſo long as the light gave leave, for the ſpace of one whole month together, he cauſed the walls of the Town and Caſtle ſo cruelly to be battered, and the Town it ſelfe to be ſo beaten, and the breaches and the trenches to be ſo furiouſly aſſaulted, that the walles in many places lay almoſt levell with the ground. No houſe eſcaped unhurt: and the Inhabitants with continuall labour, vexation, and travell, were almoſt tired and worne out: ſo that at length, upon compoſition that all the Souldiers and Inhabitants ſhould ſafely depart with bagge and baggage, the ſtrong and ſtately Towne and Caſtle of Bulleine was delivered into the Kings hands: out of which iſſued (upon the ſaid agreement) threeſcore and ſeven horſemen, fifteene hundred, threeſcore and three footmen, eight hundred Gunners, foureſcore and ſeven men who were hurt, and nineteene hundred twentie

The King commeth to Bulleine.

Bulleine is yeelded.

and

and ſeven men, women, and children; they all being in number 4444. ſoules. But many (who by reaſon of their grievous wounds could not depart) were found, and well cheriſhed and relieved in the Towne.

Now whileſt the King thus lay at the ſiege of Bulleine, the Emperour (without the Kings knowledge or conſent) ſecretly concluded a peace with the French King; whereat King *Henry* much greeved: ſo that (after he had taken an exact order for the repairing and fortifying of that Towne and Caſtle) he diſmiſſed his Armie, and with great joy, honour, and triumph, he returned into England. King Henry returneth.

And becauſe his daily warres (which required continuall ſupplies) had waſted and conſumed his treaſure, which (for the preventing of future miſchiefes, and in eſpeciall ſuch as were daily offered unto him by the Scots) he endevoured to augment; he therefore demanded a benevolence of all his Subjects both Spirituall and Temporall. For which purpoſe Sir *Thomas Wryotheſley* Lord Chancellor of England, the Duke of Suffolke, and others of his Majeſties Councell of Eſtate (ſitting as Commiſſioners in *Baynards* Caſtle in London) taxed the Citizens and Inhabitants according to their wiſedomes and diſcretions. And becauſe one Alderman (whoſe name was *Richard Read*) refuſed to pay what they had ordered, he was therefore by them required (on a great paine) perſonally to ſerve the King in his warres againſt the Scots; which cheerefully he performed, and was (with many others) taken priſoner and detained by his enemies, untill that for his ranſome hee was enlarged and ſet free. John Stow. 993.

After the King was departed home, the Dolphin (taking the benefit of a darke night) came with a great power ſo ſuddenly into *Baſe Bulleine*, that he tooke it. But ſuch as fled, and had ſaved their lives, being aided by the ſouldiers of the upper Towne and Caſtle, came fiercely on the Dolphin, and ſo manfully aſſailed him, that (to ſave himſelfe and his) he in all the haſte departed, and left the Towne with his great loſſe. The Dolphins ſucceſſe.

Within few daies after, Monſieur *de Bees* came on the other ſide of the water before the Town, with an Armie of fifteene thouſand men, and began to erect a Fortreſſe there. But by the valiant Earle of Hertford, the Viſcount *Liſle*, the Lord *Gray*, and divers others, they were aſſailed, fought with, and ſhamefully put to flight, and were compelled to leave behinde them their Ordnance, Tents, and other good proviſions, to their great ignominie and reproach. The French are overthrowne.

The French King (intending to worke wonders in England, by way of a revenge, for that his ſtrong Town of Bulleine was loſt) ſent to the Sea a mightie Fleet, of two hundred tall ſhips, and ſeven and twentie ſtrong Gallies, all which were ſtuffed (as it was reported) with threeſcore thouſand men. All theſe came in good order, and anchored before the Iſle of Wight, and were oftentimes beaten with the great Ordnance which the Admirall of England liberally beſtowed on them. But as the Engliſh Fleet paſſed out of the Haven of Portſmoth into the Sea, a ſtately, ſtrong, and a goodly ſhip, named the *Marie Roſe*, belonging to the King (in which was Captaine Sir *George Carew* Knight, with more than foure hundred men beſides) was drowned almoſt in an inſtant, by the groſſe follie of the Gunners, and of the Mariners, the former of them having left 1545 37. The French Kings Navie doth nothing. The Marie Roſe drowned.

their

their Ordnance untrigged, and the latter having left the under port holes open, by meanes whereof when the ſhip turned, the Ordnance ranne backe to the one ſide, and bare the port holes under water, ſo that the ſea violently and abundantly flowed in, and in a moment ſwallowed up both ſhip, Captaine, Men, Ordnance, and all other things there, to the great griefe and ſorrow of the King himſelfe, and of all ſuch as were preſent, and beheld it.

The Lord *Dambalt*, High Admirall of France, being by certaine poore Fiſhermen, whom he had taken, informed, that the King in his owne perſon, being accompanied with an infinite number of valiant men of warre, expected and longed to be made victorious and rich by their landing, feared to hazzard all his fortunes in ſo deſperate and hot a ſervice: wherefore hee hoiſed Anchors, and without fame or honour returned baſely into France.

The Scots invade England.

Now muſt wee know, that no ſooner was King *Henry* departed out of England to the ſiege of Bulleine (as we have heard) but the Scottiſh Nation (obſerving their old cuſtome) entred, rifled, ſpoiled, and burnt many Houſes, Villages, and ſmall Townes in the marches of England, without pity: wherefore, King *Henrie* (after his returne) reſolved to correct their madneſſe, and their folly, and to take revenge for thoſe injuries and wrongs. And for that purpoſe, he ſent the Noble Earle of Hertford into that Kingdome, with an Armie of twelve thouſand men, where hee havoked Men, Townes, Caſtles, and the Countrie, in ſuch a furious and fierce manner, that the Scots were extremely damnified thereby; and thouſands of them were utterly undone.

An Armie ſent into Scotland.

About the ſame time, the valiant Lord *Liſle*, Lord High Admirall of England, entred into and landed within the Haven of Treport, and burnt the ſuburbs of that Town, and many other houſes, Villages, and Townes, which bordered upon the Sea coaſts: and at his returne from thence (as a rich prey) he caried with him many Ships, Barges, Boats, and Veſſels, which he found there.

1546 38. The Duke of Norfolke and the Earle of Surrey committed.

Now like as after many rough and boiſterous ſtormes, a ſweet, and a delectable calme doth follow: ſo after theſe buſie conflicts and martiall contentions, whereof we have already taken a perfect view, a peace was lovingly concluded, and joyfully proclaimed, between the two Kingdomes of England and of France. But this joy (as in humane affaires it often hapneth) was quickly checked with another ſorrow: for the moſt victorious, faithfull, and ever to bee honoured Captaine, the Duke of Northfolk, and his ſon, the moſt illuſtrious Earle of Surrey (both which, in this Kings raigne, performed many memorable and brave ſervices, in Scotland, England, and in France) were ſuddenly apprehended, and ſent unto the Tower, for none other thing, but becauſe they quartered, and bare in their Eſcoucheon certaine Armes, which were pretended properly and only to belong unto the King and Prince (which Armes notwithſtanding, they and their Auncеſters time out of minde had ſo born without controllment, reproofe, or check.) For this offence, the ſaid Earle was indicted of high Treaſon, arraigned thereon, and tried by a Jurie of Knights and Gentle men (and not by his peeres, becauſe hee were no Lord of the Parliament) by whom he was found guilty, and then

received

received his judgement, and loſt his head, to the great ſorrow of many thouſands, who lamented the cauſeleſſe death of ſuch a worthy man, as had ſo well deſerved of the King, and of the common-weale. The Earle of Surrey beheaded.

But the Duke his father (by reaſon of the Kings ſickneſſe and death, which followed ſhortly after) was preſerved by God from that danger, for better fortunes. The King dieth.

The preſence of this King was amiable and Princely: for hee was ſomewhat more than ordinarie tall, ſtrongly limmed, proportionably compoſed, faire in his complexion, nimble, and full of agilitie in his younger yeeres; and alwaies as reſolutely valiant as a man might be: He had a pregnant and a ſharpe wit, and was generally held to be well learned, becauſe he could, and uſed to ſpeake well: He was exceeding humble, and paſſing ſtout, applying the former to gentle ſpirits, and oppoſing the latter againſt proud, inſolent, and rough mates: He was bountifull, and magnificently liberall (if occaſion ſo required) yet in regard that he was a man, he was not free from all faults; for he was too too much familiar and converſant with wanton and light woman; and delighted too much in varitie, and in change, as moſt men did conjecture, becauſe he had ſixe Wives. From two of them he was ſevered, becauſe his marriages were held to be void, fruſtrate, and of no force: other two of them (for the objected crime of incontinencie) loſt their heads: a fifth died in her child-bed: and the ſixt eſcaped fairely by his death. Finally, he (oftentimes) much pleaſed himſelfe to bee over-familiar in the ſwaggering company of looſe Fellowes; yet in moſt reſpects, hee was a famous, a worthie, and a moſt noble King. Thus ended he his life; and thus doe I conclude this Hiſtorie of theſe twenty Kings, hoping that ſome other (who ſhall bee better able) will (with more ſufficiencie) write the reſt. He is deſcribed.

THE

The true portraicture of King EDWARD *the 6 th with the prayer that hee made to himselfe his eyes being closed, thinking none had heard him, 3 howers before his death, in the 7 th yeare of his Raygne, and 16 th of his age. 6 of Iul. 1553.*

LORD GOD deliuer me out of this miserable and wreched life, and take mee amonge thy Chosen: howbeit not my will, but thy will be donne. Lord I commit my spirit to thee. Oh Lorde thou knowest howe happye it were for me to be with thee: yet for thy Chosens sake send me life and health, that I may truelye serue thee. Oh my Lord God blesse thy people and saue thyne Inheritaunce. Oh Lord God save thy Chosen people of England. Oh my Lord God defend this Realme from papistrye, and maynetayne thy true Religion, that I and my people may praysle thy holy name. Witnesse hereof ꝑsent were S^r Edward S^r Ha. Sidney, & other of ye Chefe gentl. of ye priue Chamber Doct. Owen. Doct. wendye, Christop. Salman groome.

Si. Pasteus sculp. L.

THE HISTORIE OF KING *EDWARD* THE SIXTH.

Edward the onely ſonne of King *Henry* the eight late deceaſed, ſucceeded his Father in his throne and Princely diademe, January the eight and twentieth, in the yeere of Grace one thouſand five hundred forty ſeven. Hee was all the iſſue male of King *Henry* (who had fixe Wives one after another, whereof two were beheaded, other two divorced) by *Jane Seymer* daughter to *John Seymer* Knight, afterwards Earle of Hertford. His mother the Queene dyed in her travaile of him. He began his reigne in the tenth yeere of his age, and the ſame day that he was publikely proclaimed King in the City of London, he came from Endfield (which is ten miles from London) and immediately went to the Tower; as (perhaps) for other reaſons, ſo chiefly that according to the manner of the Kings of England, hee might paſſe in ſolemne and magnificent ſort from thence to Weſtminſter, where hee was to bee inveſted, and receive his Inauguration. The day following (which was the firſt of Februarie) the Lords to whoſe care the deceaſed King committed his Son and Heire by Will, before his departure out of this life, aſſemble themſelves to conſult and adviſe of the affaires of State; they all with one conſent give honour and reſpect to *Edward Seymer* Earle of Hertford, and the Kings Unkle, and with a joynt agreement of hearts and tongues deſigne him Lord Protector of the Kings perſon, and Governour of his Majeſties Realmes and Subjects, untill ſuch time as greater maturitie of yeeres ſhould make the King himſelfe fit to hold the reines of government. Hereof intimation was made unto the people the ſame day by publike proclamation in the City of London, and ſuch parts thereof as are places of greateſt celebritie and concourſe.

1547
1. The King proclaimed.

The Earle of Hertford choſen Protector.

The firſt fact of the Lord Protector after his inveſtiture into this new honour, was, that the firſt day of the ſame moneth of February he created the King Knight, who remained then in the Tower; and he riſing up, ſtraightway tooke the ſword of the Earle of Hertford, and conferred the ſame honour upon *Henrie Hobblethorn*, Lord Maior of the Citie of London

The King Knighted by the Lord Protector.

The true portraicture of King **EDWARD** *the 6th with the prayer that hee made to himselfe his eyes being closed, thinking none had heard him, 3 howers before his death, in the 7th yeare of his Raygne, and 16th of his age. S. 6 of Iul. Anno.*

LORD GOD deliuer me out of this miserable and wreched life, and take mee amongst thy Chosen howbeit not my will, but thy will be donne **Lord** I commit my spirit to thee. Oh **Lorde** thou knowest howe happye it were for me to be with thee, yet for thy Chosens sake send me life and health, that I may truelye serue thee. Oh my **Lord God** blesse thy people and sane thine Inheritaunce. Oh **Lord God** save thy Chosen people of **England**. Oh my **Lord God** defend and keepe mee Realme from papistrye, and maynetayne thy true Religion, that I and my people may prayse thy holye name. Amen.

Witnesse hereof were S^r Thomas Ramsey, S^r Ha. Sidney, L. of ye Chesse, Lord of ye priuy Chamber, Doct. Owen, Doct. Wendye, Christop. Salmon, groome.

S. Paulus Cath. L.

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The King Knighted by the Lord Protector.

don (who was then preſent) creating him Knight likewiſe.

The fifteenth of February, the funeralls of King *Henry* are ſolemnized, and his body entombed in moſt Princely ſort, in the midſt of the Quire of the Cathedrall Church of Windſor. Two dayes after certaine of the Peeres are adorned with new titles of Honour: *Seymer* Lord Protector and Earle of Hertford, is created Duke of Somerſet; *William Par* Earle of Eſſex, created Marqueſſe of Northampton; *Dudly* Viſcount *Liſle*, Lord High Admirall of England, created Earle of Warwicke, and High Chamberlaine of England, Sir *Thomas Wriothſley* Lord Chancellor was created Earle of Southampton, Sir *Thomas Seymer* brother to the Lord Protector, was advanced to be Lord *Sudley*, and alſo high Admirall of England (for as much as the Earle of Warwicke was contented to reſigne) Sir *Richard Rich* was made Lord *Rich*, and Sir *William Willoughby*, Lord *Willoughby* of Parrham, and Sir *Edmund Sheffeild*, was made Lord *Sheffeild* of Butterwike.

Noblemen created.

The Kings Coronation.

Now was great preparation and proviſion made for the Kings Coronation, who rode with great roialtie and ſplendor through the City of London to Weſtminſter, the foure and twentieth of February: and the day following being Shroveſunday, hee was there inaugurated in due forme and order by *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and with all ceremonie befitting ſo great a buſineſſe.

The ſame day by proclamation publikely made, a generall Pardon is granted to all Malefactors or other guilty perſons, ſixe men onely excepted; who were excluded from the benefit of that liberall indulgence: They were, the Duke of Norfolke, Cardinall *Poole*, the eldeſt ſon of *Courtney* lately beheaded, one *Throckmorton*, *Forteſcue*, and Richard *Pate*, who being ſometime Biſhop of Worceſter, fled to Rome certaine yeeres before, becauſe he would not be conſtrained to acknowledge the King Head of the Church.

Shortly after, to wit, the ſixt of March, the Earle of Southampton Lord Chancellor of England, for his too much refractorineſſe, and repugnancy (as was reported) in matters which were deliberated on at the Councell Table, was deprived of his office, and removed from his place and authoritie in Councell, and the great Seale taken from him, and delivered unto Sir *William Paulet* Lord *Saint-John*, who was Lord Comptroller of the Kings Houſhold.

The nineteenth day of June, the exequies and funerall rites were done to *Francis* the French King, in the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paul in London. He died the two and twentieth of March before. He was obſerved from the death of our King *Henry*, to bee ever and anon ſad and heavie: and although that by reaſon of emulation between the two Kings, or for commodities ſake, they had often jarred formerly; yet in regard that they were of like diſpoſition, and principally for that they had lately made a league of amitie never to be violated: the one could not chuſe but take the death of the other exceedingly to heart; in ſo much that although our King *Henry* died under the Popes excommunication, yet were his funerall rites commanded to be moſt ſolemnly performed in the Cathedrall Church of Paris.

The French King dieth.

Now it is meet that we returne to ſpeake of what things hapned this yeere

yeere in Scotland: great they were (doubtleſſe) and memorable. Foure yeeres ſince was a league concluded, for the marriage of the Queene of Scots unto *Edward* now King of England: which alſo was fully agreed, and ratified by authoritie of Parliament in Scotland, in the five and thirtieth yeere of the reigne of King *Henry* the eight, from that time (notwithſtanding) we have beene continually at oddes and variance. Now the Lord Protector, and the reſt of the Councell, calling to minde the evill dealing and crafty diſſimulation of the Scots in this treaty of the match (which was now, in a manner, impoſſible to be accompliſhed) thought it not good to ſuffer themſelves to be ſo deluded. Beſides, this marriage was on all ſides eagerly deſired both by the Nobility and the Commons, as the onely meanes whereby to procure the ſafety of both Realmes: and the King upon his death-bed is ſaid to have given peculiar charge concerning it.

Nevertheleſſe the Lords of Scotland ſuffered themſelves to be inveigled and corrupted by the French King, and to bee abuſed by Cardinall *Beton* Arch-biſhop of St. Andrewes, that they not onely departed from their promiſe, but ſought alſo to deſtroy all ſuch as favoured the King of Englands part. But the Engliſh ſpirits not ſuffering ſuch contumelies, reſolve by a mighty warre to urge them either to ſtand to their agreement, or if they refuſed, to vexe and plague them to the utmoſt, as breakers of thoſe bands which ought to be moſt ſacred.

The Duke of Somerſet therefore, by the decree of the Councell is ſent into Scotland, with an Army of ten thouſand foot, and ſixe thouſand horſe (Pioners alſo, and workemen, to the number of foureteene hundred) and fifteen Peeces of Braſſe Ordnance. To *Edward* Lord *Clinton*, who was Admirall of the fleet, are committed thirty foure warlike Ships, goodly and tall beſides, one great Gally, and thirty Ships of Merchants which ſerved to carry munition and victualls. Thus were they provided both at Sea and land to aſſault their enemies. The Duke of Somerſet ſent into Scotland.

The Duke of Somerſet entred into the enemies Territories the third day of September, and ſtraightway ſent letters to Earle Arren Governour of Scotland, of which the effect is ſaid to be this.

The effect of of the Dukes letters to Arren Governor of Scotland.

» He deſired that the Scots would remember that this war is waged » between Chriſtians, and that on our parts nothing was deſired but an » honeſt peace (if it might be) which all good men ſhould be ready to » embrace. That an occaſion was now offered not only for a peace to » bee made, but to bee made firme and ſure for perpetuitie, if they for » their parts would ſuffer two Nations ſo long at ſtrife together, to bee » made one by the wedlocke of their Princes. This as of our ſide it is » required, ſo was it promiſed on theirs by the Nobles aſſembled in » Parliament; and therefore hee wondreth why they ſhould rather » thirſt after a war (in which the gainer commonly loſeth) than bee rea- » dy to keepe that faith which for the good of both Nations was under- » taken. It is not to bee expected, that the Queene ſhould alwaies » live ſingle, and if ſhe would take a husband, to whom rather ſhould » ſhe marry, than to a moſt potent Prince that liveth with her together » in the ſame Iland, uſing the ſame ſpeech and language? Forraine mar- » riages, what inconveniences they bring with them, they themſelves

» ſee, and had rather make triall of by the examples of others, than by
» their owne perill. That this is a moſt juſt and equall thing which is re-
» quired. That he (for his owne part) doth ſo abhorre from the thirſt of
» Chriſtian blood, that if hee could by any meanes underſtand that the
» mindes of the Scots are not altogether averſe from concord, he would
» doe his endevour that ſomething of the conditions might be remitted;
» and that he would permit the Queene to remaine at home, and to bee
» brought up amongſt her own people, untill ſhe be of age to be married,
» and able her ſelfe with the counſell of her Peeres to chuſe an husband.
» That in the mean ſpace they ſhould abſtain from armes on all ſides, and
» the Queene not to be carried into a ſtrange countrey, nor any treaty or
» match to be made with the French, or any other forraine Prince what-
» ſoever. That if this be faithfully promiſed, he will preſently depart out
» of Scotland without ſpoile or tumult, and whatſoever the country were
» damnified by his approach, he would recompence it according to the
» arbitration of honeſt men.

There were in the Scottiſh Tents thirty thouſand warriours; ſome affirme a farre greater number. The chiefe of the army being bold upon theſe forces (though they had lately loſt eight hundred in a mutiny) and puffed up, as if feare and cowardiſe had cauſed our men to offer theſe conditions; renouncing all mention of peace, would not ſo much as read the letters to the Councell, leſt perhaps the equity of the conditions being underſtood, too many might be found more inclinable to peace than they deſired. Then promiſing themſelves moſt certaine victory, they purpoſely ſpred a rumour, that the Engliſh did ſtiffely require the Queen to be incontinently delivered to them; and that they would not leave till they had taken her by force, and made themſelves Lords of all. This report being once bruited, and buzzing in the eares of the ſouldiers, they grew ſo fierce and heady, that there was no remedy, but headlong they would run into the battell.

The Engliſh army in a ſtraight.

The wiſer ſort were not ignorant, that ours were ſomewhat ſtraightned through want of proviſion, and that they could not well retire themſelves for the narrowneſſe of the paſſage, nor yet conſtraine the Scots (unleſſe they themſelves were ſo minded) to fight, by reaſon of the firmneſſe and ſecurity of the place where they were encamped. Nevertheleſſe a vaine perſwaſion of victory had ſo poſſeſſed the mindes of the greateſt part of them, that their eares were ſhut againſt all advice and counſell, were it never ſo prudent. So then it fell out that they come forth of their tents moſt excellently fortified, and almoſt impregnable, and that at the ſame time when our men out of meere neceſſity (for thoſe cauſes which the more prudent amongſt our enemies had truely gheſſed) march on to ſeeke the enemy.

A piece of ordnance ſhot from an Engliſh Galley.

A little before the armies met, the Scots leading their rankes along by the ſhore, a Peece was diſcharged from our Gally, which ſlew at one blow five and twenty of our enemies; amongſt whom was ſlaine *Grimes*, the eldeſt ſonne of the Lord *Grimes*; which thing ſtrooke ſuch a ſudden terrour into the hearts of thoſe who were next, that foure thouſand of their Archers, whoſe courage failed them, would never more ſet one foot forward. As we approached to our enemies, the Duke of Somerſet

ſet ſent the Lord *Gray* with all the horſe troupes to hinder their army from going forward, till the foot companies gained a little hill not farre off; or elſe, if ſo be they might, to breake their rankes. But they were ranked into ſuch a full ſquare battell, that when the formoſt of our horſemen had put themſelves upon the pikes, they were faine to give backe ſtraightway, and aſſured the reſt that the Scottiſh ranks could no more be broken than a wall of braſſe or iron, if they ſhould run upon it. This device therefore not ſucceeding, they thought good to ſend forth their Horſemen that ſerved with Harquebuſes, and at once to aſſaile them with their Ordnance, and ſhowres of arrowes. Whether they were not able to endure ſo great violence, or (as ſome write) that they might be out of the reach of our Ordnance; they began to move a little from the place they were in, while ours cry out, They flye, They flye: the enemies hearing it, firſt a few of them, then all flye indeed, and their rankes were quite diſordered. The Scots flye.

In this battell there are ſaid to be ſlaine foureteene thouſand Scots, amongſt whom (beſides the Earle of *Lohemore*, and the Lord *Fleming*) fell almoſt all the young Nobility of Scotland. There were taken in flight about fifteene hundred, and amongſt them Earle *Huntley* Chancellour of Scotland, the Lords *Heſter*, *Hobbey* and *Hamilton*, and many others of chiefe account. This heavie ſlaughter of the Scots happened upon the tenth day of *September*. Our men being become conquerors, ſtray five miles about, making ſpoile of all, and fortifie Keth and Aimon, two forſaken Ilands in the Forth; they alſo take another Caſtle in Tay, and through their terrour compelled Faſcaſtle and Humes Caſtle to yeeld: and when they had raiſed fortifications at Laudere and Rosburgh, betaking themſelves homeward, they did not a little recreate the minds of the dejected Scots by their departure. This is the true narration of the fight at Muſſelburgh. 14000. Scots ſlaine. Muſſelburgh field.

While theſe things thus fall out in Scotland, there happeneth great alteration in the Eccleſiaſticall State at home. Divers of the Kings Tutors are earneſtly bent to a reformation of religion, and eſpecially the Lord Protector himſelfe: howbeit the reſt of them, although they rather favoured in their hearts the Popiſh religion, whereof they gave ſufficient teſtimony, yet they feared that the goods of the Church (whereof every one of them poſſeſſed a part) muſt in time be reſtored, unleſſe an utter defection from the Biſhop of Rome and the Papall authority were made. And therefore whiles one part of them eagerly oppoſe the Popiſh doctrine, and the other coldly defend it, it is not onely reſolved that whatſoever King *Henry* had enacted for the abrogating of the Popes authority ſhould continue in full force and effect, but many other devices prevaile likewiſe; whereby the Engliſh Church (ſuperſtition being now quite aboliſhed) might ſeeme to contend with any of the German Churches for purity of religion, which nevertheleſſe prevented her in reformation. Images and ſtatues are univerſally caſt out of Churches, marriage is permitted to the Clergy, the Liturgy or booke of common Prayer is turned into the Vulgar tongue, and read to the people, the holy Euchariſt is adminiſtred in both kindes, Auricular confeſſion taken away, no man is debarred from reading the Scriptures in any language R formation of religion eſtabliſhed in England.

himſelfe underſtandeth, no more maſſing, nor dirges ſung for the ſoules of the dead; and many other things of like nature eſtabliſhed, beſides the cuſtome of our forefathers: which ſo much troubled the unlearned and ignorant multitude, who are not wont to judge ſo well what thing is beſt, as unto what they are moſt accuſtomed, that by and by great ſeditions and tumults are raiſed throughout the kingdome. One thing is not to be omitted, being very memorable, That the ſame day the Images were throwne out of the Churches, tidings were brought of the famous victory atchieved upon the Scots at Muſſelburgh. *Our* Foxe *is my Author, in his Acts and Monuments of the Church.*

P. Martyr, M Bucer, and P. Phagius come into England.

This yeere came into England *Peter Martyr* a Florentine, *Martin Bucer* of Sleſtadt, and *Paulus Phagius*, who was borne in the Palatinate. Theſe were invited into our country by *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of Canterbury; and when they were arrived, were received with all humanity by the King and the Nobles: and after they had made ſome ſhort abode with the Archbiſhop, they are ſent to the Univerſities to read Divinity publikely; *Peter Martyr* to Oxford, *Martin Bucer* and *Paulus Phagius* to Cambridge: but *Phagius* ſhortly after died of a quartane feaver, in the five and fortieth yeere of his age, having ſcarce ſaluted the Univerſity: *Bucer* alſo died in the yeere 1551. the laſt day of February, in the ſixty firſt yeere of his age. *Peter Martyr* after his comming to Oxford appointed a publike diſputation about the holy Euchariſt: in which diſputation, *Treſſam* and *Chedſey* being Opponents, he convinceth the Popiſh opinion of Tranſubſtantiation to be a meere figment, confirming his Tenet with ſolid arguments. The Diſputation hee inlarged, and publiſhed the ſame in Print afterwards.

1548 2. The yeere following our men begin to fortifie Hadin or Hadington, a towne ſituate in the fruitfulleſt part of Scotland; and from thence making frequent ſallies out, as alſo from Lawders, which (as is ſaid) was taken the yeere before, deprive their enemies of all opportunity of laying ſiege to it, ſetting on fire likewiſe and pillaging the countrey round about. In the meane time the French King prepareth an army of ſixe thouſand men for the aide of the Scots, or (as our Writers report) ten thouſand, which he ſendeth into Scotland; and amongſt them were three thouſand Almans or High-Dutch men, under the command and conduct of the Count Rhinegrave. The Generall of the whole forces was *Monſieur de Deſſe*, who for his valour and happy ſucceſſe in many expeditions of this nature, had gained great credit and renowne.

The French joine with the Scots.

Theſe forces as ſoon as they are landed, were led on towards Hadington, and there, with eight thouſand Scots who joyned themſelves to them, they beleaguer the towne. At which time, aſſembling a Conncell at a Monaſtery neere the towne, they adviſe of ſending the Queene into France, and of betrothing her to the Dolphin of France, by which name the eldeſt ſonne of the French King is alwaies called. They which regarded the welfare of the Scottiſh Commonwealth, and were not corrupted with a deſire of private commodity, were much diſtracted with the care of the publicke ſafety. While they are thus ſolicitous for the good of their countrey, they foreſee a perpetuall warre with the Engliſh, who would by no meanes ſuffer ſo high an indignity and affront to be offered them;

them; and how dearely their diſpleaſure was to be bought, they could eaſily gather by a late dreadfull experiment: on the other ſide, they can expect no better condition then ſervitude to the French, therefore they give counſell to entertaine the conditions offered by the Engliſh, which ſeemed much more tolerable, becauſe they offered a truce and reſpit of ten yeeres, in which time, if ſo it fell out that either the Queene, or the King of England ſhould die, they were diſcharged of all promiſes and engagements. They adde farther, that delay in conſultations of this nature doth often prove profitable and wholſome, whereas on the contrary unadviſed haſtening to accompliſh ſuch treaties, is not ſeldome attended with too late repentance.

Counſell of the wiſer ſort rejected.

But as in ſuch aſſemblies the Councell of the moſt prudent and wiſe doth not alwaies prevaile, ſo it now fell out. Thoſe that were addicted to the Romiſh Religion, and (as the times went then) they of the Clergy chiefly, who either were obliged to the French for kindneſſes received, or elſe expecting ſome courteſies from them upon the ſucceſſe of this treatie, endevoured with all their might to divert this counſell, and principally the Vice-Roy of Scotland himſelfe, who was promiſed the yeerly revenue of foure thouſand French crownes (which ſum amounteth to twelve hundred pounds ſterlin) and the command of a hundred horſemen in whole armour. Their verdict overcame who would have the Queene ſent away.

The Navie therefore being at Lieth where it lay at anchor, hoyſed ſaile as if they would depart for France, but cunningly coaſting round about Scotland, came to Braid-Albin where the Queene was, and ſhee (being but ſix yeeres of age) goeth aboord, accompanied with *James* her owne brother, *John Areskin*, and *William Leviſton*, and from thence (being vexed a good while with contrary winds and boyſterous weather) they arrive upon the Sea coaſt of France, and from thence paſſe by land to the French Kings Court, eſcaping our Fleet which lay not farre from Callice to intercept the Queen if it were poſſible.

Hadington beſieged.

Our men in the meane while which defended Hadington were ſore oppreſſed with a ſtraight ſiege, to whom were ſent from home Sir *Robert Bowes*, and Sir *Thomas Palmer* to releeve the Towne, who brought with them thirteene hundred horſemen, ſeven hundred of which were armed from top to toe, the reſt carried light armour: So our writers: whereas *Buchanan* ſaith there were onely three hundred horſe, the reſt all footmen. Howſoever, and how many ſo ever they were, certaine it is that before they could come to Hadington, they were treacherouſly intercepted, and almoſt every man of them cut off. Nevertheleſſe they that were beſieged, did not yet caſt away their courage: but manfully defended the Towne and themſelves, untill ſuch time as *Francis* Earle of Shrewsbury comming with an Army of ſixteene thouſand ſouldiers (amongſt whom were foure thouſand Germans) raiſed the ſiege, ſo that the French forſaking the Towne, retreated, and yet kept their rankes in due order; that their departure might not ſeeme to their enemies a flight.

The French forſake the Towne.

The Earle, after that he had relieved the Town with victualls, and men, and all things neceſſary, returned againe to Barwicke. After his departure, making often ſallies out of the Town, they had many a ſore

combate, yet ſo as more of the enemies ſtill were ſlaine. Now when they perceived that they could no way get the towne by force, they aſſay what policy and cunning may bring to paſſe.

Mounſieur *de Deſſe* marching all night with ſome choiſe companies that hee had ſelected, came thither in the morning by breake of day, and having cut off the Sentinells, and gained a Bulwarke which was before the Port, ſome endeavour to breake open the gates, others fall upon the garners of our mens proviſions which lay next them. At this noyſe and tumult they that kept the towne within being ſtirred, diſcharged a great Piece of Ordnance which was ſet before the gate; and the bullet when it pierced the gate, flying through the thickeſt of the enemies, laid a great number of them flat: whereat the reſt were ſo terrified, that preſently they betake themſelves to flight, and forſake the aſſault.

The Keepers of Humes and Faſcaſtle (which Forts were taken the yeere before, as is related) had not the like good fortune: by the ſubtilty of the enemies, and the negligence of the Sentinells, they were both ſurpriſed. To Humes, the enemies who were skilfull of the manner of thoſe places, clymbing up by a rocke which was on the other ſide of it, got to the top, and ſlew the Keepers; who being ſecure, for that they thought it unapproachable, loſt the Caſtle, and their owne lives withall. Now the Governour of Faſcaſtle, having given a command to the Countrey men thereabout, that at a certaine day they ſhould be ready with great ſtore of proviſion and victuall: They having gotten the occaſion, are preſent at the day appointed, in great number, with their burdens as they were commanded; which when they had taken from their horſes, and laid upon their own ſhoulders, they have entrance by a Bridge which is betweene two rockes; and haſtily caſting downe their loads, and the Watch-word given, whereof they had agreed before, they fall upon the Guard and kill them; and then letting in their owne fellowes by the gates which they ſet open, they ſoone gaine the Fort.

Keepers of Humes ſlaine.
Faſcaſtle taken by a device.

Thus have we thrived this yeere at land: neither were our enterpriſes more proſperous at ſea. Our Ships making continuall excurſions, firſt at Minian, and afterwards at Mernes, are repulſed in both places, with the loſſe of a great number of men. At the beginning of harveſt commeth the Earle of Rutland to Hadington with three thouſand German ſouldiers, and other forces taken up at the Borders of Scotland, who underſtand that it was impoſſible to hold the towne without a ſufficient army lying there continually: foraſmuch as all the places neere about were ſpoyled and ruined, and the conveighing of victualls and proviſion at ſo farre diſtance, could not bee otherwiſe than exceeding dangerous, and full of difficulty; therefore overthrowing the Workes and Skonces, and firing the towne, he departed from thence the firſt day of October, and brought his forces, together with all the Gunnes and Ordnance, to Barwick, not meeting any by the way that offered to hinder their journey. This action *Buchanan*, the moſt learned writer of the Scottiſh Nation, referreth to the yeere following, but we, according to our owne writers and records at home, are contrary minded.

Rutland comes to Hadington with 3000. German ſouldiers, but leaves the place, &c.

But to returne home at length (though theſe accidents abroad belong to us alſo): Upon the thirtieth day of June, *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of Wincheſter,

Stephen Gardiner committed to the Tower.

Wincheſter, is committed to priſon, namely, to the Tower of London. Hee was a moſt learned man, and withall of a moſt politike and crafty head, and greatly addicted to the Romiſh faction, yet ſo wiſely fitting himſelfe to the times, that while King *Henry* lived (who employed him often in embaſſages of the greateſt conſequence, committed great authoritie to him, and alwayes gave him high reſpect) hee would never ſeeke the alteration of any thing by lawes eſtabliſhed. Yea and under King *Edward* too, he ſeemed for a while to like the reformation taken in hand. But at length it came to paſſe, that the Lords of the Councell (who were nothing ignorant of the Biſhops diſſembling) commanded him to preach at Paules Croſſe, a place of great frequency, and in his Sermon to teſtifie his liking of the preſent ſtate of things in the Church: which he performed accordingly, but ſo obſcurely, & with ſuch circumſtances of words, that he ſeemed not to ſatisfie the charge given him.

Afterwards, being expreſſely forbidden to make any matter at all touching the holy Euchariſt; he knowing well enough that nothing was yet defined by Law concerning that point, tooke ſuch exceeding great paines in proving the reall preſence of Chriſts moſt bleſſed body & blood in the Sacrament; and not the preſence onely (which is a thing rather to be beleeved faithfully than diſputed curiouſly, for as much as that holy Myſterie was ordained to nouriſh our ſoules, not to exerciſe our braines) but in moſt preſumptuous ſort to define the manner of his preſence there, to wit, by a ſtrange miraculous abſurd Tranſubſtantiation. Hereby he ſo highly offended the mindes of the Nobles, eſpecially thoſe of the Kings Councell, that for this offence he was caſt into priſon, and obſtinately refuſing to make publike recantation of this his error, two yeeres after he was deprived of his Biſhopricke: yet for feare hee ſhould make innovation, and breed farther trouble, hee was kept ſtill in cuſtody untill the death of King *Edward*, but was afterwards enlarged, as hereafter (God willing) we will declare.

Stephen Gardiner ſtrives to prove the reall preſence in the Sacrament.

In the meane while, when as the Archbiſhop *Cranmer* had ſet forth a booke in print, wherein he vehemently impugned that groſſe and carnall preſence of Chriſt in the Euchariſt; *Gardiner* privily wrote a confutation thereof, and ſets it forth by ſtealth under a fained name of M. *Conſtantius*. With *Bonner* likewiſe Biſhop of London (infamous for his crueltie, who cauſed ſo many Innocents in Queene *Maries* daies to bee ſent to the ſtake) they dealt after the ſame manner that with Wincheſter they had done before. Hee alſo being commanded to preach at Paules Croſſe, performed the ſame ſo jejunely, and after ſo frigid a faſhion, omitting alſo thoſe things whereof hee was principally given in charge to ſpeake, that they removed him from his Epiſcopall dignitie, and conſtrained him to live in priſon a private man, till ſuch time as Queene *Marie* comming to the crowne freed him alſo.

Bonner commanded to preach at Pauls Croſſe.

What was objected to *Cuthbert Tonſtall* Biſhop of Durham, and *George Day* Biſhop of Chicheſter, is not certaine; this is certaine, that they were both deprived of their Biſhopricks, and taſted of the ſame ſawce with the reſt. Theſe were men of more than ordinary learning, eſpecially *Tonſtall*, and that he fared no better, being a man of an exceeding mild and ſweet diſpoſition, many greatly wondred. But it ſhould

Tonſtall and Day deprived of their Biſhopricks.

ſeeme

ſeem that the puniſhment of theſe men, who in the time of K. *Henry* were accounted the great lights of the Church, was intended to be exemplary, that the reſt of their brethren taking warning thereby, might either give place to more worthy perſons to ſucceed in their roomes, or elſe learne to bend themſelves ſincerely towards the reformation of the Church, without fraud or guile. But I could heartily wiſh there were left no place of conjecture, that thoſe who then ſate at the ſterne of the Commonwealth had their owne ends in their expulſion, that in the Vacancy of their Sees, the rub being taken away, they might finde opportunity to invade the rights and goods of their Churches. For the Biſhopricke of Durham, which was thought to be one of the moſt wealthy in the kingdome, ſo ſoone as *Tonſtall* was deprived, was ſtraightway deſtroyed (*Iatalege*) and all the lands and revenues thereof adjudged to be confiſcate; and the reſt of the Biſhoprickes, will they nill they that were poſſeſſed of them, ſo miſerably pilled and polled, that at this day we hardly enjoy the third part of the profits belonging to them, although Queene *Mary* (who was knowne to bee naturally of a pious diſpoſition) left no meanes unaſſayed, whereby to procure the reſtitution of what was unjuſtly taken from them: Queen *Eliſabeth* hardly conſented to have any thing plucked away; and King *James* ſoone after his entrance to the Crowne cauſed a law to be enacted, That from henceforth none of the lands ſhould for ever bee alienated (not for the pleaſure or profit of any, no not the King himſelfe) nor any leaſe bee let of any part of them longer than for three lives, or one and twenty yeeres, the rent alwaies reſerved according to their valuation in the Kings bookes.

Biſhopricke of Durham deſtroyed, and lands confiſcated.

The Courtiers had beene now accuſtomed for many yeeres to feed upon the ſtarveling body of the Church, nor had they yet learned (though by this time little other than bones were left) to ſeeke their prey any where elſe; and the infancy of the King, the ſtate of religion being much perplexed and very changeable, opened a window to all kinde of ſacriledge; inſomuch that we owe immortall praiſes to Almighty God, that that bread and nouriſhment of the Labourers in the vineyard, was not univerſally devoured by theſe Cormorants and Locuſts. But ſo farre is it from that (bleſſed be his name) that wee wiſh the reſt of the Churches of the reformed religion were in no worſe caſe for this particular. But this, will ſome ſay, is beſides the matter.

The miſery of the Church.

About this time fell out a great ſtrife betwixt the Duke of Somerſet Lord Protector, and his brother *Thomas* Lord high Admirall of England; which proved fatall to them both, and not to them onely, but was the Kings deſtruction alſo, as was thought. It is thought to have its beginning from womaniſh emulation: Sir *Thomas Seymor* Admirall, had taken in marriage *Katharine Parre*, the Relict or Widow of King *Henry*. Now we may eaſily imagine what agreement would bee betwixt the two women, the one having beene the wife of the late King, and therefore thought all preheminence and honour due to her; the other being married to him that was Protector of the preſent Kings minority, ſeemeth her ſelfe now to beare rule, and therefore thinkes ſhee ought not to give place to the wife of her husbands younger brother, who is many degrees behind in honour, wealth, and eſtimation with the people. He that

Strife betwixt the Duke of Somerſet and the Admirall.

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can gather nothing from hence, let him looke into the world round about him, and learne by his owne experience, or elſe read the firſt booke of *Herodian*, and marke what fell out betweene *Criſpina* the wife of *Commodus*, and *Lucilla*, who was ſometime eſpouſed to the Emperour *Lucius Vetus*. Nevertheleſſe the contentions of the women did well helpe forward the diſagreement of the two brethren. The Duke of Somerſet was gentle, quiet, courteous, and of an affable diſpoſition; in a word, void of all rancour and malice: the Admirall on the other ſide, furious, heady, raſh, ambitious, and one that thought himſelfe more worthy than his brother of the publique adminiſtration of the Commonwealth. And therefore a while after the death of King *Henry*, of ſuch a ſpirit hee was, that he ſought to get in marriage *Eliſabeth*, that was ſcarce yet marriageable; her who was King *Edwards* youngeſt ſiſter, and after Queene of England, and continued her raigne till forty five yeers were nigh expired. But in this his brother hindred him, who being a prudent man, was not ignorant that this attempt was raſh and full of danger. Afterwards that he had married Queene *Katharine*, a moſt beautifull and noble Lady, and of Princely wealth, every one thought that this young mans deſires, though immoderate, might now be ſatisfied. But any man will ſee that it came to paſſe farre otherwiſe, who ſhall give credit to the law that was made againſt him a little hereafter, though perhaps effected by his adverſaries, whoſe faction prevailed.

A relation of the carriage of the Admirall.

I thinke it moſt convenient, for mine owne part, to ſet downe things as they were done and confirmed by publike Records, eſpecially for that I am perſwaded they differ not greatly from the truth. Thus then it was. Having made himſelfe potent by friends, riches, and uſefull attendants, he began to think his brothers lenity and gentle diſpoſition, to be no better than unmanly puſillanimity: withall, he began to contemne him, and to deviſe with himſelfe which way hee might overthrow him, and how he himſelfe, being then neareſt of conſanguinity to the King, might ſucceed in the place of his brother once defeated. For this purpoſe hee thought it would much conduce, to vilifie his brother, to elevate his credit, to finde fault with his managing of matters, and by ſecret detractions to abate and diminiſh his eſtimation amongſt as many as he could. It were good alſo, he thought, to corrupt with bribes and ſecret favours the Kings miniſters, eſpecially thoſe that were in greateſt favour about him; to make the Nobles of his ſide by little and little, inveagling them with ſmooth words and faire promiſes; to fortifie his Tower of Holt, and to fit it with victuals and men, and all other warlike proviſion; but above all, to get good ſtore of money by him, the which he might have ready upon all occaſions.

The Admirals policie and confidence.

Having ſeen diligently to all theſe particulars, and (to the end he might not be deſtitute of money) heaped up a mighty treaſure, which he gained from thoſe things that were confiſcate to the Kings Admiralty at ſea, whereof he was Governour, hee began to impart this counſell of his to ſome of the Peeres; ſhewing them how hee intended to make himſelfe Lord of all, by ſeiſing the perſon of the King violently into his hands: yea, and proceeded to that height of madneſſe, that he durſt make promiſe to one of them, that the King ſhould marry his daughter, if ſo it

were

were he would to his utmoſt aſſiſt and further him in this his deſigne.

Whiles he meditates theſe matters, the Queene his wife is taken out of this life: ſhee being delivered of a young Lady died in childe-birth; neither wanted there ſome that imagined her to be poiſoned, and that by the counſell and labour of her husband. For now ſtreightway hee is more hot and eager in the purſuit of marriage with the Lady *Eliſabeth* than before, and endevoured that it might by all meanes be ſuddenly accompliſhed, though in cloſe and ſecret manner; even as he had taken his former wife, not asking leave of the King or his Tutors, untill ſuch time as the match was fully finiſhed, and the marriage rites ſolemnized.

1549 About the beginning of the yeere following, or it may bee a little before, was a Parliament called; by whoſe authority Sir *Thomas Seimor* High Admirall of England, the Kings unkle, being found guilty of the crimes before ſpecified, is ſent to the Tower of London, and afterwards by a law promulgate is condemned to death unheard. And when the Parliament was diſſolved, which was done the fourteenth day of March, he was brought into publike, and there beheaded. But firſt of all he proteſted with great vehemency, that hee never willingly committed any thing that might derogate from the honour of the King, or the good of the Commonwealth, neither did it ever come into his heart to attempt any ſuch thing.

The Admirall condemn.d.

Of his death there were ſundry opinions, and ſeverall cenſures: ſome greatly diſcommend the Protector, that hee would ſuffer his owne brother ſo eaſily to bee cut off, the cauſe not ſo much as once mentioned: others impute it to his too great timerouſneſſe and cowardiſe, ſuppoſing that thoſe errours of juvenile ardor ought rather to have beene remitted, than the King deprived of an unkle, and the Protector of ſuch aſſiſtance as a brother might doe. Yea it is ſaid that he wanted not ſome, who admoniſhed him to take heed what he did; and told him plainly, that they had knowne ſome that would ſuffer their brethren to ſhed teares, but of any that would ſpill their blood, when it lay in their power to ſave it, they hardly knew any example: That it was greatly to be feared, that his brothers death might in time become his owne deſtruction, and at length prove pernicious to the King himſelfe, who it was not unlike might ſtand in need of ſuch friends in time to come.

Severall conjectures of the Protector.

Others as much on the contrary ſide, highly extolled the Protector, for that he preferred the publike ſafety before the bond of naturall affection; ſtiffely averring, that nothing in the Commonwealth could bee firme and permanent, if the authors and maſters of innovations, though never ſo neare allied in blood or favour to Kings, ſhould eſcape unpuniſhed. Others againe ſaid, it greatly concerned the Duke of Somerſet to ſee his brother cut off maturely, otherwiſe the King could not be in ſafety, and his owne life would be in continuall perill. For what other thing, ſay they, was intended in theſe projects, but that after hee had gotten the Kings perſon into his cuſtody, and put by his brother from the dignity he enjoyed, and had alſo joyned to himſelfe in marriage the Lady *Eliſabeth*, who was the Kings ſiſter, the King being a childe and infirme, and deſtitute of kinred, might eaſily be removed out of the way by poyſon, or any ſuch like ſleight, and then the Admirall invade the kingdome as the

right

right of his wife, for as much as the Lady *Mary*, though the elder ſiſter, yet begotten in inceſtuous and unlawfull wedlock, ought in no caſe to challenge it to her ſelfe. Much to this effect tended the diſcourſe of *Hugh Latimer* in a ſermon before the King: he was ſometime Biſhop of Worceſter, but ten yeeres ſince had given it over, and forever after abſtained from preaching, untill after the death of King *Henry*, hee who before had lived in a voluntary ſilence began now, together with the libertie of his conſcience, to uſe freedome of ſpeech, and to adorne the Church of God with ſuch light as God had lent him. But how cleare his judgment was in this point I pronounce not; only I thinke this diſcourſe might have been more ſeaſonable in the Parliament houſe than in the Pulpit. Howſoever, Sir *Thomas Seymer*, whether through his owne ambition, or the malignitie of his Adverſaries, wee ſee is fallen low, who ended his life in ſuch manner as is related: he was a valiant Warriour and a prudent Councellor, whoſe ruine ſeemed ere long to draw his brother after.

About this time, in the moneth of May, a great ſedition (yea almoſt a rebellion) is raiſed by the Countrey men in divers places of the Kingdome: the covetouſneſſe and oppreſſion of ſome of the Nobilitie is ſaid to have given occaſion hereunto, who encloſed many Commons, which are a great part of the poore Husbandmens living, to ſerve for their own private uſes, and to fit their pleaſures of hunting and ſuch other paſtimes. Now the common people ſeeing thoſe places fenced in with hedge and ditch, ſo that themſelves were bereft of all manner of benefit thereof which formerly they enjoyed, began to take it grievouſly, and hereupon to raiſe tumults: whereof when notice was given to the Lords of the Councell, and they perceived of what evill conſequence it might prove if a ſpeedy remedy were not ſought, they ſent ſtraightway ſeverall Commiſſioners into Kent, and other places where this complaint firſt began, to enquire of the abuſe, and to admoniſh the faultie, that out of hand they caſt down their fences and fill up the ditches, making that againe publike, which by force and injurie, they had taken from the common-wealth, and that hereof they faile not at their perill, leſt higher authoritie (if they delayed) compell them hereunto, and make them an example whereby others might be warned for time to come. Many at the hearing hereof were obedient, and cauſed the partitions to be removed, and the incloſures caſt downe, which they had reared; a moſt gratefull and happy ſpectacle to the people. The neighbouring Countries hearing theſe tydings, and vexed that their fields were not reſtored likewiſe, never expecting the authoritie of the Magiſtrate, began to take the matter into their owne hands, and to be both judges and revengers of their own injuries: they take armes firſt, and afterwards beſtirre themſelves, plucking up the bounds that were ſet; by great companies joyning themſelves together, intending (as it might ſeeme) no farther matter, that being once effected.

An inſurrection.

Commiſſioners ſent to Kent and other places.

But as the Sea having once gotten a little above the ſhore, makes way by little and little, overflowing firſt of all ſome few fields, but after ſweeps away whole Townes and Countries, and without mighty paines cannot be kept within bounds: So theſe men, after they had once tranſ-

tranſgreſſed the preſcript of Law, take the reines by little and little to all licentiouſneſſe, ſpoiling whole Townes and Villages whereſoever they come, and cruelly murdering all that favoured not their doings. Now did many of the meaner ſort of people reſort to them, and other deſperate and diſcontented perſons, who were out of liking with the preſent condition of things; and by theſe meanes they grew to ſuch a multitude, that no leſſe than an Army is requiſite to quiet them, and bring them into order. And howbeit this madneſſe was greater in Norfolke than any where elſe, yet it raged throughout the whole Kingdome: Kent, Oxfordſhire, Surry, Buckinghamſhire, Eſſex, Cambridgeſhire, Yorkeſhire, Lincolneſhire, and eſpecially Devonſhire and Somerſetſhire were moleſted with theſe tumultuous ſtirs. Onely in Norfolke were about twenty thouſand, which ſtanding upon their owne guard, and truſting to their forces, doe now no longer complaine of fields encloſed, but begin to make mention of farre greater matters. They take it grievouſly, that the ingenuous, and free borne people are every where oppreſſed and troden under foot by a few of better ranke and qualitie, who doe even ſurfet every where with their pleaſures, whiles the others live in perpetuall toile & ſervitude, labouring and wearing out themſelves like horſes. But howſoever the miſeries and afflictions of the body, and of the preſent life are patiently to be endured, yet the loſſe or perill of their ſoules is unſufferable, and to be redeemed though with a thouſands deaths. The rites and ceremonies in Gods ſervice, received from their forefathers, and continued downe along hitherto, are now aboliſhed, and new ones, or none rather, brought in in their ſtead, & a new forme of religion obtruded. Other evills end with death: but if they ſuffer their ſoules to bee polluted, and defiled with this impiety, what can bee more miſerable than they, whoſe end of preſent miſeries is but a beginning of future torments, even the paines of hell, which no death ſhall ever put an end unto? What then remaines now to bee done, but that they goe forthwith to the Kings Palace, and appoint him more honeſt and truſty Councellors to governe his minoritie, untill ſuch time as hee be fit to take things into his owne hands? For they thinke it altogether neceſſary to remove thoſe that now beare the ſway, mingling things holy and profane, heaven and earth together, caring not what they doe ſo they may enrich themſelves with the goods of the Common-wealth, and of the Church, and while all men ſmart, themſelves keepe holy-day.

The meaner ſort reſort to the Rebels.

New complaints from the Rebels.

This was the common voice of the Rebels, and principally of them in the County of Devonſhire and Cornwall, who having gotten themſelves Leaders and Captaines of their owne, are very induſtrious to joyne their forces together. The Lords of the Councell, to hinder this, ſend forth againſt them divers of the Nobilitie, ſome into Norfolke, and others into Devonſhire. Into Norfolke they ſend not above fifteene hundred, and thoſe under the conduct of the Lord *William Parr*, Marqueſſe of Northampton. Norwich (a faire and large City, but at that time environed with weake walls) for ſome time they defended againſt the aſſaults and violence of the Bores of the Country; but having loſt in fight the Lord *Sheffeild*, and many more of their company, they were driven at length to forſake the Towne, and to leave it to their enemies, who

The Devonſhire Rebels reſolution.

who making ſpoile of all that was in it, ſet fire afterwards to the houſes, and burnt downe a great part of the building.

So ſoone as the report hereof came to the Lords of the Councell, they preſently deliver greater forces to the Lord *Dudley* Earle of Warwicke, a valiant man, and a ſtout Captaine; who comming thither, doth not onely conſtraine the Renegates to leave the City wholly, and betake themſelves to flight, but purſuing them cloſely, compells them to turne their faces and fight it out. When the villaines ſaw no remedy but they muſt either fight or dye, they take thoſe whom they had apprehended as captives (they were of the Nobility for the moſt part) and binding them and chaining them together, ſet them in the forefront of the Army, to ſerve them inſtead of a bulwarke of defence, and to receive the firſt ſhock and brunt of the battell. Nevertheleſſe all this availed them little, theſe all or moſt of them eſcaped the danger, and the Rebells are put to flight, who yet in the eager purſuit of the army are almoſt all taken captives, or ſlaine outright; ſave that a certaine company of the ſtouteſt of them leave off flying, and returning begin to renew the battell afreſh; but being promiſed pardon of all offences, if they will leave off and caſt away their weapons of their owne accord, they obey, and are ſafely diſmiſſed. The Ring-leaders of this ſedition, who were a great company, are all brought forth and hanged for their Rebellion. But the Captaine and chiefe of them all was one *Robert Ketſe*, a Tanner by trade (but wealthy conſidering his profeſſion, for hee was ſaid to bee worth a matter of ſixe thouſand pounds) for him there was built a jibbit upon the higheſt battlement of the Caſtle of Norwich, where being firſt ſtrangled (as the manner is) he was hanged in chaines, and his body to continue there till it rotted, or the birds of the heaven devoured it: which puniſhment is the moſt grievous of any in uſe amongſt us, and allotted for the greateſt malefactors.

The rebels put to flight.

While theſe things come to paſſe in the Eaſt parts of the kingdome, the Weſt countrey is nothing leſſe unquiet. They of Devonſhire and Cornewall (to whom ſome of Somerſetſhire joyned themſelves) to the number of fifteene thouſand men, are up in armes for the fore-alledged cauſes, and after they had ranged up and downe the countrey, they encompaſſe with a great ſiege the City of Exceter (the moſt famous towne in all the Weſt countrey) which ſiege nevertheleſſe the inhabitants, though utterly deſtitute of any proviſion before hand, moſt valiantly endured for forty dayes together, even to the ſixt day of Auguſt: at which time came *John* Lord *Ruſſell*, who was after created Earle of Bedford, and entring the towne with an army and proviſion which he had brought, raiſed the ſiege; and purſuing the Rebels, tooke and ſlew of them betweene foure and five thouſand, of whom many were executed afterwards, eſpecially their chiefe leader, whoſe name was *Humfrey Arundell* Captaine of the Caſtle at Saint *Michaels* Mount in Cornwall, a man borne of a noble and wealthy family; inſomuch that one may juſtly marvell what madneſſe ſhould poſſeſſe him, and cauſe him to joine himſelfe to a company of moſt deſperate Rebels and Outlawryes. Together with him are ſaid to have beene executed eight Prieſts, *Robert Boclin*, *John Tomſon*, *Roger Barret*, *John Wilcockes*, *William Aſa*, *James Morton*, *John Baron*, and *Richard Bennet*, beſides two brothers, *John* and *James Roſe-*

Rebellion in the Weſt parts.

gaine, John Paine, Thomas Underhill, and *John Solman*, who were all found to be the firebrands of this ſedition, and the authors of the tumult.

The Citizens of Exceter make Auguſt 6. an Holy-day.

The inhabitants of the City of Exceter, in memory of their deliverance from ſo great perill, doe reckon the forenamed ſixt of Auguſt amongſt their Holy-dayes, and doe continue to keepe an anniverſary ſolemnity of it even to this very day. As for the other rebellions which were raiſed in ſeverall places of the kingdome, they were timely looked unto, and huſhed at the beginning, the King-leaders onely puniſhed, ſo that it ſhall not be neceſſary to make farther mention thereof in this place. Theſe are the troubles we ſuffered this yeere at home, and yet were wee called to a warre abroad: yea with what evils almoſt were we not exerciſed under this Kings reigne, which might lightly befall a nation *ſub Principe puero*, as *Cambden* writes?

Henry the French King ſeeing us entangled with civill broiles at home, taketh occaſion from thence to violate his fathers Covenants: and without any more adoe invadeth Boloigne, which belonged to the Crowne of England; and finding his ſucceſſe there reaſonable good, he ſendeth forth a great Navie to take the Ilands of Jernſey and Garnſey, which have alwaies belonged to us, from the time that *William* Duke of Normandy by Conqueſt made himſelfe King of England, and they onely were left unto us of all the Dukedome of Normandy. There the French are repulſed, with a great ſlaughter of their owne men, but not many of ours were loſt. That a thouſand Frenchmen fell in that conflict, but a very few of ours, *John Stow* in his Annalls witneſſeth.

The French King invadeth Bulloigne, and Jernſey, and Garnſey, &c.

About Boloigne ſeverall fortifications were loſt, Mount Lambert, Sellaque, Blanconette, and Ambletelle. Sellaque was defended by two Companies, and the Ordnance playing upon it a pretty while, the meane while that our men parley unadviſedly with the French, it was by force taken the five and twentieth day of Auguſt.

At Ambletelle were ſixe foot companies, which valiantly defended the fort for certaine dayes, but finding themſelves too weake for ſo great forces as their enemies brought againſt them, covenanting for their owne ſafety, yeelded the Caſtle. They which held Blanconette, not expecting till their enemies charged againſt them, ſent meſſengers to entreat that they might paſſe away with their life and goods in ſafety, and ſo left the place. Neither was there here an end of miſchiefe: They that were in Mount Lambert not tarrying the enemies comming, burnt their tents, and caſt away their proviſion, and went backe to Guiſnes. Another Caſtle which was built in a place ſufficiently fortified, ſuſtained the violence of the French, and held out ſo long till winter comming on, the French were faine to ſend away their army.

The Protector is envied.

The loſſe of theſe fortifications procured to the Lord Protector a great deale of envie amongſt the Commons, and yeelded a fit opportunity to his evill willers at Court to ſlander his actions, and to blame his government. The moſt eminent and renowned of all the Kings Counſellors was the Lord *Dudley* Earle of Warwicke, a man of a mighty ſpirit, and famous for many exploits performed both at home and abroad. Now he began to be lifted up within himſelfe, and to deſpiſe the Duke of Somerſet, as one in true eſtimation his inferiour by farre, and withall to perſwade

ſwade himſelfe, that if he could by any meanes in the world remove him from his Protectorſhip, that honour was moſt likely to fall to his ſhare of any. And he hoped that his overthrow would without much adoe be accompliſhed, ſo that he did but beſtirre himſelfe with a little more than ordinary diligence, having gotten this faire occaſion through the ill opinion the people had conceived of him: Neither was the Protectors brother now alive to croſſe him or hinder his deſignes.

——*En quò diſcordia fratres,*
Perducit miſeros!
——See how much ill,
When brother yeelds his brothers blood to ſpill!

Now the while he is curious and buſie to find out matter to lay to the Duke of Somerſets charge, he, the Duke comes to heare of his deſignes: who when he underſtood himſelfe to be ſhot at, & yet not certaine whether by force of Armes, or by pretence of Law and Juſtice the Earle of Warwick had reſolved to contend with him; the ſixt of October the King being at Hampton Court, the Protector diſpatched letters to the Citizens of London, and requires them (all delay and excuſe laid aſide) to make ready forthwith a thouſand men in armes, and ſend them to him, wherewithall hee might defend the Kings perſon and himſelfe againſt treachery and violence intended againſt them. Then in the Countrey round about Hampton Court, which is in Surrey, he got a ſelected band, and being by this time pretty well accompanied, hee carried the King to Windſor the ſame night (where is a ſtrong and goodly Caſtle, about twelve miles from Hampton Court) and tooke alſo along with him as many of the Nobles, and them of the Kings Councell as he could get. But the Earle of Warwick at the ſame time had gathered together the greateſt part of the Lords of the Councell now at London, and there made many complaints againſt the Duke of Somerſet before them, and amongſt the reſt he ſaith, that hee laid waite for his head.

The Protector ſends to London for 1000. men.

Whereupon they alſo ſend their letters to the inhabitants of London, charging them ſtraightway to levie forces, and ſend them, wherewithall to reſcue the Kings perſon out of the hands of his enemie, ſo they were pleaſed to terme the Duke of Somerſet. Then they ſent abroad Proclamations, wherein they laid to his charge many hainous crimes, whereof theſe are ſaid to be the chiefe heads. That the Protector had greatly diſturbed and moleſted the Common-wealth, which King *Henry* at his death left in the midſt of peace and tranquillity. That thus he had done by ſcattering abroad ſecretly the ſeeds of contention, and had beene the cauſe of the deſtruction of many thouſands of men who lately periſhed in the civill broyles and diſſenſions. That many fortifications and places of defence, the which King *Henry* had gained not without the perill of his Royall perſon, and danger of his life, were now utterly loſt through the ſloth and perfidiouſneſſe of the Protector. That he ſleighted and contemned the reſt of the Lords of the Kings privie Councell, and regarded not their advice and Councell in any matter of State. That he had quite neglected thoſe commandements which King

Objections againſt the Duke of Somerſet.

Henry left in charge, concerning the government of the two Kingdomes of England and Ireland. And finally, that it had beene his onely ſtudy and care how to make himſelfe great, and increaſe his own wealth, that hee endevoured to ſet the Peeres of the Realme at variance amongſt themſelves, that hee had taken to bee attendants about his perſon a ſort of factious companions, who might bee at his becke upon all occaſions; and that hee was emploied about building for himſelfe ſtately Palaces, which befitted not his ranke and condition how great ſo ever hee were; and all this even now that the Commonwealth was vexed with rebellions at home, and moleſted with warres and enterpriſes from abroad.

The Duke of Somerſet yeelds, and is ſent to the Tower.

The Duke of Somerſet ſo ſoone as he had notice of all theſe paſſages, and perceived himſelfe to be forſaken of all ſides (for the Londoners had not onely refuſed to ſend him aide upon the receipt of his letters, but farthermore had aſſiſted his adverſary the Earle of Warwicke with five hundred ſouldiers; and the Lords of the Councell nigh every one of them were become of his faction, I meane the Earle of Warwickes) the Protector, I ſay, ſeeing matters goe thus, ſent Meſſengers to them, deſiring them to afford him onely thus much favour, as to forbeare all violence, and rough courſes, and to deale with him according to Law and right, and ſo he yeelded himſelfe and the Kings perſon into their hands, who ſent him to the Tower of London upon the fourteenth day of October, where hee was kept priſoner, together with Sir *Michael Stanhope*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, and Sir *John Thinne* Knights, and ſome certaine others alſo, that were the Dukes favourites.

This yeere upon the tenth of November dyed Pope *Paul* the Third, after hee had ſat about fifteen yeeres or upwards. After his death the Cardinalls (according to their accuſtomed manner) enter the Conclave to deliberate about the choice of a new ſucceſſor; and ſtraightway they began to pitch upon Cardinall *Poole* our Countriman, in whom Nobilitie of blood (for he was the ſonne of the Lady *Margaret* Counteſſe of Salisburie, which was King *Edward* the Fourths Niece by his brother *George* Duke of Clarence, and was beheaded in the three and thirtieth yeere of King *Henrie* the Eight) and ſingular gravitie, beſides excellent learning, were met together. The Cardinalls that were to give their ſuffrages were divided into two factions: one part of them ſought to pleaſe the Emperour, and the other part would gratifie the French King in their election: Some there were amongſt them that were neuters, and carried an even hand betwixt both: of thoſe was the Duke of Farneſe Nephew to the deceaſed Pope *Paul* the Third. Theſe joyning themſelves to the Emperours party, with one unanimous conſent caſt their ſuffrages upon Cardinall *Poole*. Which ſo ſoone as he underſtood (ſuch was his gravitie and moderation) he blamed them for their raſhneſſe, and againe and againe admoniſhed them to bee as free as poſſible might bee from all perturbation and diſtraction of minde (which is a great impediment and miſchiefe in Conſultations) and to permit nothing to favour or friendſhip in a buſineſſe of that great conſequence, but to referre all their thoughts to the honour of God, and the benefit of his Church.

A deliberation about chuſing a Pope.

Thus a rub being caſt in the way by Cardinall *Poole* himſelfe, the French Cardinalls began to adviſe that regard was to be had to many of their

their Colledge, who for the length of the journey could not yet bee preſent, and that it was an unmeet and unjuſt thing ſo to haſten the election before they could all come together. The cauſe of this was, that one in the number of greater eminency than the reſt hoped if he could put by Cardinall *Poole*, he himſelfe might be choſen (his name was *Caraffa*, who ſome certaine yeeres after was created Pope, and called by the name of *Paul* the Fourth) and therefore he breaks forth into calumnies and detractions, accuſing Cardinall *Poole* of hereſie and incontinency, ſaying, that while he was in Germany, and was Legat at Trent, he entertained too much familiaritie with certaine Lutherans, that he had much converſation with *Emmanuell Tremellius*, and that one *Anthonie Flaminius*, vehemently ſuſpected of Lutheraniſme, was by him taken into his familie, and had many Eccleſiaſticall promotions conferred upon him, who being emploied in the buſineſſe of Viterbium in Italy, ſpared a great number of hereticks, puniſhed but a few of them, and that with a great deale of favour, and put none at all to death: Neither for all his grave countenance and goodly aſpect was he ſo free from all ſuſpicion of incontinence, but that a number ſuppoſed a young Maide now brought up in a Nunnerie to have been of his begetting. And therefore he exceedingly wondred for his owne part what the holy Colledge meant ſo generally to caſt their votes upon a ſtranger come thither from beyond the Ocean, as if Italie could not afford men worthy of the Popedome: and to what end? but that he who was wholly *Cæſars* Vaſſall, ſhould give way to the Emperour to come and ſacke Rome againe, as of late he had done under Pope *Clement* the Seventh.

Cardinall *Poole* accuſed for hereſie, &c.

Cardinall *Poole* anſwered theſe objections with ſuch gravity and meeknеſſe, that he not onely purged himſelfe of the ſeverall criminations laid to his charge, but withall enflamed the hearts of the Colledge of Cardinalls in ſuch manner, that now they were more eager upon his election than before. Wherefore a while after they came at midnight to his chamber, and command one *Lewis Priule* a Venetian and his deare friend to awake the Cardinall out of ſleep, and tell him that the fraternitie had choſen him Pope, and are come now to adore him as the manner is, and to make a full end of the matter. Which when *Priule* underſtood, in great joy he went to doe the meſſage; but the Cardinall hearing it, friendly rebuked him, and would not ſuffer the Cardinalls to performe their intended adoration, but told them, that he liked not that a buſineſſe of that weight ſhould be diſpatched tumultuouſly and raſhly; it was an honour which for his owne part, hee rather feared than entertained greedily: beſides, the night was an unfit ſeaſon, God was a God of light, not of darkeneſſe, therefore they ſhould in any caſe deferre it till the next morning; then (if ſuch were the good pleaſure of God) it might be accompliſhed. The Italian Cardinals imputed this ſlowneſſe of the Cardinall *Poole* to his ſottiſhneſſe, and ſtupidity, and began to contemne him, and from that time, changing their minds, not long after they choſe one Cardinall *Montanus* to the Popedome, who was called by the name of *Julius* the Third.

Cardinall *Poole* choſen Pope.

1550

When as the Duke of Somerſet, who was erewhile Protector of the King and Kingdome, had lyen in Priſon about three months, and nothing could

4. The Protector ſet at liberty.

could be laid to his charge which might make him liable to death; and for that it was not thought convenient, that ſo great a perſonage ſhould for petty matters be held in perpetuall cuſtody, they deale with him lying in the Tower, by fit inſtruments, that hee would acknowledge himſelfe worthy of that puniſhment which he ſuffered, and beg the Kings mercy. Which when he willingly condeſcended to doe, hee is ſet at libertie the ſixt day of February, and reſtored to his former dignitie (but excluded from his office of Protectorſhip) & put into the number of privie Councellors the eighth day of Aprill: afterward by the procurement of certain of the peaceable Nobilitie, the Duke and the Earle of Warwicke were mutually reconciled, and that this late contracted friendſhip might not ſoone be diſſolved, an affinitie is concluded between them. The Duke of Somerſets daughter is to bee given in marriage to Viſcount *Liſle*, the Earle of Warwickes eldeſt ſonne, which nuptialls were after ſolemnized at Shene (the King being there preſent) the third of June following.

James Thuan (a learned French writer) in the hiſtorie of his time tells us (but I wot not from what Author) that the Earle of Warwicke craftily pretended himſelfe ſolicitous to bring in the ancient forme of Religion, and bearing the Nobles in hand with that deviſe, thereby procured the favour of the moſt of them, and their aſſiſtance againſt the Protector: But his fraud being diſcovered, fearing leſt being deprived of his former aides, hee ſhould fall ſtraightway, for as much as the favourers of Popery found themſelves deluded by him, and ſo by little and little clave againe to the Duke of Somerſet, whom they ſaw a man of exceeding mild diſpoſition; hee to prevent the danger, contracted affinitie with the Duke of Somerſet, and procured his enlargement.

New honours beſtowed on ſeverall men.

While theſe things are brought about, namely, upon the nineteenth day of January, *John* Lord *Ruſſell*, Lord Keeper of the privie Seale, is created Earle of Bedford, and *William* Lord *Saint-John* is made Earle of Wiltſhire, and Sir *William Paget* Knight is declared Lord *Paget*. Shortly after the Kings Majeſty called an high Court of Parliament, which began at Weſtminſter, the foure and twentieth day of November, in this third yeere of his reigne, and there continued untill the firſt of February next following, which was in the fourth yeer of his reigne: and amongſt other things there enacted and concluded, one ſtatute was made for the puniſhment of Rebels, and unlawfull aſſemblies: the which law was made by occaſion of the late rebellion that happened in a manner throughout the Realme the yeere paſſed; and although it may be it was not meant to touch any Noble man, yet by vertue of this ſtatute was the Duke of Somerſet condemned about two yeeres after, as yee ſhall heare in due place.

Embaſſadours ſent into France, and to the Emperour.

Two of the new created Lords, of whom I ſpake before, to wit, the Earle of Bedford, and the Lord *Paget*, are ſoone after within three daies diſpatched on Embaſſage into France, together with Sir *William Peters*, and Sir *John Maſon* Knights, to treat concerning a peace with the King of France his Ambaſſadors appointed to that ſervice. Thoſe were *Mommorancy* Preſident of Picardie, *Gaſper Caſtilion* afterwards Admirall of France, *Andrew Gillarie Mortaire*, and *William Bocetelle*. Not long before

fore Sir *William Paget* was ſent into Germany to the Emperour, to give him to underſtand that we were in ill caſe at home, being engaged in a warre againſt the Scots, and urged with the French from abroad, beſides civill broiles amongſt our owne people, and therefore that the State (by vertue of a league made in the life time of King *Henry* the Eight) requeſted aide from him, which if his Majeſtie granted not, we muſt bee forced to conclude a peace with the French, though upon unequall conditions, contrary to a branch of the league made with the Emperour. But when nothing could be obtained of the Emperour, wee were faine to condeſcend to a treaty of peace, which was ſoone after concluded; and theſe were the conditions: That Boloigne, and all the Munitions raiſed neere Boloigne, together with the Guns, Ordnance, and all the warlike proviſion, ſhould be delivered up into the hands of the French King: the French King in lieu hereof ſhould duely pay, or cauſe to be paid unto us, the ſumme of 400. thouſand French crownes at two ſeverall paiments. Hereof it is joyntly agreed. It is concluded likewiſe that Lawder and Duglaſſe (two Townes in Scotland) which our men had taken, are to bee reſtored backe againe, and Æmon and Roſenburgh which wee had fortified, to be utterly razed and demoliſhed, if ſo the Queene of Scotland thought it fit. The Emperour likewiſe was comprehended in this agreement, as alſo the Queene of Scots (as *James Henrie Petrus* delivereth it) who addeth that for the ſtrengthning and eſtabliſhing of this new league begun, the Kings of England and France did mutually confer upon each other the honour of Knighthood: that this was done is manifeſt, but the ſame Author delivereth, that it was by both the Kings promiſed that the King of England ſhould take to be his Queene, one of the daughters of the French King, as ſoone as ſhe ſhould be of age fit for marriage: this I have not found any where elſe ſet downe. Articles of peace.

Well, for the more full confirmation of theſe covenants agreed upon, Hoſtages were delivered both from us to the French, and mutually from the French to us, upon the eighth day of Aprill. Who were theſe:

From us,

The Duke of Suffolke.
The Earle of Hertford, the Duke of Somerſets eldeſt Sonne.
The Lord *Mairever* Earle of Arundell.
The Lord *Strange* Earle of Derby.
The Lord *Fitz-Walter* Earle of Bath.

From the French,

The Duke of Angiers.
The Marqueſſe of Meduanne.
Conneſtable ſonne to the Lord *Mommorancy* Preſident of Picardy.
Lewis Earle of Tremouille.
Francis Vindocin Vice-governour of Chartres.
Claudius Annebald.

The peace being thus concluded betwixt us and the French, was proclaimed in the Citie of London upon the third day of March, and on the five

five and twentieth of Aprill following was Boloigne delivered up to the French, and the Hoſtages ſent home.

This yeere was a Parliament holden at Weſtminſter, where among other things, by Authoritie of the ſaid Parliament eſtabliſhed, Prieſts children were made legitimate, and uſurie for the loane of mony forbidden. The eleventh of June being Saint *Barnabies* day, was kept Holyday all London over: and the ſame day at night (but I find not by what authoritie) the high Altar in Pauls Church was pulled downe, and a Table ſet where the Altar ſtood, with a Veile drawne beneath the ſteps; and on the Sunday next a Communion was held at the ſame Table; and ſhortly after all the Altars in London were taken downe, and Tables placed in their roomes.

The thirtieth of July, *Thomas* Lord *Wriotheſlie*, Earle of Southampton, Knight of the Noble Order of the Garter, deceaſed at Lincolne place in Holborne, and was buried in Saint Andrewes Church there. He was not long before Lord Chancellour of England, but being created Earle of Southampton about the beginning of the new Kings reigne, hee ſoone after reſigned his place of Chancellour to the Lord *Rich*, and being together with the Earle of Arundell (for what cauſe is not ſo certaine) removed from the Kings Councell, whether with griefe or ſome other cauſe, hee fell into a ſickneſſe, and died, leaving his Earldome to his ſonne *Henry*, of whom was begotten *Henry*, that had experience of both fortunes (good and bad) and by our late King *James* honoured, and greatly favoured.

This yeere was the free-ſchoole at Tunbridge in Kent erected by Sir *Andrew Jude* skinner, and Lord Maior of London, for the well nurtering and bringing up of youth in learning, as well bred in that Shire as brought from other Countries adjoyning: hee alſo built ſixe Almeshouſes in Saint Helens pariſh within Biſhopſgate in London, leaving lands to the Companie of Skinners for the maintenance of theſe places for ever.

1551 5. The beginning of the next yeere (which was the fift yeere of the reigne of King *Edward*) a Parliament was called, which began at Weſtminſter the three and twentieth day of January, and there was held untill the fifteenth day of Aprill in the ſixt yeere of his ſaid reigne.

A Parliament called.

In this Parliament the Booke of Common prayer, which in ſome part had beene corrected and amended, was now newly confirmed, and eſtabliſhed.

The ſweating ſickneſſe. In the end of this Parliament, upon the fifteenth of Aprill, at Shrewſbury began a grievous and peſtilent diſeaſe, called the infectious ſweating ſickneſſe, which invaded that yeere many other parts of the Kingdome, in ſo much that in the North Country it hardly ceaſed by the beginning of the October following; but in the meane ſpace ſwept away ſuch a great multitude of people every where, that the number of them could not be found. In the City of London it ſelfe there died of this diſeaſe eight hundred perſons within the ſpace of ſeven daies.

This infection was known in England long before in the time of King *Henry* the ſeventh, in the yeere of our Lord one thouſand foure hundred eighty ſixe, and after ſeaſed upon other Countries, which from the place

place where it was firſt knowne to ariſe, was called the Engliſh ſweating ſickneſſe. For they that were taken with it, were ſtraightway all over in a mucke ſweat, and for the moſt part within the ſpace of foure and twenty houres ſent forth their laſt breath; many alſo held not out full twelve houres. *John Stow* in his Annalls reporteth that ſeven honeſt men, houſeholders, at this time ſupped together about ſeven of the clocke in the evening, and before eight of the clock the next morning ſixe of them were dead, when thirteen houres were not fully expired.

Women, and children, and old men were ſeldome taken with it, nor any other for the moſt part but luſty young men, in the ſtrength of their age, who if they ſlept never ſo little when it firſt began to take them, they died preſently. Very few eſcaped whom it tooke with a full ſtomacke, yea of the reſt hardly one of a hundred ever recovered, untill time found out a remedy for this evill, which was on this manner.

The cure of the ſweating ſickneſſe.

If any one began to be ſicke thereof in the day time, he lay downe ſtraightway in his clothes as it took him; but if by night and in bed, there he reſted, and was not to ſtirre from his bed till foure and twenty houres were overpaſt. The mean while he muſt be covered with clothes, ſo that the ſweat be not provoked, but be ſuffered to fall away ſoftly and of its owne accord; he takes no meat if he can poſſibly faſt ſo long, but drinks a little warm poſſet drink, and that but moderately, meerly for the quenching of thirſt. But above all great heed muſt be taken that the ſick party put not forth hand nor foot without the cloaths, not ſo much as a little to coole himſelfe; if he doe he dyeth for it.

I doe not ſo much wonder at the novelty of the diſeaſe, for as much as *Pliny* witneſſeth *Lib.26.cap.1.* yea and daily experience teacheth us, that new diſeaſes ariſe ever and anon: but one thing was wonderfull (and no doubt therein was the finger of God in judgement) that at this time this ſweating diſeaſe tooke hold of our Engliſhmen whereſoever they were in forraine countries abroad, but left all the reſt of the inhabitants untouched, ſaving in our England onely. This heavie and direfull plague conſumed many thouſands in a ſhort time, and amongſt the reſt ſome perſonages of principall note and quality: of whom the chiefe was *Henry* Duke of Suffolke, and preſently after his brother, who were both the ſonnes of *Charles Brandon* Duke of Suffolke, and of neere conſanguinity to the King (for *Charles Brandon* wedded Queene *Mary* Dowager of France, that was ſiſter to King *Henry* the eighth) theſe two hopefull Nobles were taken away with this ſweating ſickneſſe; firſt *Henry*, who was the eldeſt, and within the ſpace of a few houres after his brother followed, before he had injoyed his new Dukedom one full day, which came to him by the death of his brother: ſo that honour by hereditary right was devolved to the Lord *Henry Gray* Marqueſſe of Dorſet, who had taken in wedlocke *Frances* the eldeſt daughter of *Charles Brandon*. Now upon the 11. day of October hee was declared Duke of Suffolke; at which time likewiſe *John* Lord *Dudley* Earle of Warwicke, was made Duke of Northumberland, *William* Lord *Powlet* Earle of Wiltſhire is made Marqueſſe of Wincheſter; and Sir *William Herbert* Knight, Lord Cardife, Maſter of the Horſe, is then created Earle of Pembroke. The iſſue male of *Dudley* and *Gray* are long ſince extinct, of the *Powlets* former Hiſtories

The death of the Duke of Suffolke.

Creation of Dukes and Earles.

make

make mention; but Sir *William Herbert*, who was couſin germane to *Katharine Parr* Queen Dowager, the laſt wife of King *Henry* the eighth, deriveth his pedegree from *William Herbert*, Earle of Pembroke under King *Edward* the fourth. This laſt *Herbert* (who was now made Earle, left his ſonne *William*, that was father to *William* and *Philip*, of whom *William* ſucceeded his father in the Earldome of Pembroke, endued with gravity and prudence even in his younger yeeres) was taken into the number of Privie Councellors long ſince, and at this day is Lord high Steward of the Kings houſhold. His brother was made Earle of Montgomery by King *James*, and is at this day Lord Chamberlain of his Majeſties houſehold, and both are Knights of the noble Order of the Garter.

Many Knights made.

At the ſame time when the forenamed Peeres received an addition of new honours, certaine other Gentlemen were adorned with the honour of Knighthood, *John Cheeke* one of King *Edwards* Schoole-maſters, *Henry Dudley*, *Henry Nevill*, and Maſter *William Cecill*, worthy to be mentioned with all honour; it was that Sir *William Cecill*, who being then the Kings Secretary was afterward well knowne over all Europe, being notorious for the endowments of his minde, for he was a man of ſingular wiſdome and dexterity of underſtanding in matters of State: he was advanced by Queene *Eliſabeth* late of bleſſed memory to be Lord high Treaſurer of England: he was alſo Lord Burleigh, another pillar of our Commonwealth, while he lived. He lived a goodly age, but worn out with perpetuall care and labour for the publike ſafety, at length he finiſhed his tedious life with a pious death, Auguſt the fourth 1598. leaving behind him both a ſweet remembrance, and a longing deſire of him amongſt all good men. He left behind him two ſonnes, *Thomas* (who now liveth) who was by King *James* created Earle of Exeter, and *Robert* who was likewiſe made Earle of Salisbury, and afterward Lord Treaſurer of England.

Somerſet and Northumberland at variance.

About this time the ill compoſed friendſhip betwixt the Duke of Somerſet and *Dudley* lately made Duke of Northumberland, brake forth openly into deadly feud. This ſore grew worſe and worſe, inſomuch that Somerſet, a man of an extraordinary milde condition (as hath been ſaid) provoked with the continuall injuries of *Dudley* (for patience too much wronged turneth at the length to fury) began to deviſe, as ſome write, by what meanes he might make away his enemy. And therefore under pretence of viſiting the Duke of Northumberland in friendly manner, hee came one day to ſee him, having before put on a privie coat of maile, and bringing along other armed men whom he left in an outer chamber, he went in to ſee his enemy, purpoſing to kill him: but being admitted to him, and finding him naked and unarmed, lying upon his couch, who received him with all humanity and friendly reſpect, his heart preſently failed him, and being a marvellous meeke man, repented of his purpoſe and would not hurt him, but returned leaving the Duke of Northumberland as he found him. It is ſaid that one of the conſpirators that waited without, demanded of the Duke of Somerſet comming forth, ſaying, Have you done the deed? and the Duke anſwering, No; he replied, Then are you undone.

This project of his being detected (for they that were privie to it betrayed

trayed him) proves his destruction. Now againe is hee publikely accused. The matter being revealed to the Lords of the Councell, they send him presently to the Tower, where he is imprisoned together with his wife, and a great number of his friends, the Lord *Gray*, Sir *Ralph Vane*, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, Sir *Miles Partridge*, Sir *Michael Stanhop*, Sir *Thomas Arundell*, and many others more. Afterwards being brought to the place of publike judicature in Westminster Hall, which was upon the first day of December, he is attainted of a double crime, to wit, of high Treason, that he had not onely imprudently, but treacherously also administred the publike government, and of the forementioned conspiracy against *Dudley*. Somerset committed.

The crime of high treason that was laid to his charge he easily wipes away; being charged with the attempt against the Duke of Northumberland, he cannot deny it: for which fact by vertue of a law lately made, whereof himselfe had beene the Author, it behooveth him to be condemned. For therein it was decreed, that if any one should be found to have conspired against the life of one of the Kings privie Councell, though hee had not effected his purpose, yet was hee to suffer death for it.

The manner with us is, that when any of the Peeres who is accused of Treason is going to his triall, the great Axe of the Tower is carried before him, with the edge of it turned from him; which axe if the party attainted be absolved is presently cast away, but if he be condemned, the axe is againe carried before him as he returneth to Prison, and then the edge is turned toward him: Now so soone as the Duke of Somerset was cleared of the crime of high Treason, whereof he was accused, the terrible Hatchet was by and by throwne away. Nevertheless for his conspiracy against the Duke of Northumberlands life, hee was at the same time condemned to die. The Duke of Somerset condemned.

In the large spacious continent of Westminster Hall (where these matters are usually transacted) those only that were neere the Judges could heare what was spoken; but what was done they all beheld that were there present: the people then supposing the Duke to be wholly acquitted, tooke up such a mighty shout and outcry of joy, that not only the Hall did ring of it, but it was said to bee heard beyond charing Crosse, almost halfe a mile from Westminster: The Nobles, as it was reported, were amazed, and not a little terrified, at so great a signe of the peoples good will toward the Duke of Somerset. For what could be expected (might they thinke) but that this affection of the people toward the Protector, might bee a spurre unto the King when he should come to yeeres, to revenge his Unkles death; yea even compell him though hee were otherwise unwilling? And that in all likelihood was the reason that his execution was deferred so long time after sentence of condemnation passed against him.

The Duke being condemned, the people spake diversly, and murmured against the Duke of Northumberland and some other of the Lords, and it was commonly reported that the King himselfe tooke these troubles of his Unkle very heavily. Unto both these sores it was thought fit to apply one plaister, by appointing the feast of Christs Nativitie (commonly

monly called Coriſt-maſſe) to bee ſolemnly kept at Greenwich with open houſe to as many as would repaire thither, thereby to give the people content, putting vaine talke out of their heads, and alſo to cheere and ſolace the young King with ſuch ſports and merriments as at theſe times are accuſtomed to be uſed, but at this time in greater feſtivitie than had beene commonly knowen.

This yeere certaine of the Biſhops which would not conſent to the reformation of the Church, were removed from their places, and others ſubſtituted in their roomes. *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of Wincheſter (of whom we ſpake before) was deprived the fourteenth day of February. Likewiſe *Day* Biſhop of Chicheſter, and *Heath* Biſhop of Worceſter, were both deprived, the tenth of October. *Tonſtall* Biſhop of Durham, upon the twentieth of December was caſt into the Tower. *Bonner* Biſhop of London had been quite deprived formerly, namely, the firſt of October, 1549. They were all kept in priſon that they might not trouble the Church, nor hinder the reformation, which it is likely they would have endevoured if they had beene ſuffered to walke at large.

Divers Biſhops deprived.

The laſt day of October *Francis Engleſield*, *Walgrave*, and *Rocheſter*, ſervants to the Princeſſe *Mary* (daughter of King *Henry* by *Katharine* of Spaine, and next heire to the Crown) were caſt into the Tower, as alſo one *Francis Mallet* Doctor of Divinitie the ſame Lady *Maries* Chaplaine. For what cauſes thoſe others were committed is not certaine, but of Doctor *Mallets* imprisonment this is ſaid to have been the cauſe. Whereas upon the requeſt of the Emperour he had leave granted him to ſay Maſſe in the preſence of his Lady, but was expreſſely charged not to do it any where elſe: he preſuming to tranſgreſſe this command given him, it ſeemed good to the Lords of the Councell to have him puniſhed.

Some ſervants of the Lady Mary committed.

The Princeſſe her ſelfe is by all meanes moſt diligently dealt withall, that ſhe would be pleaſed to joyne her ſelfe to the Reformers; for which purpoſe were ſent unto her divers letters from the privie Councell, & from the King himſelfe, who earneſtly beſought her; and not onely ſo, but ſundry able men alſo were employed to perſwade her with faire words, and forceable arguments. Nevertheleſſe ſhe made light of all this, and ſtifly continued in that ſuperſtition wherein ſhee had beene puzzled by her mother, hating to the death that Religion, according to the tenets whereof ſhe was adjudged ſpurious ſeed, and in no caſe capable of the Crowne of England, to the which ſhe thought her ſelfe heire, if it ſo fell out that her brother deceaſed without iſſue.

Upon the fourteenth day of Aprill one *George Paris* a Germane by Nation, was burnt in Smithfield, for Arrianiſme, a moſt damnable and deteſtable Hereſie, which denieth the divinitie of the Sonne of God.

An Arrian burned.

Upon the five and twentieth day of May, at Croiden in Surrey, where the Archbiſhop of Canterbury hath a goodly Palace, happened an Earthquake (an unuſuall thing in England) which ſhooke that Town and ſeven or eight Villages adjoyning.

About the beginning of November *Mary* Queene of Scots (the Widow Dowager of *James* the fift King of Scotland) landed at Portſmouth, and ſent Meſſengers to the King to crave leave of him, that ſhee might goe home into Scotland by land, which the King willingly granted,

ted, and moreover courteouſly invited her to London, where ſhee was kindly welcommed. Thither ſhee came upon the ſecond of November, where ſhee was royally entertained, not onely by the King and the Nobles at Court, but alſo by the Citizens of London, and the Country people in all places where ſhe paſſed along, who ſupplyed her and her whole retinue with all things neceſſary for her journey, and that upon their owne proper coſt and charges, till ſhe arrived in Scotland. She tarried at London foure daies, and departed from thence toward Scotland the ſixt of November.

The Earle of Arundell and the Lord Paget impriſoned.

About this time the Earle of Arundell and *William* Lord *Paget* were caſt into the Tower, but for what cauſe it is not certainely knowne; but the Aprill following, the golden Garter (an embleme of the Order of Saint *Georges* Knights) was taken from the Lord *Paget*, and beſtowed upon the Earle of Warwick, the Duke of Northumberlands eldeſt ſonne. As for the Earle of Arundell, upon the third of December the yeere following he was reſtored to his liberty. And upon the one and twentieth day of December this preſent yeere, *Richard* Lord *Rich* is commanded to renounce his Office of Chancellorſhip, which was forthwith conferred upon *Thomas Goodrich* Lord Biſhop of Elie.

1552
The Duke of Somerſet beheaded.

In the beginning of the yeere following, upon the two and twentieth day of January, the Duke of Somerſet, after that he had lien in priſon neere two moneths from the time that ſentence was pronounced againſt him, although the King earneſtly laboured to divert the ſtroke (whoſe Unkle the Duke was, and had brought him up from a childe) was brought forth to the Tower-Hill (where Traitors uſually ſuffer) and was there beheaded.

The ſame morning early, the Conſtables of every Ward in London (according to a precept directed from the Lords of the Councell to the Lord Maior) ſtrictly charged every houſhold of the City, not to depart any of them out of their houſes, before ten of the clocke that day: meaning thereby to reſtraine the great number of people that otherwiſe where like to have beene at the ſaid execution. Notwithſtanding, by ſeven of the clocke the Tower hill was covered with a great multitude, repairing from all parts of the City, as alſo out of the Suburbs. And before eight of the clocke the Duke was brought thither incloſed with the Kings Guard, the Sheriffes officers, the Warders of the Tower, and others with Halberds, and ſeemed nothing diſmayed at what he was now preſently to ſuffer, but with the ſame countenance and geſture which he was alwaies obſerved to uſe, he willingly aſcended the Scaffold where he was to receive his fatall ſtroke.

So ſoone as he was got up, firſt of all he fell upon his knees, and caſt his eyes up to Heaven, and having finiſhed a few ſhort prayers within himſelfe, he roſe up and made a ſpeech to the people; wherein he teſtified, that for as much as he was according to the lawes of the Realme condemned to die (to the which lawes hee thought himſelfe ſubject as well as any other) hee was therefore come thither with a willing mind to ſhew his obedience thereunto. Moreover he gave hearty thankes to Almighty God, who had beene thus favourable to him as to give him warning of his departure out of this life, whereby hee had gained time

by bewailing his ſinnes, and craving pardon of his heavenly Majeſtie to prepare himſelfe for death, which is the common end of all men, though all die not after one manner. But above all hee gave immortall praiſe to God, who had not onely made knowne to him in more cleere manner than to his forefathers the Doctrine of the Goſpel, but had alſo made him an inſtrument by whoſe meanes it was delivered to the whole Engliſh Nation. That this was an unſpeakable comfort to him: that herein he did greatly triumph and rejoyce, and did heartily wiſh, and with all ſupplications beg at the hands of God, that this Church being now reformed according to the rule of the Ancient and Primitive times, they would endevour to ſquare their lives according to the purity of Doctrine which they had received.

A ſtrange tumult at the Protectors death.

While he was about to ſpeake more words to them, a ſtrange and wonderfull tumult and ſudden amazement of all the ſtanders by, cauſed him to breake off his ſpeech. For upon an inſtant they even all at once cry out, Let us flie, let us flie; by which meanes it came to paſſe, that amongſt an infinite multitude of people (as it falleth out) gathered to this ſpectacle, as many as could, betook themſelves to flight, and in their flight many are troden under foot; the reſt ſtand amazed expecting deſtruction every moment, although they ſaw nothing whereat to be afraid. And while one asked of another what the matter might be, one ſaith it thundred, another that he heareth a noiſe of a troope of Horſemen; ſome imagine one thing, ſome another: ſome likewiſe in great joy and exultation cry out, A pardon, a pardon, God ſave the King. Here was a right panick terror, men fearing where no feare was.

The occaſion thereof.

The occaſion of this tumult (as *John Stow* witneſſeth in his Annals) was, that a company of men in Armour, who were appointed to guard the Duke to the place of execution, comming ſomewhat later than was enjoyned them, cried one to another to make haſt, ſaying, Away, away. Now they that were next hearing this noiſe, and withall perceiving the armed men to march haſtily on, and to ruſh upon them, as they thought, preſently tooke their heeles and ran away; and then many more following their pattern, all turned to a hubbub and hurliburly. But when at length not without much adoe, all was made quiet, the Duke of Somerſet earneſtly beſought the people that they would be ſilent for a while, that ſo he might depart out of this world the more peaceably; and then he commended his ſoule into the hands of God, and did undergoe his puniſhment with right admirable conſtancy, not expreſſing the leaſt token of feare or aſtoniſhment, either by voice, geſture or countenance, ſave that his cheeks, when he went to cover his eyes with his handkerchiefe, began to be ſomething more red & freſh coloured than they were wont to be.

That many a one tooke his death exceedingly to heart, was as manifeſt as the noone day; and it was reported that divers carried home with them ſeverall peeces of linnen dipt in his blood: and amongſt the reſt a ſtout hearted Matron (as *Thuan* writes) who two yeeres after when the Duke of Northumberland by Queene *Mary* was taken priſoner, and led through the City of London, tooke a handkerchiefe beſmeared with Somerſets blood, and ſhewed him, uſing with all theſe words, Lo here the blood of a right Noble man, and the Kings good Uncle, which was ſhed

through thy wicked treachery, and now calleth for revenge upon thee. The ſame Author likewiſe delivereth, that Sir *Ralph Vane* who was hanged at the ſame place where Somerſet was put to death a little before, together with Sir *Miles Partrige*, upon the ſixe and twentieth of February (at which time alſo Sir *Michael Stanhope* and Sir *Thomas Arundell* were there beheaded) as he was led along to the place of execution ſhould ſay, that his blood ſhould bee a pillow for the Duke of Northumberland to ſleepe withall the longeſt day of his life. Thoſe foure Knights even now mentioned, when they were at the point of ſuffering, did ſeverally call God to witneſſe, that they never in all their lives thought or practiſed any evill againſt the Kings Majeſtie or any of his Councell.

But to returne to the Duke of Somerſet from whom we are digreſſed: He in ſuch manner as we have related was taken out of this life, a man both pious and juſt, a great Zelot for the reformation of the Church, a faithfull Guardian of the Kings perſon and eſtate; in a word, every way a good man, and a true lover of the Common-wealth, but that being carried away with the common error of thoſe times, hee with-held not his hands from the ſacred patrimony of the Prieſts of Gods Altar, that which more than a few Cathedrall Churches feele, and complaine of to this day.

Many fearefull prodigies followed ſoone after his death, from whence men preſaged the calamities of the ſucceeding times, which too ſurely came to paſſe. In the moneth of Auguſt, ſixe Dolphins (a ſtrange kind of fiſh in our Seas) were taken in the mouth of the river of Thames; three neere to Quinborow, and three others a little above Greenwich, where the water begins to be freſh: the leaſt of theſe were more than any horſe could carry. Afterward upon the ſeventh of October, three Whales were caſt upon the ſhore at Graveſend. At Middleton a towne in Oxfordſhire, was a Monſter borne, the like whereof few Writers make mention of; it had two heads, and two bodies from the Navell upward, which were ſo compact and joyned together, that they had but one way of eaſement, and the heads of it alwaies looked contrary one to the other: if it were laid downe in length, one was ſtill toward the Eaſt, and another towards the Weſt; the legges and thighes lay continually cloſe one to the truncke of the other. This Monſter (by ſex feminine) lived eighteene dayes, and was likely to have lived longer, but that it was ſo often uncovered, to ſatisfie the curioſity of people which came to ſee it, that it got its death with cold. Fearefull prodigies after the Protectors death.

The laſt of Aprill, through negligence of the gunpowder makers, a certaine houſe neere the Tower of London, with three Laſt of powder was blowne up and burnt; the gunpowder makers being fifteen in number were all ſlaine.

This yeere Biſhop *Ridley* preached before King *Edward*, and in his ſermon tooke occaſion to diſcourſe of the neceſſitie of almes-deeds; the which the King earneſtly attending and laying to heart, ſent for the Biſhop of London after he had done his ſermon, and entred into private communication with him (at which time the King cauſed the Biſhop to ſit downe in a chaire, and whether hee would or not to keepe on his hat)

about the effecting of ſo good a worke as the maintenance of the poore. For this purpoſe (by the Biſhops counſell) the City of London was to be dealt withall; who readily entertained the Kings motion, and made an eſtimate of the poore, which were thus ranked:

Into

1 The poore by impotency,
   1 The fatherleſſe poore mans childe,
   2 The aged, blind, and lame,
   3 The diſeaſed perſon.

2 The poore by caſualty,
   1 The wounded ſouldier,
   2 The decayed houſholder.

3 The thriftleſſe poore,
   1 The rioter that conſumeth all,
   2 The vagabond that will abide in no place,
   3 The idle perſon, as the ſtrumpet, and others.

For theſe ſorts of poore were provided three ſeverall houſes: for the firſt, Chriſts Hoſpitall, which had belonged to the Gray Friers of the Order of Saint *Francis*, where foure hundred poore mens children are maintained and brought up to learning: for the ſecond ſort Saint *Thomas* Hoſpitall in Southwarke, and Saint *Bartholomewes* Hoſpitall in Weſt-Smithfield: and for the third degree they provided Bridewell. Of theſe places the King deſired to be accounted Founder, who gave lands thereunto to the value of ſixe hundred pounds by the yeere, which had belonged to the Savoy, and foure thouſand Markes in money yeerely beſide.

1553 7. The King ſickneth.

About the beginning of the next yeere the King fell into a lingring ſickneſſe, firſt into a hecticke fever, then into a conſumption of the lungs, whereof he died at length, not without ſuſpicion of poyſon, a rumour being ſpred abroad every where amongſt the people, that ſome body had given him a poyſoned noſe-gay for a new-yeeres-gift, the ſmell whereof infected his lungs, and procured his death. This report I nothing doubt was bruited purpoſely after the Kings death, to raiſe envie againſt them that a little before bare ſway in the Commonwealth: for inquiry was never made into it; which Queene *Mary* his ſiſter would ſurely in no wiſe have neglected, if ſhe could have found but the leaſt footſtep of ſuſpicion. But to returne to the matter: howſoever it were, the Nobles underſtanding by the Kings Phyſicians that his ſickneſſe was deſperate, and that there was no hope left of his recovery, they began every one to look to his owne affaires.

The Duke of Northumberland, who excelled all the reſt in power and greatneſſe, beginneth to deviſe with himſelfe how he might convey the Crowne of England to his owne poſterity. He conceived that unto the two daughters of King *Henry*, the Lady *Mary* and the Lady *Eliſabeth*, the unlawfulneſſe of their birth might be (not improbably) objected: after them no man doubted that the Crowne muſt of right be devolved to the daughters of King *Henry* the ſeventh. For the Queene of Scotland (who was grand-child to the Lady *Margaret*, by *James* the fifth, the eldeſt daughter) hee greatly cared not; for in regard of our continuall warre with the Scots, and cruell hatred by reaſon of thoſe warres, he thought that any ſhew of reaſon would be ſufficient to keepe her from the

the throne, eſpecially when as ſhe was betrothed to the French, whoſe rule he knew well enough (if there were nothing elſe in it) our people would never endure.

The next was the Lady *Frances*, daughter to *Mary* the French Queene by *Charles Brandon* Duke of Suffolk, which *Mary* was the ſecond daughter of King *Henry* the ſeventh. This *Frances* was married to *Henry* Lord *Gray* Marqueſſe of Dorſet, whiles the two brothers, ſonnes of *Charles Brandon*, were yet alive; who dying of the ſweating ſickneſſe (as we have related) the Lord *Gray* for his wife was declared Duke of Suffolk. Here now ſeemed another rub to lye in the Duke of Northumberlands way, and to quell his ambition at firſt, till at length he deviſed with himſelfe how to remove it out of the way. Therefore imparting the buſineſſe to the Duke of Suffolke, he requeſts his eldeſt daughter *Jane* to be given in marriage to his fourth ſonne who was Lord Gilford, for all his other ſonnes were already matched. Then becauſe he knew that if the right of inheritance were urged, the Crowne would belong to the mother *Jane* rather than to the daughter, he takes upon him to perſwade the King to make his Will, and not onely to dif-inherit both his ſiſters, but alſo to conſtitute the daughter Lady *Jane* Queen after him.

Northumberland perſwades King Edward to make a Will.

The Duke of Suffolke liking well this counſell, to the end that they might bring the reſt of the Nobility to be of their faction, they goe about to make the matter ſure by contracting affinity with the mightieſt and wealthieſt of them: therefore the ſame day that the Lady *Jane*, Suffolks eldeſt daughter, in an unlucky houre was given in marriage to the Lord *Gilford Dudley*, the two younger, *Katharine* and *Mary*, *Henry* the Earle of Pembrokes eldeſt ſonne, and *Caies* Maſter Porter to the King, married at the ſame time; *Henry* married *Katharine*, and *Caies Mary*, which was ſomewhat deformed by reaſon of a bunch backe. Afterwards the youngeſt daughter of the Duke of Northumberland, called Lady *Katharine*, was given in wedlocke to the Lord Haſtings, the Earle of Huntingdons eldeſt ſonne. Theſe Nuptialls were celebrated in June, the King at that time lying very ſicke at White-Hall.

Theſe matters being finiſhed according to deſire, the Duke of Northumberland diligently began to lay open to the King into how great danger the cauſe of Religion was like to come, if ſo be he dying ſhortly, great care were not had of a ſucceſſor rightly perſwaded in a matter of ſo great waight. The Lady *Mary* his eldeſt ſiſter, how ſhe was bent no body was ignorant: of *Eliſabeth* it was not unlike there was better hope for matter of religion, nevertheleſſe the cauſes of them twaine were ſo neerly linked and joyned in one, that either they muſt be both excluded from the right of ſucceſſion, or elſe the kingdome muſt of neceſſity be left to *Mary*. It was the duty, he ſaid, of a good and religious Prince to ſet light by all naturall reſpects and tyes of blood, in regard of the glory of God, and the benefit of his ſubjects. That vengeance awaits thoſe that ſhould do otherwiſe; for when this life (which is ſhort) ſhould be finiſhed, they were to appeare before Gods high Tribunall, there to give account of all their actions, and to receive either the reward of everlaſting life, or the doome of eternall death. He told the King moreover, that the Duke of Suffolke had three daughters, which were very neere of kinne unto

Mary and Eliſabeth ſpoken againſt.

his Majeſty, whom the Nobility of their birth, and their chaſte and vertuous diſpoſitions did abundantly commend, and by whom there was no feare that Religion could receive any dammage, for as much as they might ſeeme (for their Religion) to have ſuckt in piety and true doctrine even with their Nurſes milke; and beſides, had husbands no leſſe zealous for true Religion than themſelves were. That he therefore for his part did earneſtly wiſh and adviſe, that they in order might be called to the Crowne, but upon this condition, that they ſhould be bound to ſee that the cauſe of Religion were promoted: and therefore howſoever the elder ſiſter *Jane* were married to his ſonne, yet he for his owne particular was not unwilling that an oath ſhould be required of them both, by vertue of which they ſhould be tyed gratefully to accept, and firmely to ratifie all the Kings Acts for the good of Religion: neither was it his owne benefit which he ſought, but the good of the whole kingdome; their buſineſſe it was which he had now in hand, not any private ends of his owne.

King Edward makes his will, and diſ-inherites his ſiſters.

The young King being now in great infirmity of body, was ſoone perſwaded to give eare to theſe arguments, and ſo cauſed his Teſtament to be made out of hand, wherein (as much as in him lay) he excluded both his ſiſters from all right to the Crowne, and all others whatſoever, ſave onely the daughters of the Duke of Suffolke. This Will of the King, framed in ſuch ſort as is here ſet downe, was read in the hearing of the Councellers and chiefe Judges of the kingdome, and confirmed by their ſeverall aſſents, and ſpeciall charge given to every one of them not to reveale what was done, leſt occaſion might thereby be given of troubles and ſedition.

Thomas Cranmer the Archbiſhop of Canterbury for a little while was unwilling to ſubſcribe, thinking it in no wiſe a juſt matter to violate the right of lawfull ſucceſſion: but being called to the Kings bed ſide, he urging him, and laying the perill of Religion before his eyes, after much adoe and long diſpute he alſo yeelded his conſent. Yet this delay did him little good, for afterwards when Queen *Mary* came to the Crowne no mans deſtruction was ſo ſoon decreed.

A few dayes after that theſe things were thus ordered, King *Edward*, not yet full ſixteene yeares of age, ſent forth his bleſſed ſoule at Greenwich, to wit, the ſixt day of July, when he had held the kingdome of England under Governours ſixe yeeres, five moneths, and nineteen dayes, ſhewing forth even in that tender age bloſſomes of vertue, together with ſingular piety towards God, conſtancy of mind, love of right, and an incredible ſtudy of learning. Not above three houres before he expired, thinking no body had beene preſent, he commended himſelfe to God by this ſhort Prayer, which his Phyſitian Doctor *Owen* being by, tooke word for word.

His prayer.

LOrd God, deliver me out of this miſerable and wretched life, take me among thy choſen: howbeit not my will, but thy will be done. Lord I commit my Spirit to thee. O Lord thou knoweſt how happy it were for me to be with thee, yet for thy choſens ſake, if it be thy will, ſend me life and health that I may truely ſerve thee. Oh my Lord bleſſe thy people, and ſave thine inheri-

inheritance: O Lord God ſave thy choſen people of England: O my Lord God defend this Realme from Papiſtry, and maintaine thy true Religion, that I and my people may praiſe thy holy name.

Soone after he cried out, I faint, Lord have mercy upon me, and take my ſpirit, and ſo yeelded up the Ghoſt. Hitherto the Hiſtory of the life of King *Edward* the ſixth, or *Edward* the Saint, or (if you had rather) *Edward* the Confeſſor, the ſecond of that name; of whom (that I may uſe that of *Saluſt* concerning Carthage) it were better to ſay nothing than a little. King Edward dieth.

He was skilled in languages, Latine, French, Greeke, Italian, and Spaniſh, not unlearned in Logicke, Muſicke, and naturall Philoſophy, beſides his devotion to God, and his love towards all men. Who ſo deſireth to know of his praiſes, let him read *Cardanus* his Booke *de Genituris*. He was no leſſe a lover of learned men than of learning it ſelfe; witneſſe his liberall ſtipend of above five thouſand Crownes a yeere given to one *Sebaſtian Cabot* a famous Coſmographer, the ſonne of a Genoway, but borne at Briſtow, who firſt diſcovered the North-weſt paſſage into the Eaſt Indies. The firſt adventurer in that voiage was Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, who being toſſed and driven by tempeſt upon the Northren Climate of 74. degrees latitude, was frozen to death, he and all his company. Nevertheleſſe that paſſage hath ſince that time proved both proſperous and profitable to our Merchants trading into thoſe parts. The body of King *Edward* now deceaſed was entombed in Weſtminſter the ninth day of Auguſt next following, neere unto his Grand-father King *Henry* the ſeventh.

THE

The most high Princesse MARIE by the
Grace of God Queene of England
France and Ireland &c.

From Delaram Stud

THE HISTORIE OF QUEENE *MARIE.*

WHen as the Lady *Marie* eldeſt Siſter to the late deceaſed King, being long before given to underſtand of the cloſe and cunning projects of the Duke of Northumland, had now received newes of her brothers death; not thinking it ſafe to abide neere London where her enemies ruled all with full power and authoritie; ſhe haſtily betakes her ſelfe from S. Edmunds Bury (for there ſhee was when the tidings were brought) and pretending the danger of infection by reaſon that one of her ſervants was lately dead of the plague, ſhe rode in one day forty miles, and came to Framingham Caſtle. This Caſtle is in Suffolke about foureſcore miles from London, not farre from the Sea ſide, from whence, if it were her hard fortune to be aſſaulted, ſhe might get into France and ſave her ſelfe. So ſoone as ſhe was come thither, ſhe ſtraightway aſſumed to her ſelfe the Title of Queene, and writing her letters ſpeedily to her friends and Allies of the Nobilitie, requeſted them to aſſiſt her ſuddenly, and not delay their comming. 1553 1.

The Lady Mary flies into Suffolke.

The Duke of Northumberland in the meane ſpace, after that hee had for two daies conſulted with his friends about the ordering of the affaires of State, the Kings death being not yet publiſhed, hee ſends for the Lord Maior of London to Greenwich, commanding him to bring along with him ſixe of his brethren the Aldermen, and twelve of the common Councell of the Citie. So ſoone as they were arrived at Greenwich, he openeth to them the Kings death, and withall how the Lady *Jane* was to ſucceed him in the Title to the Empire, ſhewing them the Kings Teſtament and the letters patents with the great Seale, made foureteen dayes agoe, wherein it was ſo ordered for the matter of ſucceſſion as we have formerly declared.

Then, whether by threatnings, or promiſes, or howſoever, he made them all ſweare loyall obedience to the Lady *Jane* as their Soveraigne: and upon a ſore penalty charged them to make no words of what was done. What great advantage it would bring to his deſignes, when he had drawn

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The mightie Princesse MARIE by the
Grace of God Queene of England
France and Ireland &c.

THE HISTORIE OF QUEENE *MARIE.*

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the City to his party, the politike man was not ignorant. Now he hoped that *Mary*, who (as he thought) knew nothing of all the former paſſages, might eaſily be ſurpriſed, if ſo be the rumour of the Kings death were by little and little ſuppreſſed.

The Lady Jane proclaimed Queen.

But ſo ſoone as newes came that ſhe had made eſcape, and was gotten into Suffolke, the Peeres of the Kingdome almoſt all of them make no longer ſtay, but forthwith take the Lady *Jane*, and conducting her to the Tower with all Princely pompe and ſtate, declare her Queen, and cauſe it to bee proclaimed every where over London with the ſound of a Trumpet, as the manner is. She was now about ſixteene yeeres of age, of a comely countenance, and an acute wit, endowed with incredible parts of learning, and of ſuch wiſedome, and ripeneſſe of underſtanding, as few women, at thoſe yeeres eſpecially, attaine unto. Beſides, ſhee was moſt ſtudious of piety and true religion, and ſo farre from deſiring that honour wherewithall ſhee was newly inveſted, that ſhe received not the Royall robes without much ſighing, and many teares; in ſo much that every one perceived plainely that ſhee was even enforced by her parents and friends, againſt her owne liking, to aſcend this height of honour.

Paſſing through the Citie as ſhe went towards the Tower, an infinite multitude of people were gathered together, but no acclamations of joy and triumph were heard, ſo that they ſeemed rather to bee met for the novelty of the ſight, than for the gratulation of their new Princeſſe. Which thing put ſome little courage into the Lady *Maries* friends, whoſe hearts failed them hitherto, and animated them to put in practice ſome deſignes on her behalfe, ſo ſoone as time and opportunitie ſhould ſerve. But as yet Northumberlands preſence hindred them from taking any thing in hand, a man of ſhrewd underſtanding and mighty advice: but if they could bring it to paſſe to remove him for a ſhort ſpace, then they hoped well to worke their purpoſes.

The Lady Mary laies claime to the Crowne.

The ſame day that the Lady *Jane* paſſed to the Tower, were letters brought from the Lady *Mary*, and rehearſed in Councell, wherein ſhe commanded the Peeres of the Kingdome to come to her forthwith as to the Heire of the Crowne, and their lawfull Princeſſe, and to doe their duties, for as much as almoſt all the Realme had already acknowledged her Queen, and ſo ſaluted her. At the ſame time it was told that they of Norfolke and Suffolke had ſworne Allegeance to her. For which cauſe it was thought fit to levie an Armie of men out of hand, and by force to fetch the Lady *Mary* to London, there to plead her cauſe.

The Duke of Suffolke the Lady *Janes* Father is appointed Generall of theſe forces. Nevertheleſſe thoſe that ſecretly favoured the Lady *Marie*, and were deſirous to get great Northumberland out of the way, counſelled the Lady *Jane* to keepe her Father at home by her ſide, and to ſend the Duke of Northumberland upon this ſervice, ſaying that the very report of his name would be ſo terrible, that it would doe more good in this matter, than the Duke of Suffolke could either by ſtrength or counſell, or any other meanes; adding how valiantly hee quieted the Rebells of Norfolke, in the late Kings time. And farthermore, who could bee thought a more faithfull Protector of her Royall perſon and

preſent

preſent affaires than her owne Father? for which reaſons it was not convenient that hee ſhould bee ſent away: and for any thing elſe that might happen neere home, all the Counſellors were ready at hand to order it, according to their wonted care and faithfulneſſe.

The Duke of Northumberland made Generall of the Armie.

The Lady being won with theſe arguments, earneſtly entreated the Duke of Northumberland to take this burden upon him, to whom though very unwillingly, yet at length he condeſcended: for he greatly feared how things might goe in his abſence. But when he ſaw there was no reſiſting, he prepareth himſelfe for the expedition, and having gathered together ſixe thouſand ſouldiers, the thirteenth day of July he ſet forth from London. It was reported that as he was going out of the City, he turned himſelfe to the Lord *Gray* (who was then preſent) and ſaid, Doe you ſee what a multitude of people are flocked together to this fight? And yet amongſt ſo great a multitude you cannot heare one pray for a good ſucceſſe in the buſineſſe we are going about.

They of the City of London were at that time right well affected in the matter of religion, as likewiſe they of Suffolke, and the Norfolke men for the greateſt part; and they all knew Queen *Mary* to be wholly devoted to papiſtry: nevertheleſſe (like true Engliſh men) they carried ſo great reſpect to their lawfull Prince, that no colour or miſt caſt before their eyes, no nor the pretence of religion it ſelfe could alienate their affection; whereof the hap of the Ladie *Jane* (anon to be ſet downe) will be an abundant proofe and teſtimonie. For notwithſtanding that her Title had very ſolid foundations laid for it, as may appeare by the precedent ſtory, and that the buildings were likewiſe reared with marvellous art and cunning; nevertheleſſe ſo ſoone as the true and undoubted Heire ſhewed her ſelfe to the people, all this curious building fell ſuddenly to the ground, and was daſhed as it were in the twinkling of an eye; and that by their endevour chiefly, who for the cauſe of religion were thought to bee moſt inclined towards the Lady *Jane*. For the preachers themſelves, a great number of whom were appointed by the Duke of Northumberland to impugne Queene *Maries* cauſe in their publike Sermons, prevailed nothing: no not Doctor *Ridley* himſelfe, who was made Biſhop of London after *Bonners* deprivation, was patiently heard when hee handled the ſame argument at Pauls Croſſe. I heartily wiſh that he who was otherwiſe a learned and right good man, had not ſlipped ſo foulely in this. For as for Queen *Mary*, if ſo be that were not true which the prudent in the civill law affirme, that matrimony rightly contracted, though afterward it be diſſolved as unlawfull, yet hath this force, that the children borne within it, are to be accounted legitimate: I cannot yet ſufficiently wonder, upon what pretence they ſhould exclude the Lady *Eliſabeth* which was the other ſiſter, nor doe I thinke they are able to alledge any probable reaſon (much leſſe demonſtrative proofe) wherefore *Maries* birth was not legitimate. To ſay nothing of the Queene of Scotland deſcended from King *Henry* the Seventh, to whom without doubt the Crowne of England belonged whenſoever the race of *Henry* the Eight ſhould faile, whereof we have had good proofe in our late King *James* of happy memory, who came from that line. But whatſoever were their profound pulpit arguments,

ments, it is evident that they wrought nothing with the people. For the common people flocked to the Lady *Mary* in great number, which way ſoever ſhe went: and not the common people onely, but a great many eminent perſons joyned themſelves to her. Amongſt whom were the Earles of Bath and Suſſex, *Thomas Wharton*, and *John Mordant* Barons eldeſt ſonnes; afterwards many Knights, Sir *Thomas Cornwallis*, Sir *Henry Jerningham*, Sir *Robert Drury*, Sir *John Williams*, Sir *William Walgrave*, and many others. But amongſt them all, the chiefeſt was Sir *Edward Haſtings* brother to the Earle of Huntingdon; who when the Marſhalling of foure thouſand foot was given him in charge by the Duke of Northumberland, hee levied the forces, and ſtraightway employed them in Queen *Maries* aſſiſtance. For which fact ſhe afterward created him Lord of Lowborough, and beſtowed likewiſe a Barony upon Sir *John Williams* for his faithfull ſervice at that time. *Morgan* likewiſe Serjeant at Law, who laboured alſo in her cauſe to the utmoſt of his power, ſhe made afterwards one of the two chiefe Judges of the Kingdome.

Sir Edward Haſtings forſaketh the Duke of Northumberland. He is created Lord of Lowborough.

But in the middeſt of theſe contentions a ſudden chance fell out, the which brought great advantage to Queen *Maries* affaires. The Duke of Northumberland had made ready ſixe great Ships, which hee cauſed to be laid at Anchor upon that coaſt which lookes toward the Low-Countries ſhore, to the intent that if the Lady ſhould goe about to flie into France, they might lie ready to intercept her in the paſſage, or elſe be ready upon any ſervice when need ſhould require. Theſe by occaſion of winds and tempeſts were driven into Yarmouth Haven, at that very point of time when they were levying of ſouldiers in the Towne to aide the diſtreſſed Lady. Hereupon the Saylors and ſouldiers that were in the Ships, partly through entreaty, partly alſo by threatnings, yeelded them up to Sir *Henry Jerningham* a Knight of the Queenes party, which accident fell out ſo happily for the Queens extremities, that upon the tydings thereof ſhee was ſaid to bee ſurprized with wonderfull joy: for ſhee withdrew the ſouldiers from the Ships together with the Ordnance, and all the reſt of the warlike proviſion, and being now (as ſhee thought) reaſonable well appointed, ſhee reſolved to lead on toward the Lady *Jane*.

Now the Peeres that were with the late proclaimed Queene, underſtanding what was happened, began to feare exceedingly, and to muſe with themſelves what iſſue this buſineſſe was likely to have; and Queen *Maries* friends which lived at Court, and had carried matters ſomewhat cloſely hitherto, began to waxe bolder now, and to ſhew themſelves, and to communicate their counſells to each other, and to endevour by all meanes and with all ſpeed they might to haſten out of the Tower (where they were now in attendance upon the Ladie *Janes* perſon) that they might open their minds more fully to one another, and conſult what were beſt to be done.

The Duke of Northumberland ſends for more aide.

About that time it came to paſſe that the Duke of Northumberland wrote his letters to the Councell, requiring them to ſend him a greater ſupply of forces. He ſetting forth from London the thirteenth of July (as we ſaid before) beſides his foure ſons, and the Lord *Parre* Marqueſſe

of

of Northampton, Lord *Haſtings* Earle of Huntingdon the Lord *Gray*, and many perſonages more of great ranke and quality, had under his command eight thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, at ſuch time as he came to Cambridge, where he tarried a while. But removing from thence towards Bury, hee finds that many of the ſouldiers had forſaken their colours, and he greatly feared that all the reſt would ſerve him in the like manner. Wherefore returning to Cambridge, he ſends meſſage upon meſſage to London, earneſtly requeſting the Lords of the Councell to ſend him new ſupplies of ſouldiers in their roome that were runne away.

Queene *Maries* friends laying hold on this fit opportunity, adviſed that it were convenient that new forces ſhould bee levied out of hand, but they thought it not good to commit the leading of them to any but ſome of the Lords of the Councell, leſt they be ſerved as lately they were by Sir *Edward Haſtings* the Earle of Huntingtons brother. Hereupon, with the Duke of Suffolkes leave, they haſten out of the Tower, as from a priſon or houſe of correction, and divide themſelves into ſeverall parts of the City.

The Lords get out of the the Tower.

Amongſt them they that principally endevoured to ſet forward the Lady *Maries* cauſe, were the Marqueſſe of Wincheſter Lord Treaſurer, the Lord *Herbert* Earle of Pembrok, the Earle of Arundell (whom, together with the Lord *Paget*, the Duke of Northumberland kept in priſon not long before) and Sir *Thomas Cheiney*, Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports. By their care & induſtry, all the Lords of the Councell, or as many as could be found (excepting only the Duke of Suffolk Father to the Lady *Jane*) and as many of the reſt of the Nobles as were knowne to favour Queene *Marie*, were called together to a meeting at the Earle of Pembrokes-Palace called Bainards Caſtle neere Paules-Wharfe, under pretence of conference to bee had with *L'avalle* the French Embaſſador about I know not what buſineſſe: but indeed to conſult about depoſing of the Lady *Jane*.

The Lords' meet at Bainards Caſtle.

There the Earle of Arundell with full ſailes (as they ſay) inveighed againſt the Duke of Northmberland, reckoning up all former paſſages under King *Edwards* reigne, and how all things in thoſe times were carried injuriouſly, wickedly, and unjuſtly, caſting the envie of all this upon Northumberland; and then he made a great complaint that the children of King *Henry* the Eight, againſt all equity and reaſon were debarred of their hereditary right of ſucceſſion in the government of the Kingdome; and he, he ſaid could not but exceedingly wonder by what meanes he had brought into ſervitude ſo great and ſo wiſe men (meaning the Lords preſent) that they were become Vaſſalls of his pleaſure, and inſtruments to bring his wicked purpoſes to paſſe. For by their votes and ſuffrages, Suffolkes daughter, his owne ſonnes wife, was inveſted with roiall authoritie; but the power indeed reſerved to Northumberland, that he might now with all liberty and impunitie, exerciſe his Tyrannie upon them, depriving them of their lands & goods at his pleaſure. Indeed the cauſe of religion is pretended to colour the buſineſſe: but if ſo be they would not remember the ſaying of the Apoſtle; That evill muſt not bee commited to the end that good may come of it, and

The Earle of Arundell his ſpeech to the Lords.

that evill Princes muſt be obeyed, not for feare, but for conſcience ſake; yet how did any of them know that the Lady *Mary* would change the forme of Religion? certaine it was that ſhe had lately given them of Suffolke a reaſonable anſwer (which indeed was ſo) who dealt with her about that very thing. And in Gods name, what folly and madneſſe were it, for the ſhunning of an uncertaine perill, to caſt headlong our ſelves, and all our fortunes upon certaine deſtruction? I would to God that in this matter we had not been to blame already. But for as much as there can be no better medicine for errour than mature and timely repentance, I beſeech you all here preſent that we may with one heart and mind endevour to our utmoſt, that *Marie* the lawfull and undoubted Heire of the Crown, may be forthwith declared Queene.

After that the Earle of Arundell had uſed many words to this eff. &, the Earle of Pembroke with a lowd voice profeſſed openly that he ſubſcribed to his opinion, and laying his hand upon the hilt of his ſword, proteſted that therewithall he would trie it out with any one that ſhould preſume to maintaine the contrary. Then they all began ſtraightway to be of the ſame minde. Therefore ſending for the Lord Maior and the Aldermen of the City, they went all together to Cheap-ſide, and there calling the people together with the ſound of a Trumpet, preſently proclaimed *Mary* Queen of England.

Mary proclaimed Queen.

As ſoone as this was done they went into the Cathedrall Church of S. Paul, where they ſung *Te Deum*, and then ſent men to the Tower to take poſſeſſion of it, and to warne the Duke of Suffolke, laying apart all excuſe, to appeare inſtantly before the Councell.

The Lady Jane ſuppreſſed.

Hee ſo ſoone as hee heard theſe tidings, went into his daughter *Janes* chamber, and removing the Robes and princely Ornaments, counſelled her not to take it grievouſly that ſhee was to returne home and live a private life. At which words of her father nothing diſmaid, ſhee gave him this anſwer: Moſt loving Father, I doe more gladly entertaine this meſſage you now bring, than when you tooke mee ſore againſt my will and liking, to place me on the Engliſh Throne; I then diſpleaſed my ſelfe that I might ſhew my ſelfe obedient to you and my Mother, fulfilling your pleaſures. I have greatly offended in that I have done, but now I willingly obey you, and am well content to renounce the Crowne, and to confeſſe my fault, if at leaſt ſo great an offence may bee wiped away by a bare acknowledgment of my errour. Having ſpoken theſe words ſhee withdrew her ſelfe into her Cloſet, being now more carefull how to ſave her owne life, than diſquieted that ſhee muſt leave the Crowne.

The Duke of Suffolke goeth ſtraightway to the Councell, and ſubſcribeth to the Decree. The nineteenth of July it was proclaimed, and received with ſo great joy, that as ſoone as Queene *Maries* name was once mentioned, no body could heare what was ſpoken more, for the peoples cheare full acclamations.

The Earle of Arundell and the Lord *Paget*, when they had ſeene the matter ſo well brought to paſſe, and every way anſwerable to their deſires and deſignes, tooke horſes preſently the very ſame night, and taking thirtie Knights along with them, ride in all haſt to the Queene: who as

ſoone

soone as it was told her how things had passed, was taken with exceeding great joy, and had them heartily welcome. In the meane time the Lords of the Councell gave letters to the Duke of Northumberland, certifying him what was done, and withall they command him to subscribe the decree and to send away the Army. He had not yet received the letters, when perceiving how things went, and being mightily oppressed within himselfe, he proclaimed *Mary* Queen of England, France and Ireland, at Cambridge where he then made his abode; and in token of joy cast up his Cap at the time of her being proclaimed, and so seemed at the least to rejoyce with the rest, though (God knowes) it was no such matter indeed.

Then was the Army straightway dimissed, and all the Nobility repaired to Queen *Mary*, where she was in Suffolke, and laying the whole blame upon the Duke of Northumberland that matters had been so carried as they were, they obtained pardon of all offences passed. The Lady *Jane* after that she had for ten daies acted the part of a Queen as it were upon a stage, was committed to prison, and the Noble Dames that were in her retinue, were commanded to betake themselves every one to their own houses. The Duke of Northumberland also upon the Queens commandement is apprehended by the Earle of Arundell, and sent to London to be kept close prisoner in the Tower. Some relate that the Duke being doubtfull a good while what he were best to doe, at length thought to betake himselfe to flight, at which time some of the Guard came to him as hee was drawing on his bootes, and laid hands on him (of them Sir *John Gates* Captaine of the Guard was the foremost, they followed the Duke in this expedition) saying, that it was meet they should apprehend him, & retaine him till such time as they were cleared from the crime of Rebellion by his testimony. He resisting, and the contention growing hot betweene them, came the fore-mentioned letters from the Councell at the very same point of time, in which, besides those particulars which I spake of before, charge was given expresly, that every man laying aside his weapons, should presently betake himselfe to his owne home. So soone as they were seene and read, the Gentlemen let the Duke goe free. Nevertheless this libertie of his continued not long; for the very next morning as he was going to take horse, came the Earle of Arundell with Commission from the Queen to take him prisoner, who apprehended him, and led him away, together with many others expressed in his said Commission, namely, the Earle of Huntingdon and his eldest sonne: the Earle of Warwicke, together with the Lords *Ambrose* and *Henry* the Duke of Northumberlands sons; and Sir *Andrew Dudley* his brother; as also Sir *Thomas Palmer*, and Sir *John Gates* Knights, and master *Henrie Gates* brother to Sir *John Gates*; likewise *Edwin Sands* Doctor of Divinitie and Vice-chancellor of the Universitie of Cambridge; who came all to London upon the five and twentieth day of July, and were presently clapped up in the Tower. The Earle of Huntingdon was restored to his libertie not long afterwards, but his sonne was presently enlarged. Sir *John Gates* (who laid the fault of all that he had done upon the Duke of Northumberland) and Sir *Thomas Palmer* were after condemned to die, and executed accordingly. The Earle of

The Lady Jane imprisoned.

The Duke of Northumberland and others apprehended.

Warwicke died in priſon. The Lords *Ambroſe* and *Henry Dudleyes* were pardoned, which Lord *Ambroſe* was after ſlaine with a bullet at the aſſault of Saint *Quintin*: *Henry* had better fortune, for he lived to Queen *Eliſabeths* reigne, and was made Earle of Warwicke, living with her for many yeeres in great credit and authority. Sir *Andrew Dudley* likewiſe was condemned to dye, but obtaining the Queenes gracious pardon, eſcaped that puniſhment.

Doctor *Edwin Sands*, who was Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge when the Duke of Northumberland came thither with his Army, and upon his commandement in a Sermon before the Univerſity had oppoſed Queene *Maries* right to the Crowne of England, and defended the Lady *Janes*, nevertheleſſe performed it with that wiſdome and moderation (though he had but a few houres warning given him) inſomuch as the Duke was abundantly ſatisfied, and yet on the other ſide there was not ſo much offence given, but that his friends obtained his pardon of the Queene, and procured his enlargement. Therefore when he had beene kept in priſon almoſt a whole yeere, he was ſet at liberty, and fled preſently into Germany; from whence returning after the death of Queene *Mary*, he was firſt made Biſhop of Worceſter, afterwards of London, and at length advanced to the Archbiſhopricke of Yorke: a man renowned and famous for learning, honeſty, and wiſedome, yea for his parentage and ſtocke from whence he was deſcended; but of all moſt happy in his children: for he left many children, whereof we have ſeene three of them Knights, and endued with all excellent parts both of body and mind.

The Marqueſs of Northampton ſent to the Tower.

The ſixe and twentieth of July were ſent to the ſame priſon the Marqueſſe of Northampton (afterwards condemned, yet diſmiſſed at length) *Ridley* Biſhop of London, who was burned at Oxford two yeeres after, and, beſides many others, *Robert Dudley* the other ſonne of the Duke of Northumberland. This was afterwards the great Earle of Leiceſter in Queen *Eliſabeths* time, through whoſe bounty and favour he was advanced to high authority, and after ended it and his life alſo on a ſudden, before he was farre ſtricken in yeares: whoſe greatneſſe and eminency we reſerve to be ſet downe in its due place.

The Duke of Suffolke impriſoned.

Upon the ſeven and twentieth of July were committed to priſon the Duke of Suffolke (to whom within foure dayes the Queene of her princely clemency granted pardon) Sir *John Cheeke* King *Edwards* Schoole-Maſter, *Roger Cholmely* and *Edward Mountague*, the two chiefe Judges of the kingdome, who were all ſet at liberty againe the third day of September.

Upon the thirtieth of July the Lady *Eliſabeth* younger ſiſter to Queen *Mary*, went from her houſe in the Strand at London, accompanied with a great number of Noblemen and Noblewomen (ſome write five hundred, others a thouſand) and paſſed along through the City and went on to meet her ſiſter, and gratulate her comming to the Crowne. The Queen, who upon the third of Auguſt came to Wanſted ſixe miles from London and there reſted, having before ſent away her army (which was multiplyed to the number of thirteene thouſand men) was met there by the Nobles and chiefe Ladies of the kingdome, and ſo arriving at London with a great troope attending on her, ſhe went to the Tower.

So

So ſoone as ſhe was come thither, the Duke of Norfolke received her in moſt humble and ſuppliant manner upon his knees (his ſonne the Earle of Surrey King *Henry* the eighth cauſed to be put to death in the laſt yeere of his reigne, when hee was now readdy to dye, and the Duke of Norfolke his father had lyen in the Tower ever ſince): likewiſe *Edward Courtney*, ſonne to *Courtney* Marqueſſe of Exeter, that was beheaded in the yeere of our Lord 1538. *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of Wincheſter, deprived of his Biſhopricke two yeeres before, and the Lady *Anne* widow of the Duke of Somerſet that was Lord Protector to King *Edward* the ſixt, and was not long agoe beheaded at Tower-hill. Theſe falling every one upon their knees, *Gardiner* in the name of the reſt made an Oration, in which after he had prayed for all happineſſe and proſperity to the Queene, ſhe tooke them up from their knees, and ſaluted every one of them with a kiſſe, adding moreover, Theſe, ſaith ſhe, are my proper priſoners: and then ſhe commanded to ſet them preſently at liberty. And the day after ſhe reſtored *Courtney* to his fathers honours, making him Marqueſſe of Exeter. As for *Stephen Gardiner*, ſhe not onely reſtored him to the Biſhopricke of Wincheſter from which he had beene removed, but alſo within a while after, to wit, the three and twentieth of Auguſt, made him Lord high Chancellor of England, notwithſtanding he had long agone ſubſcribed to the ſentence of divorce againſt Queene *Katharine* her mother, and had likewiſe defended King *Henry* the eighths cauſe by bookes in print.

Gardiner made Lord Chancellor.

On the fift day of Auguſt *Bonner* formerly Biſhop of London, and *Tonſtall* that was Biſhop of Durham; and ſhortly after *Day* Biſhop of Chicheſter, and *Heath* Biſhop of Worceſter, are commanded to returne to their Biſhoprickes which formerly they held, not ſo much as any ſuit commenced for the ejecting of their preſent Incumbents.

Deprived Biſhops reſtored.

Upon the tenth day of Auguſt the funeralls of King *Edward* (as we ſaid before) were ſolemnized: Doctor *Day* Biſhop of Chicheſter preached at the ſame time, and performed the ſervice and rites of buriall in the Engliſh tongue, and adminiſtred the holy Communion likewiſe according to the manner which was in uſe in King *Edwards* time: nothing was yet enacted concerning Religion ſince the Queenes comming to the Crowne. Immediately after, to wit, the thirteenth of Auguſt, one Doctor *Burne* Canon of *Pauls*, afterwards Biſhop of Bath and Wells, preached at the Groſſe, and there inveighed againſt the reformation brought in under King *Edwards* reigne, and ſomewhat in inſolent manner called to minde, how that *Bonner* for a Sermon which he made in that ſame place, and at the ſame time ſome foure yeeres before, was injuſtly deprived of his Biſhopricke, and kept in priſon till ſuch time as Queen *Mary* of her Princely clemency had now reſtored him to his liberty; inſomuch that the common people, who now for a pretty while had their eares inured to other doctrine, began to raiſe a tumult and commotion, and hardly refrained from caſting ſtones at him; and one that ſtood neere threw his dagger at him while hee was preaching, and narrowly miſſed him: which fact ſeemed to be done with ſuch liking and approbation of the multitude, that ſo long as Queene *Mary* lived it could never be found who was the doer of it, although very diligent ſearch and enquiry was

made after him. Some of the people at that time made an uproare, others ſtrived to get into the Pulpit to him: Doctor *Burne* the meane while was defended by two Miniſters of the reformation, *Bradford* and *Rogers*, who were afterwards burnt for Religion; and by their meanes, though with great difficulty, eſcaped into the ſchoole hard by, and had no hurt.

The eighteenth of Auguſt inquiry was made into the cauſe of thoſe that conſpired to keepe Queene *Mary* from the throne. At that time were pronounced guilty of high Treaſon, *John Dudley* Duke of Northumberland, alſo *John* his eldeſt ſonne Earle of Warwicke, as alſo *William* Lord *Parre* Marqueſſe of Northampton. The acts of that day and the dayes following, in ſuch manner as they are ſet downe by *James Thuan* (a famous and learned French Writer, who undertooke the whole Hiſtory of his time, highly commended by Maſter *Cambden* in the Preface to his Annals of Queene *Eliſabeth*) becauſe they have great probability, and are not ſo exactly ſpecified by our owne Engliſh Chroniclers (not the learnedſt generation amongſt us) I ſhall not thinke much to deliver them in ſuch manner as he out of his intelligence hath declared them unto us.

The Duke of Northumberland condemned.

Upon the ſeventeenth day of May, ſaith he, the forenamed Nobles were led to Weſtminſter, there to anſwere to the crimes laid to their charge; at which time the Duke of Northumberland ſaid that he had done nothing but what was agreed upon, and given him in charge by the Lords of the Councell: but this excuſe not ſerving the turne, he was condemned to dye as a rebell. When the ſentence was to be pronounced, he requeſted that he might be dealt withall in a milder kinde of death than is uſually granted to rebells (that is, he would not be hanged) and that he might dye as a Nobleman: likewiſe that regard might be had to his ſonnes, and that their youth might plead for them, for as much as they might live to doe the Queenes Majeſty good ſervice: laſt of all, he deſired that he might have a Divine ſent to him, with whom to conferre for the quieting of his conſcience, and that he might ſpeake with foure of the Nobles about ſome things which appertained to the good of the Commonwealth. Then was the Marqueſſe of Northampton called, and demanded whether he were guilty or not guilty: and he anſwered, that during the time of the tumult he had undergone no publike employment, but was buſie about his hunting, and intermedled not with the contentions on foot. But this purgation was not admitted, for that proofe was brought to the contrary, and it was juſtified that he had followed the Duke of Northumberlands party: whereupon he alſo was condemned to die in like manner. And afterward the Earle of Warwick, eldeſt ſonne to the Duke of Northumberland, was arraigned; who (when as his fault being of that high nature, admitted not the excuſe of his youth) with great conſtancy of minde received the ſentence of death, onely begging this favour, that his debts might be payed: for, according to the lawes of the kingdome, all the goods of ſuch as are condemned for treaſon are confiſcate, no regard being had to the engagements of the criminall. Theſe, after they had received their judgement, were preſently carried backe to the Tower.

The Marqueſſe of Northampton condemned.

The Earle of Warwick condemned.

In like manner the day following were condemned Sir *Andrew Dudley*, the Duke of Northumberlands brother, Sir *John Gates* Captaine of

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the Guard to King *Edward* the ſixt, who was thought to have beene the firſt author of adopting the Lady *Jane* into the Duke of Northumberlands favour; alſo Maiſter *Henry Gates* Sir *John Gates* his brother; and laſtly, Sir *Thomas Palmer* Knight.

The two and twentieth of Auguſt they were brought forth to ſuffer death, having two dayes before received every one of them the holy Communion in the priſon: at which time the Duke of Northumberland, by the counſell of *Nicolas Heath* who was after created Archbiſhop of Yorke, made a ſpeech to the people, confeſſing his fault, and craving pardon for his ſinnes, and withall exhorted all the ſtanders by to embrace the ancient Religion of their forefathers, rejecting the new deviſed doctrine, which, ſaid he, hath beene the cauſe of all the evills and miſchiefs which they had ſuffered for theſe thirty yeeres laſt paſt; eſpecially to labour by all meanes poſſible to expell out of the kingdome the Preachers of this new Religion, who were the trumpets of ſedition, if they ever hoped to appeare righteous before God, and loved the ſafety of the Commonwealth. He ſaid moreover, that he for his owne part had alwaies in heart embraced and loved that Religion which he had received from his Anceſters, whereof he tooke to witneſſe the Biſhop of Wincheſter his deare friend, but that being blinded with ambition he had given too much way to the times, whereof he repented and was heartily ſorry, and therefore did willingly undergoe his death, which he confeſſed he had moſt juſtly deſerved. Having ſpoken theſe words, he requeſted the ſtanders by to commend him to God by their prayers, and ſo made himſelfe ready to receive the ſtroke: and the Executioner forthwith deſiring pardon, there did his office according to the law. The Duke of Northumberland beheaded.

The mindes of the ſtanders by were diverſly affected with thoſe ſpeeches of the Duke of Northumberland, wondring greatly that he ſhould now diſallow of that Religion, which for more than ſixteene yeeres together he had profeſſed, and the which he had uſed as the moſt principall reaſon to King *Edward*, when he gave him counſell to diſ-inherit his ſiſters. Many have written, that he being a ſubtle man, and deſirous to live, did this in hope to eſcape; and afterwards looking about, and finding his hopes deluded, repented him of what he had ſaid. A ſuſpition was caſt upon him (and that upon no light preſumptions) that he had given King *Edward* poiſon; but at his arraignment there was no mention made of that matter, for that the Iudges had determined not ſo much to enquire into the death of King *Edward*, as to revenge the treaſon practiſed againſt Queene *Mary*.

At the ſame time in like manner ſuffered Sir *John Gates* and Sir *Thomas Palmer*. Thus farre *Thuan*.

About this time divers Biſhops, that were noted to be more forward than the reſt in the matter of Religion, were ſent for to London, and were committed to priſon there: *Hooper* Biſhop of Gloceſter, and *Ferrar* Biſhop of Saint Davids (which twaine were afterwards burned) and *Coverdale* Biſhop of Exeter, who was pardoned upon the requeſt of *Chriſtian* the third, King of Denmarke, who wrote his letters to the Queene to that purpoſe. And all Eccleſiaſticall perſons, of what degree or condition ſoever, were deprived of their livings, unleſſe they would leave their Divers Biſhops impriſoned.

their wives, and promiſe to promote the Popiſh religion with all their might and endevour; all theſe without diſtinction or partiality were removed from their benefices, and none might ſucceed in their roomes but upon unfained promiſe heartily to ſubſcribe to thoſe conditions, for the refuſall of which the former incumbents were caſt out.

Peter Martyr a Vermilian Florentine, was then at Oxford, of whom we ſpake before under King *Edward*. Preſently upon the Kings death he was charged not to ſtep a foot out of his houſe; but after a little time, upon the entreaty of ſome of his friends, hee obtained leave to goe to London, and there betooke himſelfe into the boſome of *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of Caterbury as his onely patron. But *Cranmer* began now to ſtagger, for as much as the Queen was enraged againſt him, who, beſides that ſhee was now wholly addicted to *Gardiner*, which hated him worſe than any toade, had alſo for many yeeres together conceived indignation againſt him, for the divorce of Queene *Katharine* her mother, in which he had beene the chiefe Agent.

——*Manet alta mente repoſtum*
Judicium cleri, ſpretæque injuria Matris.

——'T was not ſoone forgot,
For Clergies cauſe what was her mothers lot.

King *Henry*, they ſay, being exceedingly offended at his daughter *Marie* for her obſtinacy and addictednesſe to the Popiſh religion, had reſolved to impriſon her, but changed his mind at the onely requeſt and interceſſion of *Cranmer*. Afterward when King *Edward* at his death went about to diſinherite her, the Archbiſhop in a long Oration, and with many circumſtances endevoured to hinder the doing of it, but could not prevaile; and yet could not he bee drawne for a long time to ſubſcribe the decree, untill at length the Judges with one conſent affirming it to be agreeable to the lawes, the King with much and vehement entreaty procured his aſſent. But ſuch is the miſchiefe of ingratitude (eſpecially when it can cloake it ſelfe under a pretence of zeale) that the ſenſe, if not the opinion, of one injury prevaileth more upon the affections, than the remembrance of a thouſand good turnes.

An uncertaine rumour in thoſe daies was bruited abroad that *Cranmer* (together with his fortune) had changed his religion: inſomuch that to curry favour with Queen *Marie*, he had promiſed to performe the funerall exequies of King *Edward* after the Popiſh manner. Whereupon by a writing publiſhed about the beginning of November hee cleared himſelfe from this ſuſpicion, and profeſſeth himſelfe ready to maintaine thoſe decrees concerning Religion made by King *Edward*, whereof hee had beene the author, to bee conſonant to the word of God and the doctrine of the Apoſtles: in which purpoſe of mind hee was confirmed by *Peter Martyr*; whom he takes unto him as a companion and helper in that buſineſſe. But this matter was ſoone brought from words to blowes, from the heat of diſputes to the heat of fire and fagot. His death is by all meanes reſolved upon: but in what manner to bring this to paſſe, there lay the difference. In the firſt place it was thought good to endite him of

Cranmers death reſolved on.

High

High Treaſon, and to puniſh him as a Traytor according to Law: therefore upon the thirteenth of November, after that hee had lien a while in the Tower, that they might now blemiſh his credit and opinion with the people, they lay (as we ſaid) High Treaſon to his charge, together with the Lords *Ambroſe* and *Guilford Dudleyes*, the Duke of Northumberlands ſonnes, and the Lady *Jane* wife to the ſaid *Guilford*, which had lately acted the part of a Queene for a ſhort time. All theſe are found guilty of the ſaid crime of treaſon, and condemned to die. As for *Cranmer*, they were ſo aſhamed of that imputation laid upon him, or rather for that they had reſolved his death another way than by the Axe (which I judge to bee more probable) that his pardon is ſtraightway begged of the Queene, by thoſe very men who ſoone after impeached him of Hereſie.

The Lord Guilford Dudley, the Lady Jane &c. condemned.

Many of his friends admoniſhed him by ſudden flight to deliver himſelfe from moſt certaine deſtruction meditated againſt him, and now that he was at liberty (before hee were againe clapped up) according to the patterne of many of his religious brethren, to ſave himſelfe by flight into Germanie. To which words of theirs, he gave this anſwer, If, ſaith hee, I were accuſed of theft, or murder, or of any ſuch like hainous fact, although I were innocent, yet I might perhaps be induced to provide for my ſafety by flying. But now that I am called in queſtion, not for my fidelity towards men, but for my faith in reſpect of God, and am to maintaine the truth and authoritie of the ſacred Scriptures againſt the Popiſh errors and innovations, give me leave herein to uſe that conſtancy that becommeth a Chriſtian Prelate: for I have reſolved rather to forſake my life than the Kingdome at this time.

But let us now leave *Cranmer* in priſon (whither he was caſt ſoone after) we ſhall not be unmindfull to ſet downe his affaires in their due place. About *Peter Martyr* much adoe there was at the Councell Table, and great riding, whether they ſhould deale with him as with an Heretike, for as much as he had given a grievous wound, and procured great dammage to the Catholike cauſe. At length they concluded on this wiſe, That becauſe he was a ſtranger, and had beene invited into the Kingdome, and the publike reputation interpoſed for his ſafety, that therefore he ſhould be ſent home to his own Country without harme or violence offered. Hereupon this advice prevailing, a publike Paſſe was given him ſigned with the Queenes owne hand, and ſo hee departed out of England unto Antwerpe, and from thence to Colen in Germany, afterwards to Strasburge, from whence hee came at his firſt comming into England.

Whiles theſe things came to paſſe, the Queene upon the firſt day of October with great pompe and ceremony was inaugurated at Weſtminſter according to the cuſtome of her Anceſtors, by *Stephen Gardiner* Lord Biſhop of Wincheſter anointed and crowned. Afterward, the firſt of the ſame moneth, a Parliament was called at Weſtminſter, in which almoſt all the Lawes and Statutes made by King *Henry* the Eighth, and King *Edward* the Sixt againſt the Pope and Papiſts, are quite aboliſhed, and utterly antiquated. In a Synod alſo aſſembled at the ſame time, and held at London, there was a diſputation for many dayes, and with great con-

Queen Mary crowned.

Diſputation about the reall preſence.

contention about the holy Euchariſt. Moſt there uphold the Reall and carnall preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament of the Altar, under their Enſigne-Bearer Doctor *Weſton* Prolocutor of the Convocation. Amongſt ſome few which defended the contrary opinion, they that were of chiefe reckoning, were Doctor *John Elmer*, & *Richard Cheyney* (which *Cheyney* was afterwards Biſhop of Glocester, and *Elmer* Biſhop of London under Queene *Elizabeths* reigne) *John Philpot* Arch-Deacon of Winchester, who at length confirmed his doctrine with the effuſion of his deareſt blood, *James Hodden* Deane of the Church of Exceter, and *Walter Philpot* Deane of Rochester. After a long and ſharpe contention, our ſide was overcome, not by ſtrength of arguments, but by multitude of voyces. Whereupon their ſentence is concluded on who thought fit to receive Popery againe into the Church. Afterwards, by the authoritie and decree of the ſame Synod and Convocation, upon the one and twentieth day of December, Maſſe began to be celebrated throughout all the Churches in the Kingdome after the Popiſh rite and cuſtome. At which time the Marqueſſe of Northampton and *Henry Gates*, a little before condemned to die, were delivered out of priſon, having a full pardon granted them of all their offences againſt the Queenes Majeſtie.

Popery reſtored.

The Queens generall pardon.

At the time of the Queenes Coronation, there was publiſhed a Generall pardon in her name, but enterlaced with ſo many exceptions, that they which needed the ſame moſt took ſmalleſt benefit thereby. In the which were excepted by name no ſmall number, not onely of Biſhops and other of the Clergie, namely, the Archbiſhops of Canterbury and Yorke, and the Biſhop of London, but alſo many Lords, Knights and Gentlemen of the Laitie, beſides the two chiefe Juſtices of England, called Sir *Edward Montacute*, and Sir *Roger Cholmelie*, with ſome other learned men in the law, for counſelling or at the leaſt conſenting to the deprivation of Queene *Marie*, and aiding of the foreſaid Duke of Northumberland, in the pretenced right of the forementioned Lady *Jane*.

After the pardon publiſhed, and the ſolemnitie of the Coronation ended, were certaine Commiſſioners appointed to take order with all ſuch perſons as were excepted out of the Queens pardon, and others, to compound with the Queene for their ſeverall offences. Some of which offenders were deprived of their offices, others of their eſtates and livings, ſome committed to ward, and others (as ye have heard) eſcaped not the ſentence of death. Nevertheleſſe the two brethren *Dudleys*, ſonnes to the Duke of Northumberland, and the Lady *Jane*, were now ſuffered to walke at more libertie in the Tower than formerly they had beene, not without ſome hope given them of their full enlargement without farther puniſhment; what befell them in the ſequell (God willing) ſhall be declared. In the meane while (though with a little interruption of the principall ſtorie) I thinke it not meet to bee omitted (for the preſervation of memory of good men, and the encouragement of others) how that for this yeere Sir *Thomas white* Lord Maior and Merchant Tailor of London, a worthy patron and protector of poore ſcholars and learning, renewed or rather erected a Colledge in Oxford, now called S. Johns Colledge, before Bernard Colledge, endowing the ſame with lands and revenues for the maintenance of fellowes and ſcholars,

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in ſuch number, as he is at this day acknowledged for their founder. He gave moreover in his life time to the City of Briſtow two thouſands pounds of ready money, to purchaſe lands for the helpe of poore men in their trades, and for the reliefe of others. He alſo erected ſchooles at Briſtow and Reading.

At this time many were in trouble for religion, and among others Sir *James Hales* Knight one of the Juſtices of the Common Pleas: who being called among others by the Councell of King *Edward*, to ſubſcribe to a deviſe made for the diſ-inheriting of Queene *Marie* and the Lady *Eliſabeth* her ſiſter, would in no wiſe aſſent to the ſame, though moſt of the other did. Notwithſtanding for that he at a Quarter Seſſions holden in Kent, gave charge upon the ſtatutes of King *Henry* the Eight, and King *Edward* the Sixt, in derogation of the primacie and authoritie of the Church of Rome, aboliſhed by King *Henry*, he was firſt committed priſoner to the Kings Bench, afterwards to the Fleet, where he grew ſo diſcontented, that he ſought to rid himſelfe out of this life, firſt wounding himſelfe with a pen-knife well neere to death, whereof hee hardly recovered: and being brought to the Queenes preſence, who gave him words of comfort, and his liberty withall, nevertheleſſe his minde was not quiet (as afterward well appeared) for in the end he drowned himſelfe in a river not far from his dwelling houſe in Kent, the river being ſo ſhallow that hee was faine to lye groveling before hee could diſpatch himſelfe; whoſe death was much lamented. For beſides that hee was a man wiſe, vertuous, and learned in the lawes of the Realme, hee was alſo a good and true miniſter of Juſtice, whereby he got him favour and eſtimation of all degrees.

The Queene, who had now well nigh fulfilled the ſeven and thirtieth yeare of her age, and was hitherto thought to be of mind altogether abhorring and averſe from marriage, whether by nature, or for that ſhee was not a Lady of that beauty, as to be confident that ſhee might allure or conſerve the grace and liking of a man, now at length, her affaires ſo requiring, beginneth to thinke of a husband. Shee feared, forſooth, leſt by reaſon of the weakneſſe of her ſexe, ſhee ſhould grow into contempt amongſt her owne people, her Throne being not yet fully ſetled, and the Kingdome, through the freſh memory of the late factions, wavering and greatly diſtracted. And there were three men eſpecially, whom the common voice of thoſe times gave out to be not unlike to be received to this dignity: who were *Philip* King of Spaine the Emperors ſonne, *Reginald Poole* Cardinall, and the Lord *Courtney* Marqueſſe of Exceter. All theſe the nobility of their Anceſtors and other reſpects might ſeeme highly to commend, for that under all theſe there was hope that the liberty and immunities of the Kingdome would bee preſerved ſafe and untouched. Moreover, for that ſome propinquity of bloud was thought meet to be regarded, and was anſwerably found in them all (for every of them was neere of kinne to the Queene, either in the line of the father, or elſe of the mother.) Cardinall *Poole* by reaſon of his grave manners and ſanctitie of life, joyned together with great wiſedome and gentleneſſe of ſpirit: *Courtney*, for the flower of his age, and ſweet behaviour, were highly endeared to the Queene. But upon *Courtney*, I know not how, ſome ſuſpition

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The Queen enclines to marry.

ſpition was caſt, as if he were not rightly affected toward Religion, but favoured the reformation. And the Cardinall, who had now paſſed the three and fiftieth yeere of his age, might ſeeme too old to give hope of children to the Queen. Whereupon their opinions eaſily bare ſway who gave advice that the Kingdome, being ſomewhat unquiet, had need of a potent and mighty Prince, both to allay the troubles at home, and alſo to defend the Kingdome againſt the French, who (having now lately gotten footing in Scotland) began to be troubleſome and cruell enemies to our Nation, both at Sea and Land. The Queene (as women are a little ambitious) eaſily yeelded her ſelfe to be overcome with theſe reaſons, and to conſent to the marriage of King *Philip* of Spaine.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter his Oration to the Lords.

On the fourteenth of January Doctor *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of Wincheſter, Lord Chancellor of England, in the Chamber of Preſence, made a very eloquent Oration to the Lords, Nobility, and Gentlemen, wherein he declared that the Queenes Majeſtie, partly for amity, and partly for other conſiderations, had after much ſuite on the Emperor and King of Spaines behalfe made (as ye ſhall heare anon) determined by the conſent of the Councell and Nobility, to match her ſelfe with the ſaid Prince in moſt godly and lawfull Matrimonie. He ſaid therefore that we were all bound to thanke God, that ſo noble, worthy, and famous a Prince would vouchſafe ſo to humble himſelfe, as in this marriage to take upon him the condition of a ſubject rather than otherwiſe; for the Queen and her Councell ſhould rule all things as ſhe did before, and that there ſhould bee of the Councell no ſtranger, neither to have any cuſtody of any Forts, or Caſtles, &c. nor to beare any rule or office in the Queens houſe or elſewhere in all England, with divers other articles by him rehearſed, whereof we come to ſpeake now more particularly: wherefore he ſaid the Queenes pleaſure and hope was, that like good ſubjects (for her ſake) they would moſt lovingly receive him with all reverence, joy, and honour.

In the beginning of this moneth of January, *Charles* the Fift Emperour of Germany ſent into England an honourable Embaſſage, the chiefe whereof were *Lamoralle Conte de Aiguemont*, Admirall of the Low Countries, together with *Charles Conte de la L'aing*, *John de Montmorancie* Lord of Curriers, and the Chancellor of Nigre, with full Commiſſion to conclude this marriage in hand: which Embaſſadors comming to London, after they had made their abode there certaine daies, make an end of the matter.

The marriage betweene King Philip and Queene Mary concluded.

The Nuptialls agreed upon, theſe were the conditions which were on all ſides aſſented unto: That ſo ſoone as the marriage rites were finiſhed betwixt *Philip* and *Mary*, King *Philip* ſhould take upon him the title of all his Wives Provinces and Dominions, and bee her partner in the government of the Kingdome, the entire priviledges and cuſtomes of the Realme, alſo the full and free deſtribution of all benefits, grants, and offices remaining ſtill in the Queenes power. In like manner the Queene was to be received into the fellowſhip of all the Kingdomes and territories of King *Philip* her husband, which he now poſſeſſed or were afterwards to come unto him: and in caſe ſhe out-lived him, a yeerly penſion of two hundred thouſand crownes (which ſum amounteth to threeſcore

thouſand

thouſand pounds ſterling) was to be aſſigned to her in the name of a dowry, as before time had been performed to the Lady *Margaret* of England Widow of *Charles* Duke of Burgundy. Whereof the paiment of forty thouſand pounds, was to be made in the Kingdomes of Spaine and Arragon, and the other twenty thouſand to be paid in the Low Countries, and Provinces belonging to the Netherlands.

And, to the intent to take away all future occaſion of diſcord and jarring, it was concluded on that in dividing of the inheritance, whatſoever children ſhould bee borne of this Matrimony, ſhould ſucceed the Queene in all her Kingdomes and Dominions, and the Emperour alſo in all the principalities of the Low Countries, and of Burgundy, whereof the Emperour was now poſſeſſed. Alſo that *Charles* eldeſt ſon to King *Philip* by his former wife, ſhould ſucceed in all the other roialties of Italy and Spaine left by his Father and Grandmother, and the Emperours Grandfather, yet ſo that he ſhould be tied to the annuall penſion of forty thouſand pounds ſterling by the yeere, which were to be raiſed in thoſe Countries. If ſo be that daughters ſhould be borne of this wedlocke, the eldeſt ſhould inherit all the Territories of the Netherlands, upon this condition, that ſhee ſhould chuſe a husband in England, or the Low Countries, with the conſent and councell of *Charles* her brother King *Philips* ſonne: if ſhe married from any other place without her brothers conſent and liking, ſhe was deprived of her right to the Low Countries, and the whole inheritance to appertaine to *Charles* and his heires. Nevertheleſſe to her and her ſiſters (if any were) a convenient dowry was to be allotted, according to the lawes and cuſtomes of the places. If it ſhould fall out that *Charles* or his Succeſſors ſhould faile of iſſue, in that caſe the firſt born of King *Philip* and Queene *Marie*, though a daughter, ſhould ſucceed in the Kingdomes of both parties, as well of Spaine and all the Dukedomes of Italy, as of all the Provinces of the Low Countries; & the ſame ſhould be tied to continue and preſerve inviolable, all the lawes, rights, priviledges, immunities, and cuſtomes of every Kingdome, betweene the Emperour, King *Philip*, and his heires, betwixt the Queene, her children and heires, and the Kingdomes and Territories of both Princes, ſhould be eſtabliſhed conſtant amitie, concord, friendſhip, and an everlaſting league to be held inviolable.

Articles of the Queens marriage with Philip of Spaine.

So ſoone as this agreement touching the marriage between the Councell and the Embaſſadours of the Emperour began to bee commonly taken notice of, and the fame thereof ſpread abroad in all parts of the Kingdome; many diſcontented perſons, who were diſpleaſed with the preſent eſtate of things in the Common-wealth, from hence tooke occaſion of ſlander, reporting that now the King of Spaine was to ſit at the helme of the Common-wealth, ruling all things according to his owne luſt and arbitrement, and overturning all the lawes and cuſtomes of our forefathers, ſhould impoſe a heavie yoake upon our Nation, in no caſe to be borne, as though he had now conquered it by warre, and might therefore afflict us with what conditions of ſervitude he thought fit. This was the common talke every where openly: But in ſecret, and according as they found the inclination of thoſe they met withall, they quarrell the Queens actions, and traduce her government. Amongſt ſome ſorts of

The match with Spaine diſliked.

people they make complaint how the Eccleſiaſticall cuſtomes were altered, contrary to the promiſe which the Queene had formerly made to thoſe of Suffolke, when ſhe was in her troubles: amongſt others againe they lament the hard meaſure which the Lady *Jane* endured, a moſt excellent and vertuous woman, throwne downe by violence from the height of honour, and moſt cruelly condemned to an unworthy and undeſerved death. Pity and compaſſion wrought with many, ſome were deeply affected in regard of Religion, but the feare of a forraine yoke touched neerly a great number of people; others again their owne hopes and an affectation of change did greatly provoke and ſpurre them on to raiſe new tumults.

Sir Thomas Wiats rebellion.

And now that they ſeemed to want nothing but a Captaine to ſet their projects on foot, loe the firſt undertaker is Sir *Thomas Wiat*, a Knight deſcended from noble Anceſtors in the county of Kent; who communicating the matter ſecretly to the Duke of Suffolke the Lady *Janes* Father, as alſo to one Sir *Peter Carew* a Devonſhire Knight, and ſome others, reſolved to put nothing in practice as yet, untill ſuch time as King *Philip* were arrived; and then (what further purpoſe they had in their hearts God knoweth) to uſe both might and maine, and manfully to fight for the liberty of their countrey; and for no other end would they bee thought to take up armes. The reſt conſented, and they ſeverally departed to their owne habitations; Sir *Thomas Wiat* into Kent (which countrey is neere to London, and not farre from Callice, a little ſea onely parting them) Sir *Peter Carew* into Devonſhire (which countrey alſo lyeth over againſt France in the Weſterne part of the Iland) and the Duke of Suffolke to his lands in Warwickſhire, which is ſeated in the heart of the kingdome. In theſe places they make proviſion of munition, money, victuals, and all kinde of warlike furniture, whereſoever they could come by it (but ſecretly and without noiſe:) and they laboured to draw as many as they could get to their party. The meane while Sir *Peter Carew*, as it were by ſome evill deſtiny, or that he thought there would be danger in delay, began as coverdly as he could to gather together ſouldiers all over Cornwall: and the matter being diſcovered ſooner than he hoped for, he had almoſt been taken, but that he eſcaped narrowly, and getting on ſhip-boord, ſayled into France, where he lay concealed for a time, till at length being in ſhew reconciled to the Queene, he was taken at Bruſſels in Flanders, and brought priſoner into England. How hee eſcaped afterwards I cannot certainly ſet downe; but that he lived many yeares under Queene *Eliſabeth*, and died a naturall death at Roſſe in Leinſter (a Province in Ireland) in the yeare 1577. is well knowne to many yet alive, and is witneſſed by a monument to be ſeene in the Cathedrall Church of Exeter, which was built at the charges of Sir *Peter Carew* his Nephew, who was the brother of Sir *George Carew* a moſt valiant and prudent Gentleman, whom for his ſingular vertues King *James* not long ſince created a Baron.

Sir Peter Carew and Sir John Cheeke taken.

With the ſaid Sir *Peter Carew* was taken at the ſame time Sir *John Cheeke* Schoole-maſter to King *Edward*, when upon occaſion he came from Strasburge to Bruſſels, to ſalute the Queenes Embaſſadors which lived there (ſo our *Foxe* delivereth it) or rather for that he was to marry a

wife

wife there, if we give credit to *James Thuan.* But whatſoever was the cauſe of his journey, certaine it is that he was taken, and throwne off his horſe in the very way that leadeth from Antwerpe to Bruſſels, and tyed with cords to a waggon, till at length he was blindfolded and carried on ſhipboord, and brought to London into the Tower before he knew where he was. Being there in priſon, and terrified with threatnings, hee was driven to recant, whereas it was well knowne that in heart and ſoule he utterly abhorred all the Popiſh errours. Being afterwards touched with griefe for what he had done, through immoderate ſorrow he pined away, and ſo dyed.

Theſe laſt foregoing paſſages I thought good to ſet downe the more preciſely, for that there are ſome who write that both theſe forenamed Gentlemen, Sir *Peter Carew* and Sir *John Cheeke*, were bound together to one ſtake, and burnt for Religion, and that in the very moneth of June this ſame yeere. But to return to Sir *Thomas Wiat*: he perceived now that his counſels were deſcried and known openly, and that there was now no other refuge but only courage and valour, he now went about to raiſe the Commons in Kent, and to bring them into an open ſedition; pretending, as all Rebels and ſeditious perſons are wont to doe, that the Queene entertained wicked Councellors about her, through whoſe inſtigation ſhe had lately acted, and daily attempted many things dangerous and pernicious to the Commonwealth of England, and therefore by all meanes care muſt be had to remove thoſe evill inſtruments and wicked Miniſters from her preſence, and to ſubſtitute others in their places that would be more honeſt, and handle the affaires of the kingdome as it becommeth faithfull Councellors, and ſuch as are rather carefull and ſolicitous for the publike benefit and commodity, than for their owne private deſignes. But above all, it was meet to labour with hand and foot to hinder the marriage with Spaine that was now in hand, by which match it would inevitably come to paſſe, that the whole kingdome would be over-runne with Popiſh ſuperſtition, and that idolatry which was lately but crept in, would be eſtabliſhed for all perpetuity.

The Rebels pretexts.

This he ſaid he did certainly foreſee, and therefore the deſigne he now tooke in hand was wholſome and profitable for the whole kingdome, and for the Queen her ſelf eſpecially, to whom he wiſhed all manner of felicity, and would ſpend his blood in her ſervice. But whatſoever was pretended by this worthy Knight, and notwithſtanding theſe goodly colours and ſhewes of religion, when as newes was brought about the ſame time that the Duke of Suffolke had raiſed up in armes a great number of Warwickſhire men, no man was ſo dull and ſimple but he perceived that the intent of theſe projects was to caſt Queen *Mary* from the throne, and once againe to ſet up the Lady *Jane*, who was now held in priſon. Upon the five and twentieth of January report was brought to London of the tumult raiſed in Kent. Which ſo ſoone as it was told at Court, preſently, the very ſame day was the Duke of Norfolke ſent with a ſmall band of men, which for the moſt part conſiſted of the Yeomen of the Guard. But the day following about five hundred more were levied in the City of London, and put into boats went downe to Graveſend with the tide, where the Duke of Norfolke tarried for them. With theſe forces

ces he reſolves to ſet upon *Wiat*, who abode then at Rocheſter (a City not very well fortified) and in a Caſtle of that towne halfe ruined there had he placed his tents.

This City is built neere unto the river Medway, which runneth along with a noiſe and violence like a little ſea, and not farre from the North of it is joyned to the towne with a ſtone bridge of arched work, very beautifull to behold: this *Wiats* men had taken, fortified with ſome certaine pieces of braſſe Ordnance, thereby to ſtop the Dukes paſſage, of whoſe approach they underſtood by his ſpies. The Duke nevertheleſſe marching on, commanded a Herald to goe before, and proclaime pardon of all offences paſt to as many as would caſt away their armes, and forſake the Rebells tents. Which when he had performed accordingly (but in ſuch manner as very few could heare what he ſaid, for one ſtood by holding a dagge to his breaſt, and threatned to ſhoot him unleſſe he delivered his meſſage with a very low voice) all they that by fortune ſtood neareſt and heard what the Herald had ſpoken, made anſwere preſently, That they knew not themſelves guilty of any offence committed againſt the Queene, for which they needed her pardon. Onely one amongſt all the reſt, a noble Knight, Sir *George Harper* by name, with a fained repentance haſtens to the Duke of Norfolke, to the intent to make tryall if he could perſwade *Bret* to flye to *Wiats* party with thoſe five hundred armed men that were brought from London, of whom this *Bret* was the Leader. Which matter this *Harper* handled ſo artificially, that *Bret* before he was come altogether ſo farre as the enemies tents, upon a ſudden drew out his ſword, and turned him about to his ſouldiers, uſing theſe ſpeeches to them: Behold, I beſeech you deare Countrymen, and conſider againe and againe what it is that ye doe, and againſt whom ye goe: What? are they not our fellowes, and brethren, men of our owne blood whom wee goe to fight againſt? and ſuch as for the ſafety of the Engliſh name have taken armes, that with the perill of their owne blood they may deliver us from the cruelty, pride, and tyranny of the King of Spaine, and recover our liberty, which now we have almoſt loſt? You then that love ſervitude and miſerable bondage, on Gods name tarry with the Duke of Norfolke your Captaine; I for my part (who had rather dye a thouſand deaths than be a ſlave to the Spaniard) will follow the conduct of that noble Captain Sir *Thomas Wiat*, where God ſend me good ſucceſſe: and I truſt there want not ſome amongſt you that will both commend my counſell, and follow my example.

Bret with 500. Londoners revolts to Wiat.

He had ſcarce made an end of ſpeaking, when as all the company cryed out, For *Wiat*, For *Wiat*, For *Wiat*, We are all Engliſhmen, We are all Engliſhmen, drawing their ſwords, and labouring to turne the Ordnance upon their fellowes that followed them: whereupon the Duke of Norfolke, the Earle of Arundell, and Sir *Henry Jerningham* Captaine of the Guard (for theſe alſo were there preſent) hearing ſuch a wondrous great ſhout and out-cry, and being aſtoniſhed at the novelty and ſuddenneſſe of the accident, inſtantly fled away. But *Wiat* at the very ſame point of time (for ſo it might ſeeme it was agreed upon betweene them) ruſhing upon them with his troope of horſemen, hindred the flight of all the reſt, and at that aſſault gained eight peeces of braſſe Ordnance, together with

all

all the Duke of Norfolkes munition. Afterwards turning himſelfe to the Queenes army, he earneſtly exhorted them to uſe all their diligence in this ſo juſt a warre which he had undertaken: nevertheleſſe he cauſed Proclamation to be made, that if any of them had rather returne to the Queene, he would not be their hinderance; onely this he requeſted at the hands of all ſuch forſakers of their countrey and the common good, that when they were returned home they would let all men underſtand, and the Queene her ſelfe principally, that Sir *Thomas Wiat* doth call to witneſſe both God and men, that he and his adherents had not taken up armes againſt their lawfull Prince, but to withſtand the invaſion and attempts of ſtrangers, and that for the liberty of his countrey and countrey-men. Hereupon thoſe five hundred ſouldiers that came along with *Bret*, and a great part of the Queenes Guard, together with all the reſt, excepting a very ſmall number, joyned themſelves forthwith to *Wiat*; who being now puffed up, and waxing inſolent with the number of his forces, haſtened to lead on to London outright.

Whiles theſe things come to paſſe in London and in Kent, the Duke of Suffolke, who went out of London the five and twentieth of January, taking along with him his two brothers *John* and *Leonard*, made proclamation in divers places, exhorting his countrey-men to take up armes againſt the Spaniards, that were now landing. But when he once perceived that he ſpake to deafe men, as the Proverbe is (for none obeyed his voice) he thinkes how to ſave himſelfe by flight, for he was told that the Earle of Huntingdon was comming from the Queene with an army to take him. He had at that time in his retinue a company to the number of fifty men, with whom when he underſtood that he could not reſiſt the Earle of Huntingdon in a place of diſadvantage, diſtributing all the mony he had amongſt them, and ſending away his brothers, he forſooke all his company, making as if he would flye, and ſo committed himſelfe and his ſafety to the truſt of one *Underwood*, whom he had made keeper of Aſtley Parke. The Keeper his man promiſed to hide him out of danger, till afterwards taking other advice, whether for feare, or in hope of a reward, he betrayed his Lord to the Earle of Huntingdon, who brought him up to London guarded with a troope of three hundred Horſemen, and upon the eleventh day of February he was ſent to the Tower.

The Duke of Suffolk in vain perſwades the people to armes.

The Queene in the meane while was exceeding ſolicitous how to containe the Londoners in their duty, eſpecially hearing of the defection of *Brets* company to *Wiat*: wherefore ſhe went her ſelfe into London upon the firſt of February, and calling together the Lord Maior and Aldermen, and as many as could be gotten of the better ſort of the communalty, in the Guild-Hall ſhe made an Oration unto them; wherein firſt of all inveighing earneſtly againſt *Wiat* and his faction, ſhe endevoured to ſhew how wicked and pernicious his counſells and enterpriſes were, and how well affected ſhe her ſelfe had beene alwaies to the Commonwealth; ſaying, that he uſed for a pretext to his wickedneſſe, that he meant no other matter but to hinder the marriage betweene her and the King of Spaine. But to that height of madneſſe was he now grown, having made his forces a little greater, that the Match was not all the matter now, but he requireth the cuſtody of the Queenes body, and power to remove

The Queenes oration to the Londoners.

ſome, and to puniſh others of the Lords of her Privie Councell. She unfainedly proteſteth, that in the buſineſſe of the Match ſhe had done nothing without the advice of her Peeres. She had hitherto paſſed away the better part of her age in her Virginity; neither was ſhe now ſo fond of marriage, but that if the Nobles of the kingdome thought it fit, ſhe could be well content to remaine ſtill in the ſame eſtate. For, that the kingdome of England ſhould be in any perill by reaſon of her marriage, and all things come to fire and ſword on this manner, that would be to her the moſt grievous thing in the world. Therefore, quoth ſhe, I entreat and exhort you to continue in your wonted fidelity and obedience, and to be ready with your aſſiſtance for the puniſhing of the treachery and perfidiouſneſſe of theſe wicked Rebels: for this belongeth now to your duty and allegeance, foraſmuch as ye have acknowledged me to be your Soveraigne Lady, and with one conſent have received me as your Queene, and the rightfull heire of my father King *Henry* the eighth, and of my brother King *Edward* the ſixt late deceaſed.

Having thus wonne the hearts of her Citizens of London, and confirmed them in their duties, the Queene cauſeth five hundred men more to take armes (whereof the greateſt part were ſtrangers) and placeth ſome choſen men amongſt them upon London Bridge to keepe that, and the reſt in other convenient places about the City. Two dayes after, to wit, the third of February, *Wiat* commeth to London, bringing along with him three thouſand, or (as ſome ſay) foure thouſand armed men. He had preconceived great hope that he ſhould be admitted into the City out of hand, and ſo effect his purpoſe without either ſweat or blood: but it fell out farre otherwiſe; for comming to London Bridge he findes it cut downe, and moreover defended by men in armes, that cryed out upon *Wiat* with a loud voice, ſaying, Be gone Traitor, Hence Traitor. Nevertheleſſe he tarried in the Borough of Southwarke whole two dayes, hoping that his friends who were within the City would attempt ſomething on his behalfe. But after that he perceived he ſpent time in vaine there, he preſently leadeth on his forces to a Town called Kingſton upon Thames, which is ſome ten miles from London, where there is a woodden bridge which goeth croſſe the river. Comming thither, he findeth that bridge alſo cut down: nevertheleſſe in few houres ſpace, uſing mighty diligence, he made up that, and about the evening led his ſouldiers over to the banke on the other ſide. Then with all the ſpeed he can (for therein he placed all his hopes) not giving his ſouldiers any time to reſt, towards London he marcheth, hoping to get thither before day light, and ſo ſurprize the Queene unawares by his unexpected comming.

Wiat comes to London.

Neither in all likelihood had his hope failed him, but that God, who ſeldome granteth good ſucceſſe unto Rebels that take up armes againſt their lawfull Prince, by a certaine unexpected accident ſtayed their haſty journey, or rather tooke away their heart from them in their haſte; inſomuch as a light and in a manner frivolous chance, made them ſlack their pace: and ſo through an unneceſſary delay they miſſed the opportunity of effecting their purpoſe, which would have happened even according to their owne hearts deſire. They were now come within ſixe miles of London, when as one of their pieces of braſſe Ordnance, an axle-tree by

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chance breaking, could not be moved any whit further. Some certaine houres were ſpent in the mending of that, whiles *Wiat* would by no meanes be perſwaded, to leave the peece of Ordnance behind, and goe forward on his journey: from whence it came to paſſe, that hee could not get to London by the houre appointed, at which time alſo his friends there expected him. Now a great number of his followers, ſeeing things goe no better forward, and deſpairing of all good fortune, withdrew themſelves from their colours, and went away, ſo that *Wiat* had not above the one halfe of his forces left with him. Amongſt the reſt Sir *George Harper*, whom we mentioned before, the partner of all *Wiats* counſells and intendments, to the intent he might now make amends for his former counterfeited revolting, with the betraying of his owne friends, leaving his Captaine hee goeth ſtraightway to the Queen, and in order revealeth to her all that ever he knew. Wherewithall the Queene which knew nothing before his comming, being ſuddenly amazed and affrighted, cauſed a company to be got together in haſt, whom ſhe committed to the Earle of Pembroke, earely in the morning. *Wiat* hearing that the Earle of Pembroke was up in Armes, abated a great deale of his ſpeed, leſt he ſhould be forced to joyne his ſouldiers in fight with freſh Adverſaries, when they were weary and out of breath. Therefore he walked on faire and ſoftly, and arrived at the Suburbs of the City a little before noone day.

Wiats plots diſcovered.

The Earle of Pembroke is ready to meet Wiat.

Then planting his Ordnance upon a little Hill neere the Parke corner, there hee left the greateſt part of his ſouldiers. He himſelfe with five companies, marcheth towards Ludgate: But *Cuthert Vaughan*, with two Companies led towards Weſtminſter, leaving the Kings houſe which is at S. James on his left hand, and going about by the Parke wall, to that end, it is likely, that with thoſe few hee might a little terrefie the Courtiers, and ſo *Wiat* might gaine a freer paſſage to Ludgate, who was to march a long mile through the Suburbs before he could get thither. But this *Vaughan* or Knevet (as ſome called that Captains name) the very entry of the Suburbs, at Charing Croſſe, was encountred by Sir *Henry Jerningham* Captaine of the Guard, who with certaine of the Yeomen of the Guard, and ſome few others, thought to hinder the Rebells paſſage. But in vaine, for they, whether called backe by the Queene for the defence of her owne Perſon (who was now ſomewhat affraid) or not able to endure the violence of *Wiats* followers, preſently fled away, and with all the ſpeed they could gat themſelves to the Queens Palace, which they filled with noiſe and tumult. The Earle of Pembroke now ſetting upon the hindermoſt of *Wiats* forces (their Captaine, who haſtned to get into the City, not turning backe to reſcue them) a great number of them was ſlaine there: The reſt marched on courageouſly, and along the ſtreets as they went cried out, God ſave the Queen, and prayed for all happineſſe to her roiall perſon, for they had obtained (they ſaid) at her hands all that ever they required.

At the length they came to Ludgate, which (beſides their hopes) they find ſhut againſt them, and call out to have it opened. But they find cold entertainment there, and gaine nothing but reproaches, and all evill imprecations. When they ſaw there was no remedy, backe they turne the

ſame

ſame way they came, to goe to their fellowes whom they had left with their Ordnance beyond the Towne, till on a ſudden they find themſelves every where encloſed with the Earle of Pembrokes forces. Then a Herald called *Clarencieux* King of Armes comming to *Wiat*, adviſeth him to yeeld himſelfe, for as much as now there was no way to eſcape, and not to goe about to redeeme himſelfe with the blood of ſo many valiant men, or by putting all to an extreme adventure, thereby to cut off all hope of finding mercie with the Queen. His ſouldiers ſeemed willing to trie it out to the laſt man; but *Wiats* courage now beginning to faile him, he yeelded himſelfe to one Sir *Maurice Barkeley* Knight, and getting up on the ſame horſe behind him, was ſo carried to the Queene.

What is taken.

The Captaine being taken, the reſt had now no farther mind to reſiſt: a few of them fled away, of the reſt a mighty number were taken and caſt into priſon, yea all the priſons in London would not hold the multitude of them, ſo that they were faine to beſtow them in other places. Thus was this tumult brought to an end; theſe things happened the ſixt of February.

Now the Lords of the Queenes privie Councell begin to conſult touching the puniſhment of the Malefactors; amongſt whom nothing could be agreed upon, till they had reſolved to take away the Lady *Jane*, which was before condemned to death upon the thirteenth of November, but had been kept alive hitherto, not without hope of eſcaping finally. But when as they were taught by experience, that her life brought continuall danger to the Queene; to the end that all occaſion of ſedition might bee removed, it is thought good to have her puniſhed out of hand. Whereupon it was ordered that a Divine, one Doctor *Fecknam*, ſhould bee ſent to her, to admoniſh her to prepare herſelfe for death, and withall labour to draw her back to the Popiſh religion. She was nothing terrified at the meſſage of death, but ſeemed to receive it with great contentment and joy, acknowledging therein the great goodneſſe of God toward her; but as for controverſies of religion ſhee was not now at leaſure to diſcuſſe them, not having ſo much time granted her; for that ſmall portion of time that remained, ſhe thought it might be better employed in devout prayer, and teares to God.

The Lady Jane perſwaded to the popiſh religion.

Her conſtancy in religion.

Doctor *Fecknam*, who thought theſe words ſpoken in good earneſt by the Lady *Jane*, as if ſhe deſired to have a longer ſpace of time granted her, goeth to the Queen, and obtaineth three dayes reſpite. Preſently he returneth to the Lady, & reveales to her what he had done with the Queen, and entreates her to give eare to him, and ſuffer her ſelfe to bee better perſwaded concerning religion. To whom, looking upon him with an angry countenance, ſhe maketh this anſwer: I ſpake not thoſe words (ſaith ſhe) to the intent they ſhould be told the Queen: for farre be it from you to thinke that I have any deſire in the world to live any longer: for ſince the time you departed from me, this life hath begun to be ſo wearieſome and loathſome to me, that being mindfull onely of that life which is eternall, I doe utterly contemne death, the which truely (for as much as it is the Queenes pleaſure to have it ſo) I am moſt ready and willing to undergoe.

The forenamed Divine dealt with her ſeverall waies, to perſwade her

to

to returne to the Church of Rome; but unto all his arguments ſhee anſwered in ſuch ſort, that no man at this day readeth that diſputation (for it was afterward publiſhed) but he greatly wondreth that in that age, and eſpecially in that ſexe, there ſhould be found ſuch conſtancy of mind, ſo great learning, and ſuch acuteneſſe of wit as is therein expreſſed. The Lord *Guilford Dudley*, before he was led forth of the Tower to his ſuffering, having made requeſt, and the ſame granted, that he might have leave to ſpeake with his wife, and take his laſt farewell of her; ſhe refuſed, and entreated him to let thoſe things alone, for as much as they would rather feed griefe, than yeeld any comfort againſt death; for the time was now not farre off when they ſhould be joyned together in a ſtraiter band, and ſhould behold and enjoy one another in a better place, and a better condition of life. Afterwards notwithſtanding when he went to the Tower Hill to die, ſhe endured to looke upon him out of a window, and alſo ſaw his dead body after he was beheaded, when it was brought in a Coach to be buried in the Chappell within the Tower. Thus her husband, ſonne to the ambitious Duke of Northumberland, departed this life. No man was ignorant that the death of a poore innocent would be diverſly taken: Therefore howbeit the Lady *Janes* death was concluded on, yet for the avoiding of tumult, they would not have her put to death upon the Tower Hill, which is the place where likely the Nobles ſuffer; but in the greene yard within the Tower was a Scaffold erected, whither within ſome few houres after that her husband was diſpatched, ſhee was brought to her execution, the Lievtenant of the Tower leading her, where ſhe ended her ſweet life, upon the twelfth day of February.

The Lord Guilford Dudley beheaded.

As ſhe came forth of her Chamber where ſhee was impriſoned, the Lievtenant entreated her to leave him ſome monument or other whereby to remember her. Shee called for a paire of table-bookes, and wrote in them three ſhort ſentences in greeke and latine (for ſhe had good skill in both thoſe languages) and afterward turned the ſame into the Engliſh tongue, in which ſhe teſtified her innocency; and although ſhe denied not that her fault was worthy of death, yet ſhee was confident that (ſaving the juſtice of the lawes) her ignorance would excuſe her errour amongſt all good men. At length when ſhe had courteouſly ſaluted the company that ſhe paſſed by, her countenance nothing changed, but chearefull, requeſting them to pray for her, ſhe came to the place appointed for her puniſhment, and pulling the Divine to her by the hand, ſhe kindly embraced him, and ſaid, God reward thee abundantly for this humanitie ſhewed towards me, although I muſt confeſſe it hath beene more terrible and diſpleaſing to me, than any feare of death which I have felt hitherto. Then turning her ſelfe to the ſtanders by, with a modeſt Oration ſhe unfolded to them the order of her fact: *I am guilty* (ſaith ſhe) *not becauſe I affected the Kingdome, but that I refuſed it not being caſt upon me; and muſt leave a memorable example and inſtruction to all poſteritie, that innocency cannot excuſe thoſe grievous actions, which tend to the publike damage: for it ſhould ſeeme that they commit wickedneſſe enough that ſerve the ambition and luſt of others, though it be ſore againſt their owne will.*

The Lady Janes ſpeech at her death.

Having ſpoken theſe words, and called upon God for mercie, with the help of her waiting Gentlewomen, ſhe put off her Gowne and necke-

clothes,

clothes, and covering her eyes with an handkerchiefe, yeelded her neck to the Executioner, who delaying to ſtrike, ſhe entreated him to make haſt, and deale with her according to law; which at length he did, the teares falling from many of the ſtanders by, even them who from the beginning had alwaies favoured Queen *Maries* cauſe.

This end had the Lady *Jane*, a woman renowned for the Nobility of her birth, and Anceſtors from whom ſhee was deſcended, but much more renowned for her vertue, and noble diſpoſition, who while ſhe is obedient to the ambition of a father in law, and an imperious mother (you now heare *Thuan* ſpeake, whoſe words ſometimes I willingly make uſe of) tooke upon her the fatall title of a Queene, and is preſently ſnatched from the Throne to the priſon, from thence to the place of execution, where ſhee ſuffereth puniſhment for the offences of others, and yet conquered ſo many blowes of adverſe fortune with conſtancy and innocency.

This death of a moſt vertuous woman, the puniſhment of *Wiat* and his adherents, much more juſt than the other, preſently followed. Twenty paire of gallowes were ſet up in divers parts of the City of London, for the terror of others, and upon them fifty of the Rebells were hanged on the foureteenth, and fifteenth day of February. And the eighteenth day of the ſame Moneth, *Alexander Bret* who was the Authour of the Londoners revolting to Sir *Thomas Wiat*, was ſent into Kent, together with many others (and amongſt them of the Nobility not a few) who were there executed upon the twentieth of February. Sir *Henry Iſley* Knight, *Thomas Iſley* his brother, and *Walter Mantell* ſuffered at Maidſtone, where *Wiat* firſt diſplayed his banner: *Anthony Knevet*, and his brother *William Knevet*, with another of the *Mantells*, were executed at Sevenocke: *Bret* at Rocheſter was hanged in chaines. Foure hundred of thoſe that had ſerved under *Wiats* colours, were brought before the Queen, every one of them having an halter about his neck, who proſtrating themſelves before her Majeſtie, and in moſt humble manner craving mercy, ſhee graciouſly pardoned them, and gave order they ſhould be releaſed.

Rebels executed.

Upon the three and twentieth of February, *Henry* Lord *Gray* Duke of Suffolke, the Father of the Lady *Jane* (whom the Queen had once before pardoned) was beheaded upon the Tower Hill. He was condemned the ſeventeenth day of the ſame moneth. He was a man of high Nobility by birth, and of nature to his friend gentle and courteous, more eaſie indeed to be led than was thought expedient: of ſtomack nevertheleſſe ſtout and hardy, haſty, and ſoone kindled, but pacified ſtraight againe, and ſorrie if in his heat ought had paſſed him otherwiſe than reaſon would, upright and plaine in his private dealings, no diſſembler, bountifull and very liberall, ſomewhat learned himſelfe, but a great lover of learned men, free from covetouſneſſe, and void of pride or diſdainefull haughtineſſe of mind. And this vertue he had, he could patiently heare his faults told him, by thoſe to whom hee gave credit for their wiſdome, and faithfull meaning. Concerning this fact for which he died, he acknowledged himſelfe to ſuffer juſtly; though it is to bee thought that he tooke it in hand, rather by the inſtigation of others, than to fulfill his

The Duke of Suffolke executed.

his owne either malice or ambition. Hee was greatly favoured of the people, and at the time of his death (which I thought not good to let passe) when he desired that the Queen would forgive him the injury hee had offered her Grace, one Doctor *Weston*, who stood by on the Scaffold, said the Queene had forgiven him: Such forgivenesse God send thee, quoth the standers by.

On the eleventh day of Aprill following, Sir *Thomas Wiat* was put to death. He upon hope of pardon promised him, was suborned (as is thought) by certaine malevolent ill meaning persons, to confesse the accessaries to his conspiracy: amongst others he accused the Lady *Elisabeth* the Queenes sister, and the Lord *Courtney*, for that he desiring to have the Lady *Elisabeth* given to him in marriage, and was denyed by the Queen, he then plotted to put her by the Kingdome. Which accusation of *Wiats* was the cause that the innocent Lady was taken from her house at Ashridge, and committed to the Tower the fifteenth of March, or, as some write, the eighteenth. The Lord *Courtney* also upon the twelfe day of February before was committed to the same custody. But the report went, that as *Wiat* passed along to the place of execution, he earnestly desired to speak with the Lord *Courtney*, and having gained that liberty fell down upon his knees before him, entreating him for Gods sake to forgive the wrong he had done him, who in hope of life, which he too greatly desired, had laid on him the suspicion of so great a crime as treason, whereof he knew him not to bee any wayes guilty. This the Sheriffes of the City of London, and many others there present, witnessed afterward.

Wiat accuseth the Lady Elisabeth and the Lord Courtney.

Notwithstanding the Bishop of Winchester Lord Chancellor (who fearing a new change of Religion by the Lady *Elisabeth*, if so it should please God to take away Queen *Marie*, was thought desirous of any accusation that might touch her life) in the Court of Star-chamber openly affirmed (and produced as a witnesse of the truth of his words the Lord *Shandoys*, then Lieutenant of the Tower) that *Wiat* as hee went along to the place of suffering, vehemently exhorted the Lord *Courtney* to confesse his offence, and submit himselfe to the Queenes mercy. This nevertheless hath no likelihood of truth, for it was most certaine and well knowne to all that were present at *Wiats* execution, that after hee was upon the Scaffold, and had now no hope of longer life, preparing himselfe to his death, protested with a loud and audible voice, that neither the Lady *Elisabeth* nor the Lord *Courtney* were any waies accessary to his Rebellion: and the forenamed Doctor *Weston*, who stood by as his Confessor, urging him that he had confessed otherwise to the Lords of the Councell, he made answer, What I said then, I said, but what I say now is true: soone after which words he there ended his life. His judgement was, to bee drawne, hanged and quartered: but the Queen of her grace remitted the two former punishments of drawing and hanging, exchanging them into a more noble kind of death, for he died by the Axe: but the quarters of his body were set upon severall gates of the City, for the terror and example of others.

Sir Thomas Wiat executed.

Upon the seven and twentieth of Aprill the Lord *Thomas Grey* was beheaded, for that he had been the Author and inciter of the Duke of Suffolk his brother, not very prone to sedition for his owne part, to joyne himselfe

ſelfe to the rebellion of *Wiat*. On the ſixteenth of May the Lady *Eliſabeth* ſiſter to the Queene, and the Lord *Courtney* Marqueſſe of Exeter (notwithſtanding the teſtimony of *Wiat* at his execution) were removed from the Tower, but put in other cuſtodies, where they were as narrowly looked unto, and as ſtrictly kept as before. The Lady *Eliſabeth* was ſent to Woodſtocke, and *Courtney* to Foderingay.

About the ſame time that reverend Prelate *Cranmer*, as yet Archbiſhop of Canterbury, *Nicolas Ridley* lately removed from the Biſhopricke of London, and *Hugh Latimer*, who long before in the time of King *Henry* the eighth gave over the Biſhopricke of Worceſter, were removed from the Tower to Windſore, and from thence to Oxford, to a ſolemne diſputation with the Divines of Cambridge and Oxford concerning the holy Euchariſt. There they diſputed indeed, but upon very unequall conditions: for they had but two dayes warning to prepare themſelves, and in the meane while were ſhut up in priſon, no man ſuffered to come to them with whom they might conferre or conſult: beſides, they were a great way from their bookes, and had none afforded them, but ſuch as their adverſaries were pleaſed to lend. With much clamour and great adoe the conference was performed, one alone ſuffering the violence of many at once, without order, without meaſure, without modeſty. Upon the fourteenth of Aprill they were brought out of priſon to Saint *Maries* Church, where they were commanded to ſubſcribe to the Popiſh opinion; but refuſing, another day was appointed for diſputation, when they were ſeverally to anſwere all arguments brought againſt them. *Cranmers* day was to be ſixteenth, *Ridleyes* the ſeventeenth, and *Latimers* the eighteenth of the ſame moneth. At which time, notwithſtanding that they were even confounded with noiſe and clamour, though laden with reproaches and bitter tauntings, and in a manner overwhelmed with the multitude of their opponents, yet left behind them great admiration even in their very adverſaries: *Cranmer* with great learning and gravity, beſeeming the place which he had held for ſo many yeeres, *Ridley* acutely and readily, *Latimer* ſharply and wittily (as his manner was) and more ſubſtantially than was to be expected from an old man, now well nigh fourſcore yeares of age.

Diſputation at Oxford concerning the holy Euchariſt.

This diſputation finiſhed, ſoone after, to wit, upon the twentieth day of the ſame moneth of Aprill, they were brought againe to Saint *Maries*, and being demanded whether they would perſiſt in the ſame opinion, anſwered that they would; and ſo were adjudged as Heretickes, and condemned to be burnt. The ſentence of death they all received with great alacrity and conſtancy of minde. *Latimer* began to be more joyfull than he was wont to be, that the pleaſure of God was ſuch, that his old age, which within a ſhort time muſt needs draw on his diſſolution, ſhould have ſo happy a period as Martyrdome. How theſe reverend Prelates were dealt withall, I reſerve to the next yeares narration, when (God willing) you ſhall heare what more befell them.

Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer condemned.

The meane while that theſe things happen, the great Councell of the kingdome is aſſembled in Parliament, called together the ſecond day of Aprill. At that time the Queenes Majeſty propounded two things to the Houſes: one concerning her marriage, the other, that the Primacy of the

Biſhop

Bishop of Rome might be re-established. This last demand, for as much as the Nobility stood out for a great while, she could not yet obtaine; the former was granted, but upon certaine conditions: namely; *That the King of Spaine should have no power or authority to admit or promote to any place of publike dignity, any stranger, or other that was not borne in England, and the Queenes subject. That he should have alwaies attendants in his family a certaine number of English men, whom he should respectfully handle, and not suffer them to receive any injury or affront by those that were strangers. That he should have no power to carry the Queene out of England, unlesse upon her request; nor to send abroad any children which she should beare him, but they must be brought up in England, for the hope of succession in the Crowne, and not goe out of the kingdome, unlesse urgent necessity, and a lawfull cause so require, and that onely with the consent and allowance of the body of the Commonwealth. If the Queene deceased without issue, the King of Spaine should have no right or possession in the kingdome, but the Queene should leave the Crowne free to those to whom it should fall by right of inheritance. That he should make no innovation in those things which belonged to the publike rights, or private charters and privileges, nor change or abrogate any other immunities and customes of the kingdome whatsoever. He should be bound to confirme and preserve all the ancient lawes of the kingdome. He should not cause or permit to be carried out of England any jewels or rich furniture, nor be suffered to alienate or make away any of the Crowne land, or royall patrimony. He should not unnecessarily embezell, but to his power preserve the shipping, munition, and ordnance. He should be carefull that all the Forts and Castles were diligently kept. Lastly, that this marriage in hand should be no way prejudiciall to the league of amity late contracted betweene the King of France and the Queen, but the peace should remaine inviolably betwixt the French and English. Nevertheless it should be free and lawfull for the King of Spaine to send supplies of Souldiers to the Emperour his father (who was now at variance with the King of France) out of other his kingdomes and dominions.*

Additions to the former Nuptiall compacts.

When as there was now no further impediment to the solemnizing of these Nuptialls (seditions being now quieted, and the representative body of the kingdome in Parliament consenting) *Philip* King of Spaine getting a faire season, and weighing anchor from Juliobrig, a Port in the West part of Spaine, within three dayes sayle with his Spanish Navie arrived at Southampton, upon the nineteenth day of July. His Fleet consisted of fourscore ships of burden, and forty smaller Vessels, besides twenty English ships, and as many Dutch that were in company. When he had rested him at Southampton three or foure dayes, accompanied with a great troupe of Spanish and English Nobles, in a very rainy season, he came to Winchester to the Queene upon the foure and twentieth of July. Saint *James* his day (who is thought the tutelar Saint of Spaine) is appointed for the marriage solemnity, which was kept at Winchester accordingly, with great pompe and glory. At that time *John Figueroa* in the Emperours name yeelded up the kingdome of Naples, and translated all his right therein to his sonne *Philip*. Now straightway Proclamations were published of the titles of both Princes: the same were made in the Latine, French, and English tongue. About the beginning of August the

Philip arriveth in England.

King and Queene went forward to Baſing-Stoke, and from thence to Windſore: where upon the fift day of that moneth the King was inſtalled into the Order of the Knights of Saint *George*, called Knights of the Garter. The eleventh of Auguſt they entred into the City of London, in ſtate moſt ſumptuous and magnificent, and were received by the Citizens there in that coſtly and famous manner, that they ſeemed to have omitted nothing whereby to teſtifie their joyfull acceptance of ſo great gueſts.

The King and Queene come to London.

Upon the eleventh day of November following, both the houſes meet againe in Parliament. In the beginning of their firſt Seſſion newes was brought that Cardinall *Poole* was come into England, who (as former ſtories inſtruct us) was declared an enemy to the State, and proſcribed by King *Henry* the eighth, but made Cardinall beyond the ſeas by Pope *Paul* the third; and Pope likewiſe he had bin if he had been forward to yeeld his owne conſent; and he whom many mentioned to the Queenes marriage, as before we have ſet down. After that he had willingly miſſed the Popedome, requeſting ſome ſmall proviſion from *Julius* the new Pope, he departed into a certaine Monaſtery in the Province of Verona in Italy, called Maguzan, which is inhabited by the Benedictine Monks, of which Order he himſelfe while he lived at Rome was a great Patron, there reſolving in ſilence and ſecrecy to ſpend the remainder of his life; the report which was bruited of King *Edwards* death, and the ſucceſſion of Queene *Mary* reſounding within the walls of the Monaſtery, ſtirred him up from his reſt, and drew him to Rome again. For he knew well enough how addicted Queen *Mary* was to the Popiſh Religion, and therefore hoped (and that not without good cauſe) that the authority Legantine into his owne countrey and Nation ſhould be conferred upon none rather than him, ſeeing the Pope greatly loved him, after that he (through Cardinall *Pooles* delay) had gotten into that chaire. And then he propounded to himſelfe two manner of hopes, to wit, a kingdome either ſecular, or at leaſt Eccleſiaſticall, by his title of Legate and Archbiſhopricke of Canterbury.

Queen *Mary* was brought up for ſome few yeares under the Lady *Margaret* Counteſſe of Salisbury, Cardinall *Pooles* mother (whiles *Poole* was yet a child) of whom we have ſpoken before; for ſuch was the pleaſure of Queene *Katharine* her mother, who (as the report went) was minded if it were poſſible to marry the Lady *Mary* to one of *Margarets* children, that becauſe ſhe was Niece to King *Edward* the fourth by his brother *George* Duke of Clarence, by this match ſhe might make ſure the Crowne to her daughter, in caſe King *Henry* ſhould dye without iſſue male. Whether for this or for what other reaſon ſoever, Cardinall *Poole* knew himſelfe to be right deare to Queene *Mary*, and therefore he ſhould obtaine, if not the kingdome by her wedlock, yet what great matters ſoever lay in her power to procure for him. Neither was he at all deceived in his judgement, for Queene *Mary* had no ſooner gotten to the Crowne, but ſhe courteouſly invited him into England, and withall promiſed him whatſoever ſhe could doe for him: and the Pope moreover was not ignorant that the Cardinall would moſt faithfully promote his affaires in England: wherefore upon the Queenes requeſt hee ſtraightway diſ-

patched

patched him with full power and authoritie Legantine.

But the Emperour, who before had gotten a little intelligence of Cardinall *Pooles* purposes, and had resolved by all meanes to have the marriage accomplished betwixt his Son *Philip* and Queene *Marie*, dealt with Cardinall *Dandinus* the Popes Legat in Germanie, about the concluding of a peace betwixt him and the French King, thereby thinking to slacken Cardinall *Pooles* journey somewhat, that his comming into England might not marre his projects there on foot. Whereupon Cardinall *Dandinus*, to gratifie the Emperour, dispatcheth letters to Cardinall *Poole* by one *Franciscus Commendonus*, wherein hee entreateth him that hee would not set forward on his journey as yet, for as much as the Emperour was a little displeased that that embassage should be taken in hand, he not acquainted with it: besides, certifying him that most of the Englishmen, and the Londoners especially, did hate the very name of the Pope, and all mention of his Legats, for which cause it were not expedient to goe into England with that authoritie Legantine, untill such time as the Englishe were wrought by perswasions to entertaine him. Cardinall *Poole* receiving these letters in the Monastery of Maguzan, thought it not best to proceed further, till hee better understood the Popes pleasure. Now the Pope, who liked not to see the Emperours power increase by a daily accession of new Provinces and Titles, greatly stomacking the matter, that Cardinall *Dandinus* had thus laied a block in *Pooles* way, called him home, and employed Cardinall *Poole* as his Legat both into Germany and England, as also for the transacting of the peace (if any such thing were sincerely intended) betweene the French King and the Emperour. Who readily taking the service upon him, presently set forward on his journey. When hee was come as farre as Trent on his way, hee sent Messengers to the Emperour, and likewise to the French King, certifying them of the Commission he brought from the Pope.

The Emperor perceiving that with these sleights he could no longer stay the Cardinalls journey, left off dissembling and dealt plainely, meaning now to hinder him by force: for which purpose he sent the illustrious *Johannes Mendoza* with letters to him, in which without circumstance hee plainely signified, that he exceedingly feared that his voiage would be greatly prejudiciall to some businesses of his of great moment that were now in handling, and therefore his pleasure was thus much, that he would tarrie in the place where now hee was, untill such time as hee had transacted those matters, according to his entendment, or else abide at Liege, if he thought good to goe so farre. Cardinall *Poole* soone after the receit of these letters returned to Dilling (which is not farre distant from Trent) and certified the Pope of these passages, withall sending backe letters expostulatory to the Emperour, shewing him what a dishonourable act it is, that the Popes Legat, employed about a treaty of peace and religion, should against his will be held in the middest of Germany, in the very sight of Heretickes, to his great disgrace and contempt, and that by the Emperours owne command. At Dilling at that time was the famous Divine *Dominicus à Soto*, Chaplaine and Preacher to the Emperour. The Cardinall laboureth with him to urge the Emperour

The Emperour stayeth Pooles journey into England.

not to hinder his embaſſage any longer, which might not bee delayed without a manifeſt damage to the Chriſtan Religion, and to the Kingdome of England, eſpecially in that regard.

At length, hardly and with much adoe, this requeſt was obtained at the Emperours hands, and that not untill he underſtood that the marriage conditions were concluded between his ſon *Philip* and the Queen of England; then he gave licence to the Cardinall to move as farre as Bruxells, but with this condition, not to depart from thence for England till ſuch time as the marriage ſolemnities were fully ended. Now when hee was come to Bruxells, and had ſaluted the Emperour (who received him with all humanitie and dutifull reſpect) to the end hee might not live idly there, hee ſets upon the other part of his embaſſage, to trie if by any meanes poſſible he could worke an agreement betwixt the Emperour and the French King. And for this purpoſe firſt of all he mentioned it to the Emperour, who ſeemed ſomewhat reaſonable therein, and afterward he repaired to the French King, who ſeemed likewiſe to have a deſire of peace; but nothing could be effected in that matter, for that their minds on all ſides were full of inveterate hatred. Nevertheleſſe the King of France gave him ſome hopes of an agreement, and at his departure moſt lovingly embraced Cardinall *Poole*, profeſſing himſelfe right ſorry that he had no ſooner been acquainted with him, adding moreover, that hee would not have been ſo ready to helpe any other man to the Popedome, if he had before underſtood of thoſe vertues and worth which now he evidently perceived in him. Soone after the Cardinalls returne to Bruxells, came out of England the Lord *Paget*, and the Lord *Haſtings* upon embaſſage to the Emperour, giving him to underſtand that King *Philip* and the Queene had a longing and earneſt deſire to ſee Cardinall *Poole*, and therefore requeſted that with his Majeſties good leave and favour, he might come ſpeedily into England, there to order (by the Popes authoritie) matters Eccleſiaſticall, and to make whole the ſchiſme wherein his Countrymen had for many yeeres continued.

Cardinall Poole ſent for into England.

Hereupon in the month of September the Emperours conſent was fully gained, and all things neceſſary for the journey provided; but they could not get paſſage into England, by reaſon of contrary weather, till November, at which time the windes ſerving, Cardinall *Poole* went on ſhipboord, and arrived at Dover in a little time. Comming to London, he was very honourably received by the King and Queene, and no leſſe in ſhew by the Peeres and Nobles: but whether for love or feare of diſpleaſure they ſeemed joyfull, I am not able to determine. Howſoever, for as much as by Authority of Parliament in the one and thirtieth yeere of the Reigne of King *Henry* the Eight, Cardinall *Poole*, living then beyond the Seas, was declared an enemy to the Common-wealth, and by vertue of that Act lyable to death; that law was repealed and antiquated forthwith by the ſame authority (the Parliament being at this time aſſembled) and withall the Cardinall reſtored to all his ancient priviledges of blood and Nobility. And becauſe according to the manner with us, all lawes enacted, though by the conſent of both houſes in Parliament, are deſtitute of force and authoritie, till the Prince confirme them; both the King and Queene beſides the cuſtome (for they are wont only to be preſent

He comes to London.

He is reſtored to his former dignities.

ſent at the firſt meeting of thoſe aſſemblies, and to come againe when they are to be diſſolved) came in perſon to confirme this action before that the Cardinall was come to London.

A little after his arrivall was a meeting ordered before the King and Queen in her Palace at Weſtminſter, where the Biſhop of Wincheſter Lord Chancellor, in an Oration to the Peeres and Nobles, witneſſed how acceptable the comming of the Cardinall was into England, & with what joy and affection they received him. After which Oration ended, the Cardinall himſelfe in a long and eloquent ſpeech in the Engliſh tongue, gave great thankes to the Nobility of the Kingdome, and the people, that through their great courteſie and favour, after an abrogation of all lawes for his baniſhment and proſcription, he was againe reſtored to his birthright and native Countrey: and therefore he aſſured himſelfe, that it was his duty to ſhew ſome teſtimony of his thankefulneſſe for ſo great a benefit. And now to requite their deſerts towards him, he knew no way better than this; that for as much as they by their former ſchiſme had departed from the See Apoſtolicall, and ſo were become baniſhed perſons from the unitie of the Church and the Kingdome of God, hee would be ready through the Popes authoritie (Chriſts ſupreme Vicar upon earth) committed to him, to reduce them to the fold of the Roman Church, and conſequently ſet open the way to an everlaſting inheritance. Wherefore hee earneſtly beſought them ingenuouſly to confeſſe and acknowledge their by-paſt error, withall heartily deteſting it, and ſo with all ſincere alacritie of hearts and minds, readily receive, and diligently retaine that benefit which God was now ready to beſtow upon them by the ſupreme Head of his viſible Church, who had conveied that authoritie to his Legat, now preſent and ſpeaking to them. For this onely remained now, that he comming, and bringing along with him the keyes wherewithall to open unto them the Gates of Heaven, as they had lately made open a way to him to returne to his Country, by antiquating thoſe Lawes and Acts by which he was excluded, ſo they would likewiſe ſee to the aboliſhing of all thoſe lawes and conſtitutions, lately made againſt the dignity of the See Apoſtolique, which did yet utterly rent and diſ-joyne them from the body of the Church.

Cardinall Pooles Oration to the Parliament.

When he had diſcourſed much to this effect, and, fetching examples from the fartheſt Antiquitie, ſhewed how religiouſly our Anceſtors had given all honour and reſpect to the Roman See, hee ſo overcame the hearts of a great number of his Auditors, that were formerly addicted to the Popiſh cuſtomes, and by the gravity of his countenance, aptneſſe of his ſpeech, and comely geſture and pronunciation, left ſuch a deepe impreſſion in their minds, that they imagined themſelves to bee new borne againe that very day. Nevertheleſſe there wanted not a great ſort of the Commons in that Aſſembly, who thought the Roman yoke happily ſhaken off, and did eagerly contend that it was not in any caſe to be entertained againe. But the King and Queene urging earneſtly, all things were in the end concluded according to Cardinall *Pooles* deſire.

Now what authoritie ſoever the Biſhop of Rome had formerly exerciſed over the Church of England, was reſtored to him againe: The King and Queenes Title of the ſupreme Head of the Church abrogated

The Kingdome abſolved.

utterly, and a petition by the Biſhop of Wincheſter Lord Chancellor preferred to the Legat (the which the Aſſembly of Parliament had drawne before) that the People and Clergie of England might be abſolved from the crime of ſchiſme and and hereſie, whereby as yet they ſtood excluded from the Unitie of the Church. Which petition was granted, and the Legat by the Popes authoritie (all the Parliament falling downe on their knees) gave them abſolution (*conceptis verbis*) in manner and forme following.

The abſolution.

Our Lord JESUS Chriſt, which with his moſt precious blood hath redeemed and waſhed us from all our ſins and iniquities, that he might purchaſe unto himſelfe a glorious Spouſe without ſpot or wrinkle, and whom the Father hath appointed Head over all his Church; He by his mercy abſolve you. And we by the Apoſtolique authoritie given unto us by the moſt holy Lord Pope Julius the third (his Vice-gerent in Earth) doe abſolve and deliver you, and every of you, with the whole Realme and the Dominions thereof, from all hereſie and ſchiſme, and from all and every judgements, cenſures and paines for that cauſe incurred. And alſo wee doe reſtore you againe to the Unity of our mother the holy Church; as in our letters of commiſſion more plainely ſhall appeare.

After this generall abſolution received, the King and the Queen, and all the Lords, with the reſt, went to the Queens Chappell, and there ſang *Te Deum* with great joy and gladneſſe for this new reconciliation. The report hereof with great ſpeed flew to Rome, as well by the French Kings letters, as alſo by the Cardinals. Whereupon the Pope cauſed ſolemne proceſſions to be made in Rome, at one whereof hee himſelfe, and all his Cardinalls were preſent, paſſing with as great ſolemnitie and pompe as might be, and giving thankes to God with great joy for the converſion of England to his Church. At that time alſo he highly commended the diligence of Cardinall *Poole* his Legat, and the devotion of the King and Queen. And on Chriſtmaſſe even next following ſet forth by his Bulls a generall pardon to all ſuch as did rejoyce in the ſame reconciliation.

The Sunday after this Abſolution pronounced, the Biſhop of Wincheſter preached at Pauls Croſſe, and there declared what had paſſed, earneſtly moving the people to give thanks to God for ſo great a benefit, and to rejoyce heartily in the ſame. Then it was thought fit to diſpatch an honourable embaſſage to the Pope, the which the Queen had decreed to ſend to Rome, at what time ſhee was firſt enſtalled in the Kingdome. For, having in her heart a purpoſe to recall Papiſtry, ſhee ſent letters ſecretly to Cardinall *Poole*, and therein certified him what was her will and reſolution in that matter. It ſeemed good therefore to the Pope to ſend into England *Johannes Fr: Commendone* (afterwards Cardinall) to the end hee might underſtand farther the ſtate of things here. Hee, after that hee had ſome ſecret conference with the Queen, received a writing from her, under her own hand, wherein ſhe promiſed all manner of obedience to the See Apoſtolique, and beſought the Pope to reſtore her Kingdome to the ſacred Communion of the Church: for the obtaining whereof ſhe faithfully promiſed to ſend a ſolemn Embaſſage to Rome, as ſoone as the broiles were quieted in the Kingdome.

The Queenes letters to Cardinall Poole.

Now

Now about the end of this yeere, were diſpatched to the Pope with Commiſſion for this purpoſe, the Lord Biſhop of Elie, Doctor *Thirlebie*, Sir *Anthonie Browne* (afterwards Viſcount *Montaigue*) and *Edward Carne* Doctor of the Civill Law, who were to preſent all duty and obedience to the Pope, and the See Apoſtolique, and that in the names of Queene *Marie*, and King *Philip* her husband. But all that labour was loſt. For before they were gotten to Rome the Pope dyed. But of this afterward.

The Queene now ſeeing all things paſſe ſo currently which ſhe propounded, the Parliament being not yet diſſolved, had a purpoſe to try, if poſſible ſhe might work it, to have King *Philip* her Husband crowned, if not with that moſt princely diademe which belonged onely to the Kings of England to weare, yet at leaſt with that other wherewithall Queenes (the Kings Wives) are wont to bee adorned. And for this thing ſhe underſelt ſome of the Peeres; but perceiving that they utterly diſtaſted any ſuch motion, ſhe forbore to mention it any more. Then alſo ſhe endevoured that the goods of the Church might be reſtored. But for as much as the moſt of them were poſſeſſed by the Peeres of the Realme, and all the chiefe Nobilitie for many yeeres together, nothing could be obtained: onely an Act paſſed that the firſt fruits and tenthes of all Eccleſiaſticall perferments granted to the King in the yeere of our Lord one thouſand five hundred thirty foure, ſhould bee remitted to the Clergy. But that alſo was repealed preſently, the Lords of the Councell alledging, that the Treaſury was but poore, and ſo great a ſumme of money was to be paid yeerely to the maintenance of the Monkes, which King *Henry* the Eight had turned out of the Religious houſes, that the Queene could not poſſibly want that kind of revenue as yet.

The Queen deſires to have King Philip Crowned.

About this very time happened an abſurd accident, through the Queens errour firſt, but after encreaſed by the foolery of thoſe about her. The Queene began to be great bellied by reaſon of a diſeaſe which the Phyſitians call *Mola*, or ſome ſuch like, and ſome other ſignes concurring, by which ſhe imagined that ſhe had conceived with child by the King: ſhee (as it ſhould ſeeme) truſting to the skill of the women about her, and not adviſing with the Phyſitians, beleeved verily that ſheee did now breed child, and profeſſed openly that ſhe perceived the infant to move within her womb. For ſuch as are affected with that evill which is called by the name of *Mola* (a rude unformed peece of fleſh) are oftentimes deceived in like manner. Nevertheleſſe it is diſcovered by divers ſymptomes, which skilfull Phyſitians would have quickly diſcerned; and it is for the moſt part incurable, if it be not taken in the beginning, and remedies applied in due time: for in proceſſe of time the liver is refrigerated, and the diſeaſe neglected falls to a deadly dropſie, as learned Phyſitians witneſſe. But all this while, the flatterers about the Queen ſoothing her error, beſides that with their flattery they were the occaſion of her death (which followed this diſeaſe not timely prevented, within few yeeres after) they expoſed the Queene to innumerable reproaches and mockeries amongſt malevolent perſons.

The Queen thought to be with child.

The ſeven and twentieth of November, the Lords of the Councell, and principally the Biſhop of Wincheſter Lord Chancellor, who was moſt

moſt diligent in this buſineſſe, give letters to the Biſhop of London, wherein is commandement expreſſed, that ſeeing it had pleaſed God to deale ſo mercifully with this Kingdome, as to give the Queens Majeſty certaine hope of iſſue to be borne of her body, and had already put life into the infant, he ſhould uſe all diligence to ſee that thankes were given to God (the gracious Author of ſo great a benefit) throughout all the Churches of the Kingdome, and that *Te Deum* were ſung every where: and moreover, that all Prieſts and Eccleſiaſticall perſons, in their Maſſes and divine ſervice, ſhould bee enjoyned to pray that that which was begun for the great good of the Kingdome, and future hopes of the Common-wealth, God would bee pleaſed to accompliſh in his due time to our great hearts rejoycing. For this end ſundry prayers were framed and the printed copies diſperſed throughout the whole Kingdome. Then, by Law enacted in Parliament, many things were ordered for the education of this expected iſſue. Alſo in proviſion of Cradles, and Rockers, and Nurſes, and ſuch like appurtenances to childbearing, the Courtiers loſt a great deale of labour, untill at length, in the month of June the next yeere following, they began late enough to awake out of this dreame.

Divers Lords created.

This preſent yeere many Noble Gentlemen of Knights degree were promoted to higher degree, and were made Barons: Sir *William Howard*, created Lord of Effingham March the eleventh; his ſonne was *Charles* Lord High Admirall of England, late Earle of Nottingham. Then Sir *John Williams* was made Lord of Tame the fift of Aprill; of whom we ſpake before. Sir *Edward North* Lord *Cartelage* Aprill the ſeventh. Sir *John Bridges* Lievtenant of the Tower, was created Lord *Shandois* Aprill the eighth. *Girald*, called likewiſe *Fitz-Girald*, was made Earle of Kildare in Ireland May the fourteenth: and Sir *Anthony Browne* on the ſecond Day of September was declared Lord *Mountague*. About which time (namely in the moneth of September) *Thomas* Duke of Norfolke died, who was empriſoned in the Tower upon the diſpleaſure of King *Henry* the Eighth, and at length delivered by Queen *Marie* at her comming to the Crowne; of whom precedent ſtories make much mention. Upon the two and twentieth of December the Parliament (which began the two and twentieth of November before) was diſſolved; wherein, amongſt other lawes enacted there, the Statute *Ex officio*, and other lawes made for the puniſhment of Hereſies, were revived. But chiefly the Popes moſt liberall Bull of diſpenſation of Abbey Land was there confirmed, much to the contentation of many, who not without cauſe ſuſpected by this new union, to loſe ſome peece of their late purchaſe.

The Earle of Savoy comes into England.

The ſeven and twentieth day of the ſame moneth *Emanuell Philibert* Earle of Savoy, and Prince of Piedmont, came into England, accompanied with divers others Lords and Gentlemen ſtrangers, who were received at Graveſ-end by the Earle of Bedford Lord privie Seale, and conveied by water through London-Bridge to White-Hall, where the King and Queene then lay; and the ninth of January next following, the Prince of Orange arrived at the ſame place. Theſe Princes were royally entertained, and not long after departed out of the Kingdome.

1555 3. Upon the eighteenth of January the Biſhop of Wincheſter Lord Chancellor

Chancellor, joyning to him fix other Lords of the Councell, the Biſhop of Elie, the Lord Treaſurer, the Earle of Shrewesbury, the Comptroller of the Queenes houſe, Secretary *Boutne*, and Sir *Richard Southwell* Maſter of the Ordnance and Armorie, went to the Tower, and there the ſame day diſcharged and ſet at libertie all the priſoners of the Tower, or the greater part of them, namely, the Archbiſhop of Yorke, the late Duke of Northumberlands ſonnes, the Lords *Ambroſe*, *Robert*, and *Henry Dudleyes*, Sir *Andrew Dudley* brother to the Duke of Northumberland, Sir *James Croſts*, Sir *Nicolas Throckmorton*, Sir *John Rogers*, Sir *Nicolas Arnold*, Sir *George Harper*, Sir *Edward Warner*, Sir *William Semlow*, Sir *Gawen Carew*, Sir *Cuthbert Vaughan*, *William Gibbes* Eſquire, *Hatington*, *Tremayne*, and divers others. The Archbiſhop of Yorke, for that hee had taken a wife, was puniſhed with the loſſe of his Biſhopricke, and in his roome ſucceeded *Nicolas Heath*, before time Biſhop of Worceſter, but deprived by King *Edward* the Sixt, and now brought in againe by Queene *Marie* (*John Hooper* being caſt out and condemned to the ſtake, whom King *Edward* had before placed in that See Epiſcopall.) Sir *John Rogers*, and Sir *James Croſts* were afterwards privie Councellers to Queene *Eliſabeth*, and flouriſhed in great Authoritie under her for many yeeres. Sir *Nicolas Throckmorton*, a Gentleman of great underſtanding, was thought to bee the chiefe contriver of *Wiats* conſpiracy, and therefore his head was eſpecially aimed at: But being called in queſtion, and arraigned at Guild-Hall in London, ten whole houres were ſpent in the fifting out of his cauſe; at which time he ſo cunningly eluded all the objections of his adverſaries, that he was acquitted by the Jury of twelve men, who pronounced him not guilty: howbeit they were afterwards ſeverely fined in the Star-Chamber for giving verdict according to their conſciences.

Divers priſoners releaſed.

About the beginning of Aprill the Lord *Courtney* Marqueſſe of Exceter, and ſoone after the Lady *Eliſabeth* the Queenes ſiſter, were ſent for from the places where they were in cuſtody, and brought to the Court: the Marqueſſe was ſoone diſmiſſed, but what to doe with the Lady *Eliſabeth* required further conſultation. The Lord *Courtney* being at liberty from his priſon of Foderingey, got licence to paſſe the Seas, and went into Italy, where ſhortly after hee ſickened, and died within foureteene dayes after his ſickneſſe firſt tooke him, and was honourably interred at Padua. This *Edward Courtney* was the onely ſonne and heire of *Henrie Courtney*, Marqueſſe of Exceter, couſin germane to King *Henry* the Eighth. For the ſaid King and hee were deſcended of two ſiſters, *Eliſabeth* and *Katharine*, daughters to King *Edward* the Fourth, which propinquitie of blood notwithſtanding (or indeed the rather for it) for points of treaſon ſuperficially laid to his charge, he ſuffered at Tower Hill in the thirtieth yeere of the reigne of King *Henrie* the Eighth: After whoſe death this young Nobleman his ſonne, being yet a child, was committed priſoner to the Tower, where hee continued till the beginning of the reigne of Queene *Marie* (as before you have heard) borne (as it ſhould ſeeme) to no other condition but to be a priſoner: for from twelve yeers of age unto thirtie, hee had ſcarce two yeeres liberty, within the which time he died, & obtained quiet, which in his life time he could never have.

The Lady Eliſabeth and the Marqueſſe of Exceter ſet at liberty.

Thus

Thus (as I ſaid) was hee releaſed; but the Lady *Eliſabeth* (in the ſecret diſpenſation of the Almighty) was to ſuffer further trouble, which in the end was recompenſed with far greater glory and renowne. When ſhe was come to Court (for ſhe was now ſent for from Woodſtock) great and long conſultations paſſed what was beſt to be done with her; and for thoſe of the Popiſh faction, they made no other account but to rid her out of this life with all ſpeed, if they could but find the leaſt pretence or occaſion againſt her. The common report went in thoſe daies, that the Biſhop of Winchester would often ſay, as often as ſpeech was occaſioned concerning the puniſhing of Heretickes, Wee ſhake the leaves (ſaith he) ever and anon, and wee cut off the boughes, but that which is the root and hope of all the Heretickes (intimating thereby the Lady *Eliſabeth*) muſt be cut away, or elſe we doe nothing all this while. But after that the moſt diligent and narrow enquiry was made, and no probable matter of accuſation could be found againſt her (for, which was the principall matter, *Wiat* at his death with ſolemn proteſtation had cleared her from all manner of combination or conſent to his rebellion) although there wanted not ſome who ſaid that her liberty would bee very dangerous to the Queene, yet King *Philip*, to gaine an opinion of clemency, made interceſſion to the Queene on her behalfe, and at his requeſt ſhe was enlarged. Hereupon about the end of Aprill ſhe was diſmiſſed from priſon, yet ſo as ſhe might be ſtill in cuſtody; for ſhe was to have continually with her in her family Sir *Thomas Pope* a privie Councellour, and one *Gage*, and certaine others, that were to bee ſpies unto her, obſerving all her actions and enterprizes.

The Biſhop of Winchelters hatred toward the Lady Eliſabeth.

This little ſpark of mercifulneſſe was fully recompenſed with a mighty flame of cruelty this preſent yeere: for now were a great number of religious and godly perſons condemned to be burned, for no other crime ſave onely the defence of true religion. One *John Rogers* was the firſt Martyr of theſe times; hee was burned at London in Weſt-Smithfield the fourth day of February. This *Rogers* was the companion of *Tindall* who firſt tranſlated the holy Bible into the Engliſh mother tongue, and having loſt in Germany his ſweet aſſociate and familiar, he would not returne into his Country for feare of perſecution, but travelled to Wittenberg with his wife which he had newly married: where, after that hee had gained ſome reaſonable skill in the High-Dutch language, he tooke upon him a Cure of ſoules, which he faithfully adminiſtred, till that in King *Edwards* reigne hee was called home from baniſhment: when hee was returned into England, *Ridley* then Biſhop of London beſtowed upon him a Prebend belonging to the Church of S. *Paul*, and made him the ordinary Lecturer or Preacher of Divinitie there. So ſoone as Queen *Marie* came to the Crowne, they of the Popiſh faction, perceiving him to be a man of an hot and eager ſpirit, thought ſo to terrefie him with their threatnings and great words, as to cauſe him to goe into voluntary baniſhment; and therefore charged him not to ſet a foot out of the doores of his owne houſe, and ſo let him alone for almoſt a full yeere, till at length he, neglecting or rather wilfully refuſing to lay hold upon the occaſion offered him, and to ſave himſelfe by flight, was caſt into priſon, and in the end ſentence of death was paſſed upon him, which was, that hee

John Rogers condemned.

muſt

must die at the stake; which punishment he underwent with great constancy and undaunted nesse of spirit, leaving behind him a wife and ten children.

Bishop Hooper burned at Glocester.

With the same kind of death, *John Hooper* ended his dayes upon the ninth of February. This *Hooper* was first of all by King *Edward* made Bishop of Glocester, and afterward of Worcester, at which time being in request with the Lord Protector the Duke of Somerset, he earnestly laboured the displacing of *Bonner* from the Bishopricke of London; which very matter did now (in all likelihood) turn to his own destruction: for presently upon Queen *Maries* comming to the Crowne, he was sent for up to London, cast into the Tower, and at the last adjudged to die as an Hereticke. During the time of King *Henries* reigne, hee spent much time in Germanie, where hee tooke to wife a certaine Burgundian woman, and amongst sundry other godly and learned men, fell into the acquaintance chiefly of *Henrie Bullinger*, of whom he was dearely beloved for his indifferent learning, holy life, and sweetnesse of conversation. When he was condemned to die, they thought good to send him to Glocester, that he might there suffer punishment where he had done greatest mischiefe, having in those parts sowne the seeds (as they said) of his heresie. Hee did not a little rejoyce herein, that he should have occasion offered to confirme the truth of his doctrine, with the testimony of his blood; and that in that place, and before their eyes, in whose eares it had (in his sermons) often resounded.

And Bishop Ferrar at Carmarthen.

In like manner was *Robert Ferrar* dealt withall, the Bishop of S. *Davids* in Wales, who was brought from London to his owne Diocesse, there to have his examination and triall before Doctor *Morgan* the new Bishop, by whom hee was condemned and burnt in the Market place of the Towne of Carmarthen. Hee was a man of a rigid disposition, and somewhat rough manners, which very thing caused him much trouble in King *Edwards* dayes, and at this time (in all probability) was the greatest occasion of his ruine. For being advanced to this dignity by the Duke of Somerset, after that he was once taken away, the Bishop (a good and a learned man, but of a harsh carriage and somewhat inclining more to arrogancy and pride) provoked adversaries that became his accusers. Two of these were afterward made Bishops under Queen *Elisabeth*, who easily obtained at the hands of the faction that opposed the Duke of Somerset, before beheaded, to have *Ferrar* cast in prison; where he was found at Queen *Maries* comming in: and being brought before the Bishop of Winchester, with mild answers, and respectfull carriage (I suppose) he might have easily escaped his bloody hands, as many had done which did not intermedle with the Lady *Janes* affaires, nor notoriously provoke the rest of the Popish faction, but either went into voluntary exile, none offering to lay hands on them; or being apprehended, through the intercession of friends were without great difficulty released. But Bishop *Ferrar*, by reason of his inbred harshnesse, answered boldly and waywardly enough to the demands propounded to him, and so exasperated the Bishop of Winchester, that it is no marvell hee sped no better.

Besides these, *Rowland Taylour* Doctor of Divinity was burned at Hadley

Hadley the ninth of February; *Lawrence Saunders* a famous preacher, at Coventry the eight of February; *John Cardmaker* Chancellour of the Church of Wells, at London May the one and thirtieth, and at London also *John Bradford*, a man eminent both for learning and sanctitie of life, on the first day of July. And not to reckon up every one in particular, a great number of both sexes were burnt this yeere in London, for the constant profession of that Religion whereof they were in heart perswaded: the greatest part of which *Bonners* butchery consumed.

Bishop Ridley and Latimer burnt in Oxford.

But amongst the rest, *Ridley* and *Latimer* are in no case to bee passed over with silence, who were condemned the yeere last past, and now brought forth to their punishment; and at Oxford, before the eyes of all the Universitie, were bound to a stake, and burnt in the towne ditch, which is over against Baliol Colledge. *Cranmer* (they said) at the same time from the top of the house where hee was held prisoner, beheld this dolefull spectacle, and falling on his knees lifted up his hands and eyes to heaven, praying God to give unto these his brethren and fellowes, faith and hope, constancy and patience, in those bitter torments which they now endured, and hee himselfe expected ere long to suffer.

Cranmers death deferred.

The Bishop of Winchester would not dine that day till the newes was brought him of this execution, which was after three of the clocke in the afternoone. Archbishop *Cranmers* punishment was decreed, but for a time deferred by meanes of the Chancellour Winchester, not led with pity, or inclinable to shew mercy, but for that it was convenient so to be ordered, for the furthering of some ambitious ends of his own. The foure and twentieth day of March died Pope *Julius* the third, whom succeeded in the Popedome a French man called *Caraffa*, Cardinall *Theatine*, and tooke unto him the name of *Paul* the fourth; of the contention betwixt him and Cardinall *Poole* we spake before at large. The Bishop of Winchester, who was well acquainted with those differences, deale with the new Pope by secret messages, to get a Cardinalls Hat, and to have the authority Legantine taken from *Poole* and conferred upon himselfe. To which petition of Winchester the Pope, who bore inveterate hatred against Cardinall *Poole*, easily gave eare, having a purpose likewise to call home *Pole*, and having gotten him to Rome, to lay heresie to his charge, and deale with him in like manner as afterward he did with Cardinall *Morton* a great friend of Cardinall *Pooles*. By this meanes *Gardiner* had good hopes to gaine the Archbishopricke of Canterbury, which the Cardinall as yet held onely by sequestration: for during *Cranmers* life (such was his grave disposition) he would in no case be consecrated, nor enter otherwise upon it. Now this was thought to be Winchesters subtilty to keepe *Cranmer* alive, that so he might in the end get the Archbishoprick to himselfe. But while he wholly labours to bring this to passe, he falleth into a passion of the gout, which tooke him in the

The Bishop of Winchester dieth.

feet first, but after got higher to his thighes, and in the end to his hip bone, and so he finished his life upon the twelfth day of November, and in great pompe was buried at his owne Church of Winchester.

I am not ignorant what inferences some have made from the manner of the death, whom they held to be a monster of men during his life. But I thinke it best to leave him to his owne master. Certaine it is hee

was

was a man of great learning, and wiſdome anſwerable, and (for ought I can find in ſtories) unblameable of life and converſation, onely infamous for that hee was a zealous perſecutor of that which he counted hereſie.

The funerall rites of Pope *Julius* the third, who died the foure and twentieth of March (as before we noted) were ſolemnized in London, through the carefull procurement of the Clergie, upon wedneſday in Eaſter weeke, Herſes being ſet up and Dirges ſung in divers places. Pope Julius the third his funerals ſolemnized in London.

This yeere King *Philip* went over ſea, and landed at Callice the fourth of September, where he was honourably received, and departed on the morrow to Bruxells in Brabant to viſit the Emperour his father; where *Charles* the fift Emperour of Germany had called an aſſembly, and upon the five and twentieth of October reſigned to his ſonne *Philip* King of Spaine all his Kingdomes and Dominions, whom he had before that time declared King of Naples and Sicilie.

In the beginning of this yeere, a young ſtripling whoſe name was *William Fetherſton*, a Millers ſonne about the age of eighteen yeeres, named and bruited himſelfe to be King *Edward* the ſixth: and ſo ſoone as the newes hereof was brought to the Court, and the Queene and Councell underſtood it, ſtrict charge was given that he ſhould be diligently ſought out and apprehended, and upon his examination before the Councell at Hampton Court, making uncertaine and untrue anſwers, was ſent to the Marſhalſeies; from whence he was taken upon the eight and twentieth of May following, and carried in a cart to Weſtminſter, with a paper in his hat, wherein was contained the matter of his accuſation; and after he had beene led about Weſtminſter Hall, and ſhewed in ſuch manner to all there preſent, he was then ſtript and tied to the carts taile, and whipt all the way to Smithfield, and then baniſhed into the North country, the place of his nativity, where hee had been ſome time lackey to one Sir *William Mewtas*. But he appeared againe the yeere following, as then you ſhall heare. A counterfeit Edward.

Here I thinke not good to forget a miraculous thing almoſt, which happened in Suffolke in the moneth of Auguſt at a place by the ſea ſide, all of hard ſtone and pibble, which in thoſe parts they call a Shelſe, lying betweene the townes of Orford and Alborough, where never grew graſſe nor any earth was ever ſeene, yet there chanced in this barren place ſuddenly to ſpring up, without any tillage or ſowing, great abundance of peaſon, whereof the poore gathered (as men judged) above an hundred quarters. To this place rode the Biſhop of Norwich, and the Lord *Willoughby* with others in great number, who found nothing but hard rockie ſtone for the ſpace of three yards under the rootes of thoſe peaſon, which roots were great and long, and ſweet in taſte to the mouth of the eater.

In the beginning of the moneth of June about Whitſontide, the time was thought to bee nigh for the Queenes delivery, and a certain vaine rumour was blowne about of her proſperous travaile, and the birth of a young Prince, inſomuch that the bels were rung, bone fiers kindled, and proceſſions made, not onely in London, and moſt other parts of the Realme, but alſo in Antwerpe (whither this fame was ſpred) guns were

ſhot off upon the river by the Engliſh ſhips, and the Mariners were rewarded with an hundred piſtolets or Italian Crownes by the Lady Regent, who was the Queen of Hungary. Such great rejoycing and triumph was for the Queenes delivery: and (as ſome have committed to writing) divers Preachers, eſpecially one, the Parſon of S. *Annes* within Alderſgate in London, tooke upon him to deſcribe the proportion of the child, how faire, how beautifull, and great a Prince it was, as the like had not beene ſeene. What ſhould give occaſion to this ſecond error (worſe than the firſt) I cannot find, but certaine it is that Queen *Marie* (notwithſtanding this great adoe) died childleſſe.

1556 3. The Archbiſhop of Yorke made Lord Chancellor.

The firſt day of January in the yeere following, Doctor *Heath* Archbiſhop of Yorke was made Lord Chancellor of England, and the great Seale delivered to him for a New-yeeres gift. In the moneth of March a Comet or blazing ſtarre ſhined twelve whole dayes together, namely, from the fift of March to the ſeventeenth of the ſame month: it was ſeene in the twentieth degree of the ſigne *Libra*.

Upon the thirteenth of the ſame moneth was ſeene againe another blazing ſtarre, I meane our counterfeit young Prince the Millers ſon, who fained himſelfe to be King *Edward* the ſixth, and indeed for ſtature of body and countenance, not thought to be much unlike him while he lived: his age alſo was agreeable. This youth was whipt about the City the yeer before, & ſent away (as you have heard;) now about this time returning to London, and following his old impoſture, hee gave out that hee was King *Edward*, and by libells and papers ſpred a fame abroad that *Edward* the ſixth was yet alive; for which cauſe hee was againe apprehended as a Traitor, and worthily drawn, hanged and quartered the day above mentioned.

Cranmer brought forth to examination.

Now in the next place commeth to bee declared the martyrdome of *Thomas Cranmer* Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and his memorable end, *Gardiner* Biſhop of Wincheſter deceaſed, Cardinall *Poole*, who was the Popes Legat as yet, ſent down as Commiſſioner from the Pope to Oxford (for without the Popes authority they no wayes thinke it lawfull to puniſh an Archbiſhop) *James Brooks* Biſhop of Gloceſter, there to ſit upon the examination of the ſaid *Thomas Cranmer*, in ſuch things as ſhould be laid to his charge. At the ſame time went along *John Storey* and *Thomas Martin* Doctors in the Civill Lawes, in eſpeciall Commiſſion from the Queen, that with her Soveraigne authority, they might be aſſiſtant to the Biſhop of Gloceſter, who was at this time the Popes Delegate. A skaffold was ſet up in Saint *Maries* Church, where all theſe Commiſſioners ſat aloft, to wit, Doctor *Brookes* neere the place where (according to the Popiſh manner) the Hoſt hung in a pixe, and on either ſide of him ſat the Doctors *Martin* and *Storey*, but a degree lower.

Cranmer was now brought forth, not in his Pontificall array, but in the habit of a Doctor of Divinity, and ſet before them. At his comming being admoniſhed, that there were preſent not onely Doctor *Martin* and Doctor *Storey*, which repreſented the Queenes Highneſſe, but alſo the Legat of the moſt holy father the Pope, namely, the Biſhop of Gloceſter, hee with bare head and bended knee made low obeiſance to the two Doctors, but would not ſo much as once looke towards *Brookes*,

not

not contemning the perſon of the man (as he preſently profeſſed) for he had formerly loved him very well, but becauſe he would not ſeeme to regard the Popes authoritie (in England eſpecially, where hee denyed that he had any priviledge) according to the oath which he had before time taken in the time of King *Henry* the eight his reign. At that time in many words they ſeverally exhorted him to returne to the unity of the Catholique Church; but he refuſed to be obedient to their admonition: whereupon they charge him to appeare before the Biſhop of Rome within foure ſcore dayes, to which injunction he acknowledged himſelfe ready to conſent and yeeld obedience, if he underſtood that ſuch was the Queens pleaſure; otherwiſe he refuſed. But the Pope, not waiting for his comming, ſent letters to the Queene within twenty dayes, wherein hee commanded to condemne him, and deliver him over to the ſecular power. Then after a few dayes ſpace, a new kind of authoritie was by the Pope committed to *Thirleby* Biſhop of Elie, and *Bonner* Biſhop of London, to deprive *Cranmer* of the order of Prieſthood, and Archbiſhop, and to deliver him over to the Lay Magiſtrate to be burned: the which was performed upon the foureteenth day of February.

Cranmer contemneth the Popes authority.

So long as theſe holy men lived together, *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*, they ever and anon mutually exhorted one another by letters to perſevere conſtantly for the truth of the Chriſtian Religion, and to continue in the defence of the ſame to the very death. But the other two being now taken away, and theſe exhortations ceaſing, the conſtancy of this good man was not a little blemiſhed through the ſubtilty and daily perſwaſions of a certaine Spaniſh Frier called Frier *John*, a Reader of Divinity in Oxford; ſo that now *Cranmer* beginning to be touched with a deſire of longer life, upon hope of pardon propounded, he was won to ſubſcribe a certaine writing, which contained the mention of his reconcilement to the Church of Rome, and his agreement to ſundry other points of the Popiſh religion: in this faſhion he ſeemingly went on for a ſeaſon, and his ſubſcription was ſoone publiſhed in print. But this his retractation availed him nothing for the maine thing, namely, his life, which he was ſomething deſirous ſhould bee prolonged. For whether that Cardinall *Poole* would bee no longer held from his Archbiſhoprick (as ſome write, but are not to be beleeved, for we ſhewed before that his moderation was ſuch, that he could not bee perſwaded to enter upon it during *Cranmers* life, which needed not have been any hinderance to him) or for the capitall hatred which the Queene had borne him for a long time, remembring her Mothers divorce (as others more probably conjecture) his blood muſt certainely pay for it. Wherefore when as he was brought into certaine hope of life, loe on a ſudden hee is ſnatched away to ſuffer death, and cruelly burned in the ſame place where his two brethren *Ridley* and *Latimer*, about five months before, received the wreath of Martyrdome.

Cranmer reconciled to the Church of Rome.

The day which was concluded on ſhould be his laſt in this world, one Doctor *Cole* (by the Cardinalls appointment) preached at Saint *Maries* in Oxford, at which time *Cranmer* was brought forth, and placed right over againſt the Pulpit, & the Preacher with many words exhorted him conſtantly to continue in that faith the Confeſſion whereof he had lately

publiſhed, yea even to the very death, which hee told him now was very neere at hand. For ſo it ſeemed good to the Magiſtrate that he ſhould die that very day, according to ſentence formerly paſſed upon him. Neither was it poſſible to appeaſe the angry and diſpleaſed Deity otherwiſe than by his blood, which was exceedingly offended for the ſlaughter of *More* and *Fiſher* beheaded in King *Henry* the eighths time. Now hee ſhould performe a worke moſt acceptable in the ſight of God and men, if by open confeſſion he would witneſſe his ſincere and unfained converſion to the unitie of the Catholique Church. I doe not wonder if *Cranmer* were aſtoniſhed with ſuch and ſo unexpected a meſſage as this: nevertheleſſe hee roſe up inſtantly, and not ſhewing any token of feare or trouble, as greatly deceived the expectation of his adverſaries by the confeſſion of his faith, as they had formerly deluded him by giving him hope of life. Therefore addreſſing himſelfe to the people preſent, by a large oration, after that in the firſt place hee had exhorted them in many words to amend their lives, and ſhew forth fruits worthy of Chriſtianity; hee then repeated the chiefe Articles of Religion, explained his owne opinion, and profeſſed that the kingdome of Antichriſt was contained in the Papacy, and upheld with the Popes authority: and laſtly hee ſhewed how greatly he had offended his God by a deniall of his truth. Whereupon hee proteſted that hee was reſolved his right hand ſhould firſt feele the puniſhment, which had wickedly ſubſcribed to the propoſitions exhibited to him by the adverſaries of Gods truth. Whiles hee went on in ſuch like diſcourſe, the clamour and railings of the Popiſh party interrupted him, (whoſe hopes hee had fairely deluded) and he was violently hurried away to his puniſhment that very inſtant. There might one ſee a moſt lamentable ſpectacle, which might wring teares from a very flint; the high Prelate of all the Kingdome, who erewhile was in great authority, powerfull with the Prince, and favoured by the people, a man of moſt holy converſation, and thrice venerable for his old age, comelineſſe of body, learning, gravity, and moſt excellent endowments of minde, clad in a ruſty old garment by the procurement of his adverſaries, to expoſe him to ſcorne and deriſion, and laden with reproaches and bitter ſcoffes, dragged to the place of execution, there to endure all the paines which tormenting flames could put him to. When hee was tyed to the ſtake, ſo ſoone as the fire was firſt lighted, hee reached forth his right hand, and held it to the flame, never drawing it backe, but that he ſeemed once to wipe his beard with it, till it were conſumed to the very ſtump: at laſt the flames beginning to rage, hee lifted up his eyes unto heaven, and his left hand withall (for his right was quite burnt already) and with a loud voyce cryed out, ſaying, *O Lord receive my ſpirit*, his body the meane while enduring the violence of the fire, and moving nothing more than the ſtake to which hee was bound; till in the end reſting ſweetly in the Lord, hee breathed forth his innocent ſoule. After that his carcaſſe was wholly conſumed into aſhes, his heart was found whole and never hurt by the fire. Which thing if the Papiſts his adverſaries ſhould have ſeene in any of their owne aſſociates, it would have beene enough for his Canonization, and he ſhould have had one roome in the Kalender, as full as it is already. Give mee leave now for the recreation of the learned

Archbiſhop Cranmer burned.

learned Reader, and for the honour of this renowned Prelate (contrary to the usuall manner of those which write Histories) here to insert the verses which are said to be written by Master *Ralph Skinner* of his Martyrdome:

Succubuit sanctus Præsul Cranmerus, *iniquâ*
Pontificum rabie, fraude dolóque perit.
Quòd Verbi invicto dejecerat ense Papatum,
Quòd docuit purâ quærere mente Deum;
Quódque Antichristi subverterat impia regna,
Regna pius Anglis heu tolerata diu;
Hinc pius & clemens crudeli addicitur igni,
Datur & innocui membra cremanda viri.
Huc ubi jam ventum est, Dextram projecit in ignem,
Projectámque tenens, talia dicta dedit:
Primùm peccâsti, primùm & sentire dolorem
Debes, ah Christo dextra inimica meo.
Immotamque tenet dum deflagraverat omnis,
In cineres totam dum cecidisse videt.
Cætera cùm pereant flammâ (mirabile dictu)
Cor manet illæsum post ubi flamma perit.
Ecce, invicta fides cor inviolabile servat,
Nec mediis flammis corda perire sinit.

Which Verses, for the benefit and delight of the English reader, are better thus Englished than not at all.

The holy Prelate *Cranmer* highe, to death at length doth hie,
Through wicked rage of Papists fierce, and their close villanie:
For that he cut down Popery with dint of Scriptures sword,
And rightly taught to worship God according to his word.
For casting down the godlesse rule of Antichristian arme,
Which we too long in England felt had wrought us mickle harme.
For this the pious man must die by cruell scorching fire,
And all his harmelesse limmes be burnt to satisfie their ire.
Now at the stake his deare right hand he put into the flame,
And stoutly held it there; at last this speech he gan to frame:
Thou first hast faulted, therefore first shalt surely feele the smart,
Thou right hand enemy to Christ, which grieves me to the heart.
He never stirr'd his hand untill it were consumed all,
Himselfe beheld how that it fell even into ashes small.
When as the flame had all devour'd (a miracle to tell)
His heart was taken up untouch'd in spite of fire so fell.
Lo how unvanquish'd faith forbids that ought the heart doe spill,
'Tis kept in mid'st of fiery flames inviolable still.

Thus have wee briefly set downe the memorable death of this famous Prelate, to whom God himselfe, by a miracle, gave testimony, that in his heart there could be found no guile; As was his death such had been his life,

life, noted to be a man of that ſingular meekneſſe and patience in injuries, alwaies requiting evill with good, that it was growne to a proverb: *If any man will have my Lord of Canterbury to be his friend, let him be ſure to doe him a ſhrewd turne.* Whoſe praiſe deſerved to bee more largely deſcribed, but that it is elſewhere performed; therefore I will not, and his memory ſo freſh and ſweet with all true hearted Proteſtants, that I need not ſay any more.

Beſides *Cranmer*, the inhumane crueltie of the Popiſh faction conſumed by flames of fire many more profeſſours of the ſame religion with him this ſame yeere. There are numbred foureſcore and foure men and women in England who received at the ſtake the crown of Martyrdome, within the compaſſe of this one yeer. Neither was their rage bounded in the perſecution of the living onely, but to the dead alſo it extended. The dead carkaſſes of *Martin Bucer* & *Paulus Phagius*, long agoe buried, were digged up out of the ground, openly accuſed of hereſie, and with great preparation were publikly burnt in Cambridge upon the Market hill. Alſo the wife of *Peter Martyr*, which died at Oxford, was taken up, and with barbarous and unheard of cruelty buried in a dunghill: Afterwards when Queene *Eliſabeth* reigned, *Bucer* and *Phagius* with great ſolemnitie were reſtored to their former dignities, and their aſhes honourably interred, and the bones of *Peter Martyrs* wife taken from that uncleane place where they had beene buried, and tranſlated into the Church againe, and mingled with the reliques of Saint *Frideſwide* (a ſhee Saint which the Papiſts adore) that ſo in time to come there might be no more poſſibility of committing the like outrage againe.

The dead bodies of Bucer and Phagius digged up and burnt.

The very ſame day that *Cranmer* finiſhed his life in manner before declared, Cardinall *Poole* at Greenwich tooke upon him the Order of Prieſthood, to wit, the one and twentieth of March, and the day following, *Naboth* being now dead, entred into his Vineyard, and was conſecrated Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Cardinall Poole Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Three dayes after, which was the feaſt of the Annunciation of the bleſſed Virgin, hee went to the Church of the Arches in London, accompanied with a great number of the Peeres and Nobles, where with great ſolemnitie he was inveſted with the Pontificall Ornaments, and inſtalled into his Archiepiſcopall authoritie.

About this time was a new and notable conſpiracy brought to light, certaine men having combined to rob the treaſury of the Queens Exchequer, wherein was then a great deale of Spaniſh mony, to the ſumme of an hundred and five and twenty thouſand Crownes (which of Engliſh mony made fifty thouſand pounds ſterlin.) The names of the Conſpirators, were *Henry Peckham*, *Daniel*, *Dethick*, *Udall*, *Throckmorton*, Captaine *Stanton*, and (beſides many others that eſcaped by flight into France) one *white*, who was privie to their enterpriſe, and revealed it to the Magiſtrate. The eight and twentieth of Aprill, *Throckmorton* and one *Richard Veale* were drawn to Tyburne, and there hanged and quartered. The nineteenth of May *Stanton* was likewiſe executed. The eighth of June, *Roſſey*, *Redike* and *Bedell* ſuffered at Tyburne for the ſame offence. Sir *Anthony Kingſtone* Knight was accuſed of the ſame fact, and apprehended as acceſſary thereunto, but died in the way comming to London.

London. This is all that I can certainly ſet downe of this conſpiracy; howbeit ſome doe not ſtick to write that with this money the conſpirators had a purpoſe to raiſe a warre in the Realme againſt the Queen; but I cannot affirme it, it being a matter altogether uncertaine.

The eighth of July following, *Henry Peckham* and *John Daniell* were executed for this attempt, and after they were dead were beheaded on the Tower hill. The eighteenth of June a younger ſon to the Lord *Sands* was executed at S. *Thomas Waterings* for a robbery committed by him and others, to the valew of three thouſand pounds.

In the moneth of July this yeere, new tumults and ſeditions began to be raiſed in Norfolke, but were timely prevented, the chiefe heads thereof being diſcovered, apprehended and executed; they were one *Clober*, who ſometimes kept a Schoole at Dis in Norfolke, and three brethren called by the name of *Lincolne*.

This yeere the hot burning fevers and other ſtrange diſeaſes, which began the yeere before, conſumed much people in all parts of England, ſo that between the twentieth of October and the laſt of December, there died ſeven grave Aldermen in the City of London, amongſt whom were Sir *Henrie Hoblethorn*, whom King *Edward* the ſixth Knighted in the Tower at his firſt comming to the Crowne, and Sir *John Greſham*, a Knight of mercifull nature, & well devoted to God and his Country. He founded a free Schoole at Holt a Market towne in Norfolke, and expended much money to ſundry other pious uſes. November the one and twentieth, *John Fecknam*, late Deane of *Pauls*, was created and inſtalled Abbat of Weſtminſter, which King *Henry* the eighth had formerly made an Epiſcopall See, and then was Doctor *Weſton* Deane there, who was hardly perſwaded to reſigne his place into the Queenes hands, that had a great deſire to recall the Religion of Monkes, but at length hee yeelded, being requited with the Deanrie of Windſor: At that time there were found to the number of fourteene, that tooke upon them the Religious habit, and were made Monkes of the Order of Saint *Benedict*.

Hot burning fevers.

About the beginning of the next yeere, came into England an Embaſſadour from *Baſilius* the Emperour of Moſcovia and Ruſſia: hee was a great Prince in his owne Country, called *Oſep Napea*: his journey was to treat of a league of friendſhip betweene his Prince, and the King and Queene of England. Hee was driven by tempeſt and ſhipwracke upon the Coaſt of Scotland, at which time hee loſt his ſhip, and many commodities of ineſtimable value which hee had brought from the Emperour, to be delivered to our Princes, as pledges of his Lords love and amitie; but the loſſe of all theſe precious commodities, was vile and not worth the naming, in compariſon of the loſſe of Captaine *Richard Chancellour*, who came along as Conduct to the Embaſſador: he was a moſt skilfull Pilot, having long before found out the way by Sea to thoſe Northern Countryes, and now while he is over diligent to help the Embaſſadour, neglected his own ſafetie, and ſo periſhed in the waves; a man worthy of immortall memorie. This Embaſſadour was received in England with ſuch pompe and ſtately magnificence, as (I thinke) never any with greater.

1557 4. An Embaſſadour from Muſcovia.

He

He was met at Tottenham by the Merchants of London having trade in thoſe Countries, riding in Velvet Coats and Chaines of Gold, who bare all his charges from the time of his entrance into England out of Scotland. At Iſlington the Queenes Penſioners met him conducted by the Lord *Mountacute*, and at Smithfield barres the Lord Maior and Aldermen received him in ſcarlet, and conveied him to his Lodging in Fan-church-ſtreet. The five and twentieth of March he was brought into the King and Queenes preſence (King *Philip* being returned from Flanders but ſeven dayes before) when hee expounded the cauſes of his comming, and continued in London for the ſpace of two moneths, from whence (having gotten a faire ſeaſon) hee departed on Ship-bord May the third, receiving very great rewards from the King and Queene.

On the ſixth day of March *Charles* Lord *Sturton*, for that he had moſt cruelly murdered one *Hargill* and his ſonne, Gentlemen, with whom hee had beene a long time at variance, was hanged at Salisbury, for a wholſome example to poſterity, together with foure of his ſervants, who had beene not onely acceſſaries but helpers in committing this wicked fact. The manner of this murder was thus briefly: firſt he knocked the poore Gentlemen on the head with clubs, and afterward cut their throats, and buried their bodies in a pit of fifteene foot deepe, hoping that his villanie would never come to light, or if it did, hee aſſured himſelfe that the Queene would pardon him, becauſe he had alwayes ſhewed himſelfe very forward in the Popiſh Religion. But God would not have ſo hainous a wickedneſſe concealed, and the Queene (ſave that in the matter of Religion ſhee was miſ-led) an hearty lover of juſtice, abhorred and rejected all mention of pardon. Thus a Gentleman of prime authoritie, and not of the loweſt degree among the Nobles, ſuffered due puniſhment as a Malefactor; onely in this preferred before other murderers, that hee was not hanged in a hempen, but in a ſilken halter.

Lord Surton executed.

The foure and twentieth of Aprill, one *Thomas Stafford* ſecond ſonne to the Lord *Stafford*, came by ſhipping into the Northerne part of the Kingdome, and being aſſiſted with a ſmall company of ſtrangers and other baniſhed perſons, ſurpriſed Scarborough Caſtle on the ſudden, which was at that time unfortified, by reaſon that it was a time of peace; and then made proclamations throughout all the Country, wherein hee affirmed that Queene *Marie* held the Crowne unlawfully, and had betrayed the Kingdome to the Spaniards, and therefore perſwaded the people to take up armes with him againſt the Queen. But by the meanes and diligence of *Nicolas Wotten* Doctor in Divinitie and Deane of Canterbury, who at that time lived in Paris as Embaſſador Legier from England to the French King, all his counſells were diſcovered to the Queen and Councell, before his arrivall in England. Whereupon through the induſtry of the Earle of Weſtmerland, hee was taken within five dayes after his comming, and brought to London, and there beheaded the eight and twentieth day of May. And three daies after three of his aſſociates (*Streghly*, *Proctour*, and *Bradford*) were executed at Tyburn, according to the uſuall manner of Traitors with us.

Scarborow Caſtle ſurpriſed and taken.

The ſeventh day of June the Queene cauſed open proclamation to be made, wherein ſhee declared many juſt cauſes of complaint againſt the

King

King of France for injuries which ſhee had ſuffered at his hands, which were, That he had been privie to all the ſeditious enterpriſes of the Duke of Northumberland, as alſo *Wiat*; that *Dudley* and *Aſhton*, which contrived their treaſon in his Embaſſadours houſe, he afterward received, and did ſtill protect them; and finally, that he had lately furniſhed *Stafford* with ſhipping, men and mony, and all warlike proviſion, to the end (if poſſibly he could) to caſt her out of her Throne: wherefore ſhee gave all her loving ſubjects to underſtand what was her highneſſe pleaſure herein, which was, that they ſhould not trafficke into France, nor bring any merchandiſe from thence into England, but hold the French King as an enemy to their Country, againſt whom ſhee had reſolved to proclaime a warre with all the ſpeed that could be. Albeit theſe things were ſo as is declared, yet was it not thought good as yet to denounce a warre; but for as much as there had beene a truce for five yeeres concluded between King *Philip* of Spaine and the French King, and by the Popes meanes this truce violated on the King of France his part, and ſo warre already raiſed betwixt them, the Queene thought it not good to ſever her owne cauſe from her husbands, but at once to aſſiſt him, and revenge her owne wrongs. For Pope *Paul* the fourth, having borne an ancient grudge againſt the Emperour, ſo ſoone as he underſtood that he had delivered up all his Kingdomes and Dominions to King *Philip* his ſonne, and was himſelfe retired into Spaine, never left off ſoliciting the French King (to whom he had promiſed the Kingdome of Naples) by his Legat *Charles* Cardinall *Lotharingius*, till hee made him take up Armes againſt the Spaniard.

Now the Pope ſeeing the Queene to manage a warre on her husbands behalfe, was exceedingly diſpleaſed. Therefore becauſe he could not bee revenged on her (who indeed was the onely doer of that which ſo much offended him) he reſolved to poure out his whole vengeance upon Cardinall *Poole*, whom (as we formerly declared) he hated long before: and the rather, for that the Cardinall, who knew that the Pope himſelfe had raiſed the war betwixt the French King and the King of Spaine, had often and earneſtly (though with all due reverence to his perſon & the See Apoſtolicall) by ſundry letters dealt with him for the allaying of thoſe broiles. Hereupon he tooke from the Cardinall his authoritie Legantine, and called him backe to Rome, and gave his place to one *Peter Peton*, a Monke of the Order of Saint *Francis*, whom hee created Cardinall and Legat, and ſhortly after named him to the Biſhopricke of Sarisburie.

Pooles authority Legantine abrogated.

So ſoone as the Queene heard hereof, ſhe firſt of all uſed all diligence to conceale the Popes intentions from Cardinall *Poole*, and forbade all entrance into the Kingdome, not only to the new Cardinall, but whomſoever ſhe ſuſpected to bring any meſſage from the Pope concerning this matter; and carefully intercepting all letters that were ſent from Rome, gave commandement to her Embaſſador that remained there, to ſignifie to the Pope into what great danger Religion (not yet fully eſtabliſhed) would come, if he went about to injure or diſgrace ſo great and worthy a Perſonage, whoſe authoritie had beene the greateſt meanes for the converſion of the Nation to the Church of Rome. But whiles theſe things paſſe betwixt the Queene and the Pope, the Cardinall (by what

meanes

meanes it is uncertaine) had intelligence of the matter, and would not have the ſilver croſſe carried before him (the emblome of his authoritie Legantine) nor exerciſe that power any more, till by the interceſſion of *Ormanet*, the Popes Datarie here in England; he was at laſt reſtored to his office.

He is reſtored to his office of Legat.

In the meane while a fierce contention and hot warre roſe betwixt the French and us, King *Philip* beſieging the Towne of Saint *Quintins* in Picardie, with five and thirty thouſand footmen, and twelve thouſand horſemen. The King went forth of England the ſixt of July, to make preparation for this warre. Soone after his departure, the Queene ſent out of England to his aide a thouſand horſe, and foure thouſand foot, with two thouſand Pioners, under the Conduct of the Earle of Pembroke Captain Generall, and Sir *Anthony Browne* Vicount *Montacute*, Lieutenant Generall under the ſame Earle, beſides ſundry others of the Nobility and Gentry.

Upon the tenth day of the next moneth (which was S. *Laurence* day) the French labouring to get Forces into the Town, to releeve and defend it, received a mighty foile, not very many ſlaine (for there were ſaid to bee killed five and twenty hundred and no more) but amongſt theſe a great many of the Nobility of France; and many taken who were borne of high degree, amongſt whom was Duke *Montmorancie* Conſtable of France, who was alſo hurt with an Harquebuze ſhot in the hanch, the Duke of *Montpenſier* hurt in the head, the Duke of *Longueville*, the Marſhall of S. *Andrewes*, the Lord *Lewes* brother to the Duke of Mantua, Monſieur *de Vaſſe*, the Baron of Curton, Mounſieur *de la Roche du Maine*, the Reingrave Colonell of the Almans, beſides many other Gentlemen and Captaines of good account and eſtimation. Within two or three daies after this overthrow, King *Philip* with the Engliſh Army, under the government of the Earle of Pembrok, and others, came to the ſiege afore S. *Quintins*, and ſo was the ſiege greatly re-inforced; and on the ſeven and twentieth of Auguſt the Towne was taken by the ſpeciall aid and helpe of the Engliſhmen: for when the other ſouldiers after divers aſſaults were repelled and gave over, the Engliſhmen of a ſtout courage, gave a new onſet, by reaſon whereof the Towne was taken. And in regard of their well doing King *Philip* granted them the ſpoyle of the Towne. At this aſſault *Henry* Lord *Dudley* youngeſt ſonne to the Duke of Northumberland was ſlaine with a great ſhot from the Towne.

The French overthrown at S. Quintins.

S. Quintins taken.

Our Hiſtoriographers write that there was a great dearth this yeere, the beſt wheat being a Noble a buſhell, and other graine encreaſed the price according to that proportion; but ſo great plenty againe the yeere following, that ſo much corne was bought for the tenth part of the price. We ſhould now wonder to heare any man call that a dearth, it being not much above the ordinary rate of corne now adaies; and in the yeere ninty ſeven wheat was ſold for more than a marke the buſhell. But this one thing was more memorable which commeth now to be related. The ſeventh of September at night, almoſt two houres after Sunſet was a Raine-bow ſeene in the Weſt; the Moone was then riſen an houre before or thereabouts, & was at the full the day before. This was ſomewhat admirable, becauſe (according to Philoſophie) the nature and

definition

definition of the Iris or Raine-bow is, that *it is the refraction of the Sunbeames in a watry cloud directly oppoſite*; but here could be no ſuch thing, the Sun being ſet ſo long before. The like was ſeene long ſince in the yeere 1604. November the 24. but the clouds ſemicircle was not coloured, and had the Moone oppoſite in ſteed of the Sun, and it is moſt likely that ſuch was the former alſo.

The Earle of Northumberland reſtored to his honours.

The firſt of May this yeere, *Thomas Percy* was made Knight, and after Lord, and on the next day he was created Earle of Northumberland. The Queene graciouſly gave unto him all the Lands which had been his Anceſtors, remaining at that time in her hands. The fifteenth of July the Lady *Anne* of Cleve (King *Henries* ſecond divorced wife) departed this life at Chelſie, and was honourably buried at Weſtminſter the fift of Auguſt; ſhe was a right commendable and vertuous Lady, courteous, gentle, a good houſe keeper, and very bountifull to her ſervants. The eighteenth of Auguſt was a ſolemne obſequie celebrated in the Church of S. *Paul* in London, for *John* King of Portugal, who died in July laſt paſt. The thirtieth of November, being S. *Andrews* day, the Queene came from Saint *James* to her Palace at Weſtminſter, where ſhe heard Maſſe: at the which time Sir *Thomas Treſham* Knight received the order of the Croſſe, and was inſtituted Lord of Saint *Johns* of Jeruſalem in England.

1558

Calice beſieged by the French.

The dammage which the French King had received at S. *Quintins*, did not a little nettle him: his paſſions nevertheleſſe did not ſo far tranſport him as to make him improvident, but hee employeth all his wit and advice how to revenge his injuries, and to repaire his loſſes. All his aime was at Calice, which the Lord *Senarpont* Governour of Boloigne affirmed to bee not ſo well fortified and impregnable as was commonly thought; but he doubted not to ſurprize it if diligence were uſed. This he reported to the King, which was alſo confirmed by *P. Strozza*, who in a diſguiſed habit had gone to ſpie it: and our King *Philip* was not ignorant hereof, or at leaſt preſaged what would bee the King of France his enterpriſes; whereupon hee ſent meſſages over Sea to the Queen, to give her notice of their attempts, warning her to looke better and more narrowly to the Towne than they were wont to doe, offering likewiſe helpe and aſſiſtance of his owne. But this warning was taken with the left hand which was given with the right, our Councellours at home caſting a ſuſpicion upon the King of Spaine, as though he craftily went about to get that Town into his owne hands, as lying commodiouſly for him, in that it neighboured upon his Netherlands, ſo that nothing was done the ſooner for his advice. Howbeit this practice was not ſo ſecret but that the Deputies of Calice and Guiſnes alſo had ſome intelligence thereof, and informed the Queen and her Councell accordingly, as well by letters, as alſo by ſufficient meſſengers: for not onely *John Hetfeild* Maſter of the Ordnance, was ſent from thence to give due advertiſement of the French Kings purpoſe, and to have a ſupply of things neceſſary for mounting of the great Artillerie whereof hee had charge; but alſo Sir *Ralph Chamberlaine* Captaine of the Caſtle was likewiſe ſent to give the like advertiſement: who returned not paſt two or three daies before the Duke of Guiſe came thither with his armie. And ſo either by wilfull

negli-

negligence, or that the Councell gave no credit hereunto, thinking that this proceeded onely from King *Philip*, and he made uſe of theſe meſſengers for his owne purpoſes, this great caſe was ſo ſlenderly regarded, that no proviſion of defence was made untill it was ſomewhat too late.

Well, in the end the event proved that King *Philip* had divined rightly. For upon the very firſt day of the new yeere, the Duke of Guiſe, being Generall of the French army, proceeded in this enterpriſe with marvellous ſpeed and no leſſe policie. For approaching the Engliſh Frontier under colour of victualling Boloigne and Ard, hee entred the ſame with a great army upon a ſudden on New-yeeres day, and intrenched at the ſtreet of S. *Agatha* (commonly called *Sandgate*) and then dividing his army into two parts, at one and the ſame time aſſaulted two Forts, ſending one part with great artillerie along the downes by the ſea-ſide toward Risbank, and the other alſo with great Ordnance to Newnam-bridge, meaning to batter both theſe bulwarkes at one inſtant, and making juſt account that if he gained thoſe two Forts, there could come no ſuccour to the towne, either by ſea from England, or by land from the Low-Countries: which thing he did with ſuch ready diſpatch (the places being not well fortified, and our men aſtoniſhed with the ſuddenneſſe and noveltie of the matter) that comming thither very late in the evening, he was maſter of both by the next morning: where at the firſt ſhot diſcharged at Newnam-bridge, the head of the Maſter Gunner (whoſe name was *Horſely*) was ſtricken off. Afterward they planted their battery againſt the walls of Callice, and plaied againſt the towne for a while, till they had made a little breach next unto the water gate, which nevertheleſſe was not yet aſſaultable: for that which was broken downe in the day; was by them within the towne made up againe in the night ſtronger than before. But the battery was not begun there by the French, for that they intended to enter in at that place, but rather to abuſe the Engliſh, and to draw them from the Caſtle, where indeed the Duke meant to enter. So that while our men travelled fondly to defend that counterfeit breach of the towne wall, the Duke had in the meane ſeaſon planted fifteene double Canons againſt the Caſtle, upon which hee beat with ſuch might and violence, that at Antwerpe, which is a hundred Engliſh miles from Callice, the noiſe of the Ordnance was heard for all that day. Now when it grew towards night; and great ruine was wrought upon the Caſtle, yet the French never a whit the neere, for that they could not come to the walls by reaſon of a great ditch, deep, and full of water, in which our people chiefly truſted; the enemies with wonderfull ſpeed and diligence caſt up a trench, which when they had brought to the ſide of the ditch which compaſſeth the towne, they drew out the water from it, and turned the current into the ſea (for at that time the tide went out) and then waded through (the water not reaching beyond their navell) and came to the wall of the Caſtle, when our men ſuſpected no ſuch matter, and tooke it without reſiſtance at the firſt onſet: thinking likewiſe to have entred the towne that way. But by the proweſſe and hardy courage of Sir *Anthony Ager* Knight and Marſhall of the Towne, with his ſouldiers, they were repelled, and driven back againe into the Caſtle, and ſo hard followed, that our men forced them to

ſhut

ſhut the Caſtle gate for their ſurety, leſt it ſhould have beene recovered againſt them, as it was once attempted by Sir *Anthony Ager*, who there, with his ſon and heire, and divers others, to the number of three or foure-ſcore Engliſhmen, loſt their lives.

The ſame night, after the recule of the Frenchmen, whoſe number was ſo great, and hourely increaſed in the Caſtle, that the Towne was not able to reſiſt them, the Lord *Wentworth*, who was Deputy of the Towne, ſent meſſengers to demand a Parlee; whereunto the French conſented: and after long debating of the matter, they concluded, that the Town was to be yeelded up upon theſe conditions: That the Town, with all the great Artillery, Victualls, and Munition, ſhould be freely delivered up unto the French King, the lives of the Inhabitants only ſaved; to whom ſafe conduct ſhould be granted to goe whither they liſted: only the Lord *Wentworth* and fifty others ſhould remaine Priſoners in the Towne till they were ranſomed.

Callice yeelded to the French.

Thus the Citie of Callice, which firſt began to be beſieged upon New-yeers-day, was delivered up in the Feaſt of Epiphanie, commonly called Twelfth day, after that it had beene held by the Engliſh for the ſpace of two hundred and eleven yeeres, won by King *Edward* the third from *Philip de Valois* then French King, and alwayes after in the poſſeſſion of the Kings of England, till it was now loſt under King *Philip* and Queene *Marie*.

It would prove a hard matter ſenſibly and ſignificantly to ſet forth the inſolent triumphs and immoderate rejoycing of the French upon this purchaſe. For as they are a people ſudden in their counſells, and violent in all their wayes (as *Caeſar* writeth of them) ſo in this they uſed no meaſure; inſomuch that the learneder ſort amongſt them, *Turnebus*, *Auratus*, and Cardinall *Belluius*, and others, did publiſh Pamphlets in Latin verſe, full of ſcoffes and all manner of inurbanitie, againſt the Engliſh. When the tidings came to the French Kings Court, they were ſo joyfully received, that ſtraightway they cauſed *Te Deum* to be ſung, and bonefires to be made; and before the end of Januarie the French King in his owne perſon, attended with a great part of the Nobilitie, made a voyage to Callice, to peruſe the Towne, and there placed a Noble and valiant man, and Knight of the Order, *Monſieur de Thermes*, as Captaine, and departed himſelfe into France.

Seven dayes after the yeelding up of Callice the Duke of Guiſe led forward to Guiſnes (another Towne there by which the Engliſh held) and tooke the ſame without any great adoe. But the Caſtle, which the Lord *Gray* held, was not ſo eaſily gained; yet that alſo at length was delivered up, as alſo Hames Caſtle. So that from that time unto this day, neither in France, a great part whereof our Kings anciently held, (amongſt whom *Henry* the ſixth, being yet a child, was inaugurated into the dominion of Paris, in the yeere 1431.) nor yet in Normandy or Aquitaine (the ancient patrimony of the Crowne of England) are our Kings knowne to poſſeſſe any thing, excepting only the Ilands of *Jerſey* and *Garnſey*, which have beene alwayes obedient to them from the time that *William* the Conquerour firſt won them.

While theſe things fall out in Picardy, the Queene having intelligence

of the King of France his projects, prepared a Navie with all diligence, and manned it ſufficiently, but it could in no caſe get out of the Haven for the violence of the weather: for at that time aroſe a mighty bluſtering tempeſt, the which continued for the ſpace of foure or five dayes, the like whereof (they ſay) was never knowne within the memory of any man.

One ſhall not lightly in all ſtories reade of the like warre, wherein God gave evident teſtimony how little hee is pleaſed with thoſe warres which are undertaken to ſatisfie the ambitious and covetous deſires of men.

King *Philip* (that I may begin with him) *Philip*, I ſay, againſt whom the Pope and King of France, contrary to all equity and reaſon, were combined, gained the better end of the ſtaffe againſt his enemies by a double victorie, and both indeed famous and memorable, as you ſhall heare anon. Cardinall *Caraffa*, and the Duke, the Popes Minion, who for their owne ends were the cauſe why the Pope (who now doted by reaſon of age) did raiſe this broile, paid for this their good ſervice with the loſſe of their heads, whom *Pius* the fourth, who ſucceeded Pope *Paul*, put to death for this very cauſe.

Pope *Paul* the fourth in the mean while by the foile which the French received at Saint Quintin, was left quite naked and deſtitute, having no guard by reaſon the French King was driven to draw his forces out of Italy. Our Queene *Mary* paid for the breach of the league betwixt her and the King of France with the loſſe of Callice, which alſo was thought to be her death before the yeare was gone about. The French King, who violated the truce concluded betwixt him and King *Philip*, ſmarted likewiſe with the loſſe of Saint Quintin, as before (though in briefe) we have declared. Neither may we thinke that his victory at Callice could make full amends, for that was in ſome ſort recompenced within a few moneths after by a new calamity which he ſuffered, and now commeth to be deſcribed.

The French invade Flanders, and pillage the Countrey.

In the beginning of June *Monſieur de Thermes*, lately made Captaine of Callice, finding an opportunitie by King *Philips* abſence, thought to doe ſome thank-worthy ſervice for the French King his Maſter. Therefore gathering together a ſufficient Army, and greedy of prey, he made a breach into Flanders, and leaving behind him Graveling and Burburgh, ſet upon Dunkirke a wealthy Towne by the ſea ſide, and by force tooke and pillaged it; as alſo Berghs a good rich place, beſides many other Townes and Villages in that tract, with great cruelty, ranging as farre as Newport. When the newes was brought of this to King *Philip* into the Netherlands, who greatly feared leſt the Duke of Guiſe, who had now his ſouldiers under their enſignes, ſhould joyne himſelfe to *Monſieur de Thermes*, and ſo beſet on all ſides, he ſhould be brought into a ſtraight: and ſeeing *Thermes* ſpend his time looſely in Flanders to watch for greater advantages (for he thought to ſet upon Graveling alſo) he thought to lay hold upon the occaſion offered, and aſſault the French who were now in inſolent merriment, and loaden with ſpoile, before they were fortified with new forces. He committed his Armie to Count *Aiguemont*, a courageous and hardy Souldier, who comming to Graveling,

ling, now in the mid-way betweene Dunkirke and Callice, endevoured to ſtop up the French Armies paſſage, and to leave them no way to returne. So ſoone as *Thermes* perceived this, who daily expected the Duke of Guiſes comming, he now began (but ſomewhat too late) to thinke of returning: for being on all ſides encloſed by the enemy, there was no paſſage in the world to be gotten, unleſſe he could hew it out with his ſword. Wherefore he valiantly ſet upon the enemies that had blocked up the way; and they as valiantly receiving the aſſault, a ſore battell began. The French were deſperately courageous, becauſe they ſaw themſelves hemmed in; and the Dutch provoked with the injuries lately received, the deſire and thirſt of revenge pricked them forward. Whiles they goe down on all ſides, and it was uncertaine which part would have the better, in the very heat of the fight by great chance ten Engliſh ſhips approached, which beholding the fight afarre off as they paſſed along (for the battell was upon the very ſhore) diſcharged their Ordnance upon the French rankes, and made ſuch a great ſlaughter of them, that then they began firſt to quaile, and ſtraightway breaking their orders, were univerſally put to flight. The French overthrowne.

Partly in the battell, partly in flight, and partly in the Sea (for a great number were ſwallowed up by the waves) there fell of the French at the leaſt five thouſand. Likewiſe almoſt all the chiefe Commanders were taken Priſoners, Monſieur *de Thermes* Captaine of Callice, Monſieur *Senarpont* Governour of Boloigne, Monſieur *Villebon* Preſident of Picardie, Monſieur *Annebalt* ſon to the late Admirall *Claudius Annebalt*, Monſieur *Morvilliers* Governour of Abvile; Monſieur *de Chaune* Governour of Corbie, beſides a great number more. This conflict happened upon the thirteenth of July.

About this time (the Queen taking the loſſe of Callice ſo grievouſly) our men at home tooke counſell how to wipe away the diſgrace purchaſed there, by ſome brave and famous exploit: Whereupon they ſent forth a Navie conſiſting of an hundred and forty ſaile of Ships (whereof there were thirty Dutch) giving them in charge to ſet upon Breſt, a town upon the Sea coaſt of France) wherein the time of King Richard the ſecond there was kept a Garriſon of Engliſh Souldiers, till ſuch time as hee yeelded it up to the French King upon compoſition;) this place they are commanded to aſſault, and ſurpeize it, if they could ſee any poſſibility of winning it. To this expedition the Lord *Clinton* was ſent Lord Admirall of England, and of that Fleet for this time: but not finding a fit occaſion to ſet upon Breſt, he ſteered his courſe towards Conquet, a Port towne of good note in that Tract, where he made a Sallie out, and tooke the towne and pillaged it, and at length ſetting fire to the houſes, burnt them up, together with a Monaſtery dedicated to Saint *Matthew*, and many Villages and country Hamlets adjoyning, and ſo returned to the Ships. But the Dutch men who were in company, ſomewhat greedy of the ſpoile, ranged ſomewhat too farre into the Land, and would not bee called back in time, ſo that they were invironed by the inhabitants, and a matter of five hundred of them ſlaine. Theſe things happened about the end of July: about which time King *Philip* was in the confines of Amiens with a great Army. Alſo *Henry* the Conquet taken and burnt by the Engliſh.

French King followed him close at the heeles with an Army farre greater, to be ready for him if he should take any new enterprise in hand. At length they pitched their Tents, the one at the South part of the River Soame, the other at the North; so affronting one another, that one would have thought it impossible these two Armies should part without a scuffle. But they were both otherwise minded. For King *Philip* thought not his forces great enough to match the French Army, and *Henry* would not rashly expose his souldiers to danger, that had beene harried before in two sore calamities. So that both parties so fortified their own Tents, as if they looked to be besieged by the other. The mean while there was a mention of peace (by meanes of the Duchesse of Lorraine who had long laboured it) and it was likely to have beene concluded, but that the matter of Callice was a great rub in the way. For the French would not forgoe that Towne, and King *Philip*, who thought it not reasonable to forget his wife, would not cease from warre unlesse it were restored. But the death of Queene *Marie*, which followed very shortly, decided that controversie.

The Dolphin marrieth the Queene of Scots.

Now I must returne to speak of the famous Nuptialls (from the mention whereof the connexion of the history hath hitherto with-held me) which were celebrated at Paris, with great pomp and magnificence, the 28. of Aprill, between *Francis* the Dolphin of France, and *Mary* Queen of Scots.

The Reader may remember from the beginning of King *Edwards* reigne what great controversie those espousalls wrought betwixt all the three Kingdomes: now at the length the marriage is solemnized. But this wedlock lasted not long. For within two yeeres *Francis*, who was King by the death of his father *Henry*, died, and left his widow Dowager to a more happy husband, namely, *Henry* eldest son to the Earle of Lenox, by which happy conjunction was borne our renowned King *James* of everlasting blessed memory, Nephew by Queene *Marie* to *James* the fifth King of Scots, who was also Grandchild to King *Henry* the seventh by *Margaret* his eldest daughter, whom he married into Scotland: so the race of King *Henry* the eighth being cleane extinct after 56. yeeres, (herein like unto *Nebuchadnezzar* that pillaged the Temple of God) the Crowne was conveyed to another line, and hath since continued in the hands of those Princes, who (blessed be God) have at least preserved the ruines of the Church from further desolation. But to proceed: all this Autumne was a very sickly time, feavers being rife above measure all over the Kingdome, quartanes especially, whereby a great number were taken away; especially the more grave and elderly sort, and amongst them a great many Priests, and 13. Bishops. The Queene upon the seventeenth day of November, some few houres before day light, departed this life at St. James. She was a woman truely pious, mercifull, and of most chast and modest behaviour, and every way to be praised if you consider not her errour in Religion: but for as much as this one thing was the cause wherefore so much innocent bloud was spilt, we must needs say that in her the Prophesie was fulfilled, that *the bloudy person shall not live out halfe his dayes.* For she was taken away before she had finished the one and fortieth yeer and tenth moneth

See Sir Henry Spilman in his book *de non temerandis Ecclesiis.*

Queene Mary dieth.

of her age, when ſhe had reigned onely five yeeres, foure moneths, and eleven dayes; whereas her ſiſter that ſucceeded in a more mild government, finiſhed moſt happily and victoriouſly neere nine times the number of yeeres, and almoſt double her age.

The cauſe of Queen Maries death.

Touching the cauſe of her death, it is diverſly reported: I will ſet downe what I have received from Authors of unſuſpected credit. It was ſaid that her friends, when ſhe began to be ſicke, thinking ſhe pined away for the abſence of King *Philip*, ſo entangled with warres abroad that there was little hope of his ſpeedy returne, went about to comfort her all they could, and omitted nothing whereby to cauſe her to ſhake off ſadneſſe, and ſhew her ſelfe more lively. But ſhe regarded all this nothing, but gave her ſelfe wholly to penſiveneſſe, telling them that ſhe indeed was ready to die, but they were ignorant of the cauſe, which if they perſiſted to enquire into, let them open her heart when ſhe was dead, and there they ſhould find Callice; thereby intimating, that the loſſe of that Towne had caſt her into a mortall griefe. This griefe was thought to be increaſed by the loſſe of her father-in-law *Charles* the Emperour, who died in Spaine upon the 21. of September. All this, together with that other diſeaſe which was not maturely looked into (her imagined breeding of child by King *Philip* her husband, when indeed ſhe bred nothing but her own death) brought her at length into a fever, whereof ſhe expired. Buried ſhe was at Weſtminſter in the midſt of the Chappell, on the North ſide of her Grandfathers Tombe King *Henry* the ſeventh: to whom, as alſo to her ſiſter Queene *Eliſabeth*, King *James* erected a moſt ſtately Monument, beſeeming his liberality, and the dignity of two ſo great Princeſſes.

A PREFACE OR INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORIE OF QUEENE ELISABETH.

THe neceſsitie of the Storie, the benefit of the Reader, and chiefly the dignitie of ſo great a Princeſſe, not once to be mentioned without a Preface, ſeeme to require that we ſay ſomething by way of Preamble to the reigne of glorious Queene Eliſabeth. For albeit that which we now ſet downe doe depend upon the hiſtorie of the fore-going times, yet therein ſome things for our purpoſe are either wholly omitted, or elſe looſely diſperſed here and there, whereof it is expedient for him to have a view at once, that ſhall peruſe this enſuing diſcourſe. Beſides, the Reader muſt underſtand, that we have only undertaken to write the lives of theſe latter Princes, and therefore are not bound ſo greatly to regard what others have written, as what is needfull for the complement of that worke we have taken in hand. Wherefore our deſire is (whatſoever our failings are elſewhere, yet) herein to come as neere as may be unto Perfection.

Eliſabeth Queene of England was deſcended from a royall ſtocke by the fathers ſide; for ſhe was the daughter of King Henry the eighth, and grandchild to King Henry the ſeventh: the Houſe from which ſhe was deſcended by the mothers ſide inferiour indeed, yet Noble, and allied by many and great affinities to the beſt bloud both of England and Ireland. Her great Grandfather was Jeffrey Bolen, of renowned parentage in Norfolke, Lord Maior of the Citie of London in the yeere of our redemption 1457. and Knighted at the ſame time: a man of that integritie and reputation, that Thomas Lord Hoo and Haſtings, Knight of the Garter, gave to him one of his Daughters and Heires in marriage: and ſo great was his wealth,

that

that he married his daughters into the noble Families of the Cheinies, Heidons *and* Forteſcues, *left behind him a large patrimonie to his ſon, and bequeathed by legacy a thouſand pounds of lawfull Engliſh money to be beſtowed upon the poore of the City of London, and two hundred pounds in Norfolke, the place of his nativitie. To him was borne* William Bolen, *who was taken into the number of the eighteene Knights of the Bath made at the Coronation of King* Kichard *the third; to whom* Thomas *Earle of Ormond (of ſuch high reſteeme with the Kings of England, that he only amongſt all the Nobilitie in Ireland had aſſigned him a ſeat and voice in Parliament, and that before the Barons of England) gave to wife his Daughter, one of his heires. By her (beſides daughters that were married to men of wealth and degree,* Shelton, Calthrop, Clere, *and* Sackvile, *and other children) he had* Thomas Bolen, *whom while he was yet a youth,* Thomas Howard *that was Earle of Surrey, and after Duke of Norfolke, made choice of to be his ſon-in-law, giving him in marriage his daughter* Eliſabeth: *and King* Henry *the eighth, after that he had employed him in one or two honourable Embaſſages, made him firſt of all Treaſurer of the Kings houſhold, Knight of the Garter, and Viſcount Rochford; afterward created him Earle of Wiltſhire and Ormond, and Lord Privie Seale. He, beſides many other children, begat* Anne Bolen, *who in her tender yeeres was ſent into France, where firſt of all ſhe waited upon* Marie *of England, wife to King* Lewis *the twelfth (whom, when ſhe was Dowager of France,* Charles Brandon *Duke of Suffolke afterwards married) then upon* Claudia *of Britaine, wife to* Francis *the French King, and (ſhe dying) upon Queene* Margaret *that greatly favoured the Proteſtant Religion then ſpringing up. Afterwards returning into England, ſhe was choſen to be a Maid of Honour to Queen* Katharine *of Spaine; and being two and twentie yeeres old, King* Henry *in the eight and thirtieth yeere of his age, ſeeing her elegant beauty and comely behaviour, fell miſerably in love with her: and when he could not aſſaile her chaſtitie, tooke her to wife in hope of iſſue male by her.*

Now King Henry *(that I may rip up the matter a little further) after ſeventeene yeeres wedlocke with* Katharine *(a Lady of moſt pious diſpoſition and Spaniſh gravity, but often miſcarrying, for ſhe had oncly one daughter* Mary *that lived) began to grow into a loathing of her, and that (as it was thought) through the practiſes of* Thomas Wolſey *Cardinall, who being now in height of favour and authoritie with the King, grew in a manner impotent and unweldie. Hee, diſpleaſed with* Charles *the fift Emperour, Nephew to Queene* Katharine *by her ſiſter, for that he had denied him the Archbiſhopricke of Toledo, and had not lent him his aſſiſtance when he aſpired to the Popedome, and ſo devoted to the French King in hatred of the Emperour, that he had deſtined the King a wife out of France; began to caſt a ſcruple into King* Henries *mind, whom he knew prone enough to give eare to any thing which might ſerve his luſts, that the marriage he had formerly contracted with Queene* Katharine, *the relict of his brother* Arthur, *was forbidden by divine teſtimony, notwithſtanding that Pope* Julius *the ſecond had granted his diſpenſation. Afterward he ſtil ſounded in his ears how grievouſly he had ſinned againſt God in marrying* Katharine, *and that he ſtill offended in retaining her; that he had incurred the ſentence of excommunication, and that God himſelfe had witneſſed how greatly he was diſpleaſed with ſuch*

unlawfull

unlawfull marriage, in not ſuffering any iſſue male, though often conceived, to ſurvive: neither was any other thing to be expected, but that the civill wars which were lately quieted, ſhould in time breake forth again with greater calamities, unleſſe it were apparent who was the right Heire in ſucceſsion to the Kingdome. Therefore his counſell was, that ſhe ſhould be divorced, that thereby might be procured both the good of the Kings ſoule, which for ſo many yeeres had beene polluted with inceſt, and the ſafety of the Kingdome, in taking further care for a lawfull off-ſpring, that might be Heire to the Crowne. Hereupon the King becommeth a ſuitor to Clement the ſeventh, Pope of Rome, that he would appoint ſome ſufficient men to take knowledge of the cauſe, whereby either Pope Julius his diſpenſation might be confirmed by divine authoritie, or he abſolved from the ſentence of excommunication, and the matrimony declared to be of no force, and ſo he might lawfully enter into a new wedlocke, any Canon to the contrary notwithſtanding. The Pope authoriſed Wolſey and Cardinall Campeius to determine this buſineſſe, and ſecretly delivered a Bull to Campeius, wherein he favourably inclined to the Kings deſires; and in caſe that the marriage formerly contracted with Queene Katharine were annulled, it ſhould be ſo declared by vertue thereof: but withall, this Bull, thereafter as the Emperours affaires ſucceeded in Italy, was to be publiſhed or concealed. But when as it was concluded by the Suffrages of divers learned men, and all the Univerſities in the Chriſtian world, that King Henries marriage was contrary to the Scriptures both of the Old and New Teſtament, and unlawfull notwithſtanding the Popes diſpenſation, the King began to be hotter in his affection towards Anne Bolen, and the Cardinall withall (too late repenting him of what he had taken in hand) waxing very angry, cloſely wrought with Pope Clement in no caſe to confirme the opinions of the univerſities, and to get the cauſe delayed from day to day, by reference one while to be had at Rome, and another while in England. For the Cardinall greatly feared Anne Bolen, as one that was addicted to the doctrine of the Goſpell, and had his pride in hatred and deteſtation: the Pope likewiſe was affraid of the Emperour, who now grew potent in Italy, and eagerly defended the cauſe of his Aunt Katharine. And on the other ſide, the Pope was unwilling to provoke King Henry, who had freed him when he was lately taken by the Emperours ſouldiers, with his owne coſt and paines. The King howbeit he conceived vehement indignation upon this uſage, yet concealed it, and he himſelfe firſt of all by Letters and Embaſſadors, afterwards the Prelates and Nobles of England by a petition ſigned with their owne handwriting, with moſt humble requeſts "caſting themſelves at the feet of the Pope, beſeeching him to confirm that "by his Apoſtolicall authoritie (I uſe their owne words) which the two Uni- "verſities of England, and the Univerſitie of Paris, and many other Uni- "verſities, together with a number of learned and upright men, both at home "and abroad, had confirmed, and were ready to defend both in word and "writing. Now it were a ſtrange unhappineſſe if that Prince ſhould not ob- "taine thus much from the See Apoſtolicall, by whoſe help alone the autho- "ritie of that See remaines firme, ſo much laboured againſt by many, whom "he had oppoſed partly by his ſword, partly by his pen, partly by his own voice "and command, and yet hee alone ſhould not enjoy the benefit of that "authoritie: Which that he might enjoy, they againe and againe beſought him,

" him, leſt happely inteſtine broyles and diſſentions might againe grow about
" the right of Succeſsion.

The Biſhops alſo fearing that the Pope might haſtily enſnare the King or Kingdome with his Excommunication, dealt with him apart, and by their owne letters (but in moſt humble wiſe) admoniſhed him, calling to remembrance the ſad diſſention betwixt Alexander the Third, Pope of Rome, and Henry the Second, King of England; and amongſt other weighty reaſons uſed almoſt the very ſame words which Gilbert then Biſhop of London had uſed. " Wee moſt humbly intreat, that you would for
" a time bridle your ardent Zeale, and containe it within the bounds of mo-
" deſtie; and not ſuffer ſo many Churches to bee miſerably overthrowne,
" by pronouncing your fearefull ſentence of Excommunication againſt them,
" and thereby (which God forbid) cauſe them to depart irrevocably from all
" obedience to your holy See. Better it is that a member cleave to the Head,
" though putrefied, than to be caſt away from the body, being once cut off.
" Members putrefied are oftentimes healed, but thoſe that are cut off, will
" hardly bee joyned againe to the Body. Members cut off, are in a deſpe-
" rate caſe; but by the wary handling of the Chirurgion, a wound is often
" healed. Wherefore (under favour) it will bee more expedient that you
" employ your diligence to cure the wound, if there bee any, then by cutting
" off the nobleſt part of the Church of God, worke a diſturbance greater
" than can bee expreſſed, for as much as things are now troubled above
" meaſure. A Princes bloud then onely can be overcome, when it hath got-
" ten the maſtery; neither doth it unwillingly yeeld, having once prevai-
" led; with gentleneſſe it muſt be appeaſed, it muſt be overcome by patience,
" and mild admonitions. For what though forbearance already ſhewed, or
" yet farther to be expreſſed, doe cauſe a certaine loſſe of ſome temporall
" commodities? muſt not rigour and ſeverity be forborne, when the cala-
" mity of a Nation hangeth over our heads? are wee not often enforced to
" caſt many things into the Sea, when the hedious confuſion of the waves
" and floods threaten deſtruction? Nevertheleſſe, when the Pope and Car-
dinalls for five yeeres together, like deafe men, neglected all theſe admo-
nitions, taking it very hainouſly, that the Popes power of diſpenſing ſhould
be called into queſtion, and were ready to cite the King to Rome, they ſo
far enraged a Prince full of animoſitie, provoked through the pertinacie of
ſome Church-men at home, and who thought himſelfe dealt withall, conſide-
ring the equitie of his cauſe, unjuſtly; in regard of his royall eſtate, unworthily;
and for his deſervings of the Church of Rome, moſt ingratfully; that almoſt
at one and the ſame time hee divorced Queene Katharine, made Cardinall
Wolſeyes goods confiſcate, amerced the Biſhops at a mighty ſumme of mo-
ney for acknowledging his Legantine authoritie in diminution of the Royall
Prerogative, baniſhed the Biſhop of Romes authoritie, and tooke unto him the
title of the Supreme Head of the Church of England under Chriſt; and
laſtly, tooke to wife Anne Bolen, whom firſt he honoured with the title of
Marchioneſſe of Pembroke, by the aſſent of the Peeres of the Kingdome,
for the Nobility of her ſtocke, and her vertuous merits (ſo the words
run) cauſing her to be adorned with a Royall Robe, crowned and proclaimed
Queene; Clement the Seventh all this while in vaine fretting and decree-
ing the former matrimony to be firme and Canonicall, and pronouncing the

King

King to be within the compaſſe of the greater Excommunication.

In this matrimonie was Queen Eliſabeth borne at Greenwich, the ſeventh day of September in the yeere 1533. And ſtraightway the former marriage with Katharine adjudged by Authoritie of Parliament to be inceſtuous and of no validitie; and this with Anne lawfull and allowable by Divine right. And after that Paul the Third at length thundered againſt this marriage at Rome; and at home the Holy Maide of Kent, ſuborned by Religious perſons, ſeemed to be in divers extaſies, at which time ſhee uttered many things againſt the King: The title of Supreme Head of the Church of England, with all manner of Authoritie to reforme errours, hereſies and abuſes, was conferred upon the King by the body of the Kingdome aſſembled in Parliament; and the ſame oath confirmed to the Heires of the King by Anne Bolen. Yet were not three yeeres paſſed over, before he is violently carried away into ſuſpitions, wrath, jealouſie, ſlaughter and bloud, that he might make way to his bed for Jane Seimor a new Minion. Anne, who had once miſcarried of a male Child, was brought forth to be judged, and upon a light ſuſpicion accuſed of breach of Wedlocke. Shee in ſuch manner anſwered the objections brought againſt her, that the multitude ſtanding by verily thought her innocent and circumvented; nevertheleſſe the Peeres condemned her. When ſhee had received ſentence of death, ſhee ſent the King a pleaſant meſſage, thanking him for the great benefits heaped upon her; that of an inferiour degree hee had raiſed her to the high dignity of a Marchioneſſe, and the honourable eſtate of a Queene; and, which was the greateſt benefit, that now hee could make her no higher upon earth, that hee would exalt her to heaven, where ſhee ſhould have eternall fruition of glory amongſt innocent and unſpotted ſoules. So ſhee underwent her puniſhment in moſt milde and Chriſtian manner, praying for all happineſſe to the King, and forgiveneſſe to her enemies.

The next day hee taketh to wife Jane Seimor, declareth by authority of Parliament the matrimony with Anne to be unlawfull and of none effect, no leſſe than that with Katharine, and their daughters illegitimate, and to be excluded from the ſucceſsion of the Kingdome. Shee bearing Edward, that was cut out of her wombe and ſucceeded his father, died inſtantly. The King, not greatly troubled for the death of his wife, is ſoone at leiſure to thinke of new loves, both in Italy and France, whereby to get him friends and allies: nevertheleſſe hee was very doubtfully minded, and every way fearefull; and while he is afraid of inſurrection and rebellion by the Popiſh party, leſt the Nobles ſhould raiſe tumults, or joyne themſelves to forraine enemies, he taketh away the heads of ſome of them for light cauſes, others unheard were condemned and executed. The Religious perſons, for their pertinacy in averring the Popes authority, were commonly puniſhed as Traitors, and out of covetouſneſſe he overturned all the greater Monaſteries (as before he had ſerved the leſſer) places full of venerable Antiquitie and Majeſtie, and made ſpoile of the wealth gathered together for ſo many yeeres, taking occaſion from faults of humane frailty, and pretending their looſe manner of living. And at the ſame time hee burneth the Proteſtants as Hereticks, by the decree which they call the Law of the ſixe Articles, againſt thoſe that impugned the Papiſts Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, the Euchariſt in one kinde, ſingle life of Prieſts, vowes, private Maſſe, and Auricular Confeſſion.

feſsion: So that at one and the ſame time havocke was made of Papiſts by the halter and butchery, and of Proteſtants by fire and faggot. Hereupon, being accounted terrible at home, and held tyrannicall by them abroad, hee was firſt rejected by Marie *the Duke of Guiſes daughter, in which love hee was rivall to* James *King of Scotland his owne Nephew; after by* Chriſtian *of Denmarke Dutcheſſe of Millain, and Neice to* Charles *the Fifth: at length, with much adoe, he obtaineth to wife* Anne *of Cleve, while he ſought the friendſhip of the Proteſtants in Germany. So ſoone as he had married her, hee caſt her away in diſdaine, as too meane a beautie for a King, alledging that ſhee was firſt betrothed to the Duke of Lorraines Sonne, and pretending I know not what womaniſh inſufficiency, that ſo hee might make a new wedding with* Katharine Howard, *daughter of* Edmund Howard, *and Neice to* Thomas *Duke of Norfolke; whoſe head hee tooke off by that time the yeere went about, accuſing her to have beene formerly deflowred, and finding her guilty of the ſame: laſt of all he marrieth* Katharine Parr *widow, that ſurvived him.*

At length, when hee perceived his body to be dry and worne out with his youthfull intemperance, being now angry with the French King for aiding the Scots againſt the Engliſh, and better affected to Charles *the Emperour, who utterly forgetting the divorce of his Aunt, gave certaine hope of procuring his reconciliation to the Church of Rome (in which matter the French King had already deluded him) he entred into a league with the Emperour againſt the French. Then thinking that in time an Heire might come out of France; to the end hee might gaine the Emperour more neerely to himſelfe, and withall ſatisfie his owne exulcerated conſcience, he made a propoſition to the Parliament, that in caſe he and his ſonne* Edward *ſhould die without farther iſſue, then* Mary *firſt, and if ſhe alſo died childleſſe,* Eliſabeth *might ſucceed in the Kingdome. But if they all died and left no children behind them, that then the Crowne ſhould bee theirs to whom he either by letters Patents, or by his laſt Will and Teſtament ſhould aſsigne it; the which they all embraced with willing heart, and ratified the ſame, making them guilty of High Treaſon that ſhould at any time goe againſt this Decree. Returning out of France after the taking of Boloigne, and a mighty maſſe of money ſpent in that expedition; now that he himſelfe was perplexed to ſee new opinions daily riſe up in England, whereby the Kingdome was diſtracted and almoſt torne in ſunder, and England it ſelfe (the treaſury being exhauſt, the coine depraved and mingled with braſſe, Religious Houſes (the monuments of Ancient piety) throwne downe, the blood of the Nobles, Prelates, Papiſts, Proteſtants, ſhed without difference) even groaning under this heavie burthen, then he fell into a diſeaſe, and ſent forth his laſt breath in the beginning of the yeere* 1547. *a Prince of a mighty ſpirit, in whom were to be found, in a confuſed kind of mixture, great vertues, and vices no leſſe.*

His ſonne Edward, *being now hardly ten yeeres of age, ſucceeded him. His Uncle* Edward Seimor *Duke of Somerſet, was made Lord Protector: by whoſe good fortune the famous victory over the Scots at Muſſelburgh was atcheived, the Engliſh demanding the faithfull diſcharge of the covenant, which concerned the eſpouſalls of* Mary *Queene of Scotland to King* Edward. *Under his government alſo the ſavage law of the* Sixe Articles,

Articles, *and other lawes made by King* Henry *the Eighth againſt the Proteſtants were abrogated; but thoſe ratified which tended to the aboliſhing of the Popes authoritie, the Maſſe taken away, Images removed out of Temples, the Bible ſet forth in the Vulgar tongue, divine Service alſo celebrated in the ſame, and the Holy Euchariſt adminiſtred in both kinds. Neverthleſſe, the ſacrilegious ſpoyling of the Patrimony of the Church continued ſtill, the Nobles greedily preying upon Colledges, Chanteries, and Hoſpitalls, as dennes of idleneſſe and ſuperſtition: ambition and emulation amongſt the Peeres, boldneſſe and diſobedience amongſt the Common ſort ſo inſolently prevailing every where, that England, outragious and mad with diſorders, was ready to be rent in peeces; inwardly languiſhing with rebellions, tumults, factions, and all other miſcheifes that are wont to happen under a child-King. Vexed alſo with loſſes and calamities from abroad, the Forts of the Engliſh in Scotland and France utterly loſt: Boloigne, which was bought ſo dearely, and all the Fortifications belonging to it, built by the Engliſh, together with the Guns and all the warlike proviſion, delivered up to the French for a ſum of money, not without a ſingular wound to the reputation of our Countrey. And to fill up the meaſure of unhappineſſe, the Protector, not wary enough to obſerve the wiles of the Duke of Northumberland, was condemned of felony, by vertue of a law lately made, for plotting againſt the life of Northumberland, and ſome others, and ſo was beheaded, his ſon bereaved of his fathers honours, and the greateſt part of his inheritance, and the King himſelfe now left deſtitute of friends, and expoſed to the treachery and inhumanitie of ambitious perſons (whether by diſeaſe or by poiſon, it is uncertaine) was immaturely taken out of this life: a Prince whom by reaſon of his vertues farre ſurpaſſing his yeeres, all men honoured while hee lived, ſorrowed for his untimely end, and longed for after his death.*

In the middeſt of theſe diſaſters, when Dudley *by his evill practiſes had diſſolved brotherly love betweene the Protector and Sir* Thomas Seimor *his brother, the occaſion being taken from the womens emulation, to wit, the variance betwixt King* Henries *Dowager, then wife to* Thomas Seimor, *and the Protectors wife which was Dutcheſſe of Somerſet. Amongſt other matters laid to the ſaid* Thomas *his charge to convince him of treaſon, one thing objected was, that he plotted how to get the Kings perſon into his owne cuſtody, and to gaine to wife the Lady* Eliſabeth, *ſiſter to the King. But ſhee was wholly ignorant hereof, and freed from all manner of ſuſpicion, grew up in the meane ſpace, being in high eſteeme with the King her brother (who never ſaluted her otherwiſe, than by the name of his ſweet ſiſter* Temperance) *and greatly favoured both by the Nobles and People.*

For her countenance was moſt elegant and worthy of an Empire, of grave modeſtie, compoſed carriage, and cleare judgement, a Princely ſpirit, a happy memory, and indefatigably ſtudious of good letters; inſomuch that before ſhee was ſeventeene yeeres of age, ſhee had attained skill in the Latin, French and Italian tongues, and in the Greeke indifferent knowledge: Muſicke alſo ſhee affected as much as might beſeeme a Prince, ſinging ſweetly and skilfully. Under Roger Aſcham,

who was ſet over her ſtudies, ſhee read Melancthons Common-Places, Tully all over, a great part of Livies Hiſtories, ſome choiſe Orations of Iſocrates (two of which ſhee turned into Latine) Sophocles Tragedies, and the New Teſtament in Greeke; wherewithall ſhee furniſhed her tongue with apt and comely ſpeech, and her minde with vertuous precepts: inſomuch that her learning was held a miracle among the Princes of that age.

But theſe liberall ſtudies were interrupted by the death of her brother Edward; Scarcely had hee expired when meſſengers came to her from the Duke of Northumberland (who affected the Kingdome for Jane Grey, to whom hee had given his ſonne in marriage) to deale with her about her right to the Crowne, offering her a ſumme of money, beſides ſome Lands and Poſſeſsions, to give way to the Dukes deſignes. Shee modeſtly replyed that they muſt firſt agree with her Siſter Mary, for as much as during her life, ſhee could challenge no right to her ſelfe.

What iſſue the Duke of Northumberlands Councells found, with other occurents under Queene Maries reigne, I have ſo lately ſet downe more at large, that it is not expedient they ſhould bee here repeated. under her government the Roman Religion ſeemed to be eſtabliſhed: Nevertheleſſe, the Clergie of thoſe times, who had ſmall hope of iſſue by the Queene, ſeeing her now fortie yceres of age, and ſickly beſides, had great feare in regard of the Lady Eliſabeth. For her they knew to have beene brought up in the Proteſtant Religion, and upon her, as on the Sun-riſing, were fixed the eyes of all the people.

Therefore they entred into ſerious conſultations, from the very beginning of Queene Maries reigne, how to preſerve from detriment and dammage the religion at laſt brought backe againe to the old forme. Wickedly to take out of the way the Royall off-ſpring, the more ſober and moderate ſort of Councellours, and Queene Marie her ſelfe, a moſt pious Princeſſe (though not well affected towards Eliſabeth, in regard of their Mothers bickerings) held moſt execrable and abominable: on the other ſide, ſome more violent than the reſt, thought nothing was to bee left unattempted for the eſtabliſhing of the Catholike Religion, whether by right or wrong the ſame might bee effected. It fell out very happily for theſe mens entendments that Wiat, Carew, and Crofts, and others of the Proteſtant Religion, ſeditiouſly and rebelliouſly raiſed tumults againſt the Queene, and endevoured to joyne in marriage the Lady Eliſabeth to Edward Courtney Marqueſſe of Exceter. Hereupon was ſhee ſtraightway caſt into priſon, as acceſſarie to their villanies; and firſt of all uncertaine rumours were ſpread abroad, that ſhee was acquainted with their endevours: then were ſome queſtioned for their life, others racked. Crofts by a Religious aſſeveration, affirmed that ſhee was no way guilty of their projects, nor in the leaſt matter conſcious to their deſignes.

Wiat alſo (who was reported to have accuſed her under-hand) when hee was to undergoe his laſt puniſhment, openly profeſſed as much.

much. Shee notwithſtanding was hurried up and downe, keepers appointed to obſerue her, her Maids and ſeruants euer and anon caſt into priſon, and ſhee handled in more rough manner than ſuch a Lady ſhould.

The meane while Henrie *the Second King of France comforts her by priuate letters full fraught with loue and courteſie, promiſing great matters, if ſhee would come into France; whether out of loue indeed, or to worke a greater miſcheife, thinking thereby to make way to the Crowne of England for* Mary *Queene of Scots, that was to bee his daughter in law, I affirme not.*

In like manner Chriſtian *the Third King of Denmarke, who had long agone embraced the Proteſtants Religion, profereth all ſeruice and reſpect, and withall cloſely treateth of marriage with his ſon* Fredericke. *Which when they of the Popiſh faction began to ſmell out, they fell at length to threatnings and extremities, and in great feare, cry out that the Queene, the Kingdome and Religion would bee in danger ſo long as ſhee remained alive: and therefore either treaſon or hereſie muſt bee laid to her charge to take her out of the way.*

In theſe times when extreme cruelty was ſhewed towards the Proteſtants of lower ranke, John Storie *Doctor of Law, and others barbarouſly minded, blazed up and downe every where, that the root of Hereſie (intimating the Lady* Eliſabeth*) muſt bee cut up, not the boughes lopped a little.*

Shee all this while like a Barque when a ſtorme increaſeth, ſtecred her ſelfe accordingly, and heard diuine ſeruice after the Popiſh manner, and went often to Confeſſion: *yea when Cardinall Poole ſharply queſtioned her, for feare of death profeſſed that ſhee was a Romane Catholique. Queene* Marie *notwithſtanding beleeued it not, remembring well enough, that ſhee her ſelfe ſometime was driuen, through the terror of death, by letters under her owne hand-writing, to diſclaime for euer the Popes authoritie in England, withall acknowledging her father to bee the* Supreme Head of the Church of England under Chriſt; *and the matrimony of her Mother with her Father* Henrie *inceſtuous and unlawfull.*

Neither could the Cardinall himſelfe, and the other Prelates, be perſwaded that her profeſſion was ſincere; who wiſhed that ſhee were taken out of the way, for the ſecuritie of the Roman Religion. Yet King Philip *the Queens Husband, and the Spaniards more equally minded towards* Eliſabeth, *would not endure to heare of that, not ſo much becauſe the fortune of a diſtreſſed Virgin Prince moued them to pittie, as for that they had regard to their owne affaires. For they foreſaw that if* Eliſabeth *were taken away, then by meanes of* Marie *Queene of Scots, the next Heire of the Kingdome, already betrothed to the Dolphin of France, the Kingdomes of England, Ireland, and Scotland, might come to*

be joyned to the French Scepter, than which nothing could be a greater quailing to the Spaniards haughtineſſe, who had continuall warre with the French.

Therefore when they ſaw they could not take away her life without impiety, by ſome it was thought beſt to remove her out of England as farre as might bee, and to place her in marriage to Emanuel Philibert *Duke of Savoy. But the King of Spaine liked not this neither, having before deſtined her to bee his Sonne* Charles *wife. And Sir* Thomas Cornwallis *privie Councellor to the Queene oppoſed that adviſe, ſaying, that the people of England would take it very heinouſly; yea that they would not ſuffer the next Heire of the Kingdome to bee carried away into a ſtrange Countrey. At which time Queene* Mary, *by reaſon of her inveterate hatred towards her Siſter* Eliſabeth, *and ſeeing her ſomewhat averſe in the treatie of marriage with the Duke of Savoy, waxed ſo fierce and angry, that ſhee laded her with reproaches, and ever after affirmed confidently that* Mary *Queene of Scots was, next to her ſelfe, the certaine and undoubted Heire of the Crowne of England. But theſe conſultations againſt the Lady* Eliſabeth *were diverted by a warre proclaimed againſt the French King, by the Queene in favour of her husband: and although that were the chiefe cauſe, yet (as before wee have delivered) others were added, and thoſe moſt true and juſt, namely, that the French King, contrary to his league, had favoured the Rebellion of* Wiat, *and the treacheries of* Dudley *and* Aſcham *againſt her owne perſon, had ſent forth Pirats againſt the Engliſh Merchants at ſea, furniſhed* Stafford *with Ships and munition for the taking of Scarborough Caſtle, attempted the recovery of Callice by evill and indirect waies, ſuffered the Engliſh coyne in France to bee corrupted, and invaded the Low Countries, which the Engliſh by covenant were bound to defend.*

This warre encreaſing, and the Scots, whom the French King had ſet one worke, peſtering the Borders of England, Callice, the Forts of Risbanke, Newnambrig, Mere, Oye, Hannes, Sandgate, the Caſtle and Town of the Guiſnes were loſt, and amidſt theſe the frequent funeralls of the Prelates, all which ſeemed to threaten divine vengeance againſt the Kingdome. Queene Marie, *neglected by her Husband, and ſpent with griefe for the loſſe of Callice (which had beene two hundred yeeres and upward in the poſſeſsion of the Engliſh) departed out of this world the ſeventeenth of November, in the yeere* 1558. *when ſhee had reigned five yeeres and foure Moneths. A Prince for pious diſpoſition, bounty to poore people, and liberality towards the Clergie and Nobles, never ſufficiently commended. But it was an infamous time, by reaſon of the barbarous cruelty of ſome Prelates, who with fire and fagot raging againſt the Proteſtants, filled all corners with hideous and dreadfull ſpectacles. For within the compaſſe of five yeeres, they ſwept away more of all rankes of people by that horrible puniſhment, Biſhops, Miniſters of Gods word,*

word, and lay people of both ſexes, than King Henry *the Eight (as ſome have obſerved) in whole 37. yeeres, or England ever ſaw ſince King* Johns *reigne, when with us Chriſtians amongſt Chriſtians firſt began to rage in flames of fire one againſt the other.*

The ſame day that Queene Marie *died, within a few houres Cardinall Poole Arch-biſhop of Canterbury, oppreſſed with a quartane fever, expired. A man whom learning, piety, and integritie, made farre more renowned and glorious, than the Nobilitie of his ſtocke whence he was deſcended, though (as we have ſaid more than once) hee were Grand-child to* George *Duke of Clarence the brother of* Edward *the fourth King of England. His body was wrapped in lead, and buried in his owne Cathedrall at Canterbury, with this briefe inſcription for an Epitaph,* DEPOSITUM CARDINALIS POLI.

ELISABET. D.G. ANG. FRAN. ET. HIB.
REGINA. FIDEI CHRISTIANÆ. PROPVGNA-
TRIX ACERRIMA.

THE HISTORIE OF QUEENE *ELISABETH.*

QUeene *Maries* death, after it had beene concealed for a few houres, was first of all made knowne to the Bishops and Peeres in the High Court of Parliament (for that assembly was then gathered together:) at the tidings whereof through extreme griefe they were all striken with silence for a while; but soone recollected themselves, and began to comfort one another; tempering their sorrow with some tokens of rejoycing, that they might not appeare sad for her that was to succeed, nor joyfull at the death of her that was already departed; and so addressing themselves to consult of publike affaires, with joynt consent and full agreement, they decree that *Elisabeth* was to be declared the true and lawfull Heire of the Kingdome, by the law for succession made in the 35. yeere of the reigne of King *Henrie* the Eight. Straightway they send for them of the Lower House, and *Heath* Arch-bishop of Yorke Lord Chancellour of the Kingdome, amidst deepe sighs and groanes intimateth unto them, that it had pleased God to take away from them a most excellent Princesse, one that was carefull both of religion, and also of the Common-wealth; the which they had all taken so neerely to heart, that griefe was ready to overwhelme them, and to exclude all manner of consolation, but that Almighty God, of his great mercie and compassion toward the English Nation, had preserved in safety the Lady *Elisabeth* the other Daughter of King *Henry*. Of whose most certaine right of Succession to the English Crown, seeing none could, none ought to make question; the Prelats and Peeres of the Kingdome with one voice and one mind, had already decreed to proclaime her Queene, onely their assent was wanting. Scarcely was the word gone forth of his mouth, but they all cryed out, doubling and redoubling their voice, (*God save Queen* Elisabeth; *long and prosperous be her reigne*. And without delay dissolving the Parliament, with sound of trumpets, first in Westminster Hall, and then in Cheap-side, they proclaimed her Queene of England, France, and Ireland, *Defender of the faith*, with the happy acclamations

Anno. 1558. Reg. 1.

The Lady Elisabeth proclaimed Queene.

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1.23

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mations and joyfull applauſe of all the people. A glorious beginning indeed; nor was there ever any Prince to whom the people were addicted with more ready mind and conſtant affection, with greater obſervance, or more joyfull applauſe, filling the aire with prayers, and wiſhes for her proſperitie as often as ſhee appeared in publike during the long time of her reigne amongſt us.

Qreene Eliſabeth chooſeth Councellors.

Now was ſhee 25. yeeres of age, well tutoured by two effectuall Maſters, experience and adverſitie, in ſo much that ſhe had gained wiſdome farre above her yeeres; the firſt experiment whereof ſhee manifeſted in making choiſe of her Councellors. For ſhee tooke into her Privie-Councell *Nicholas Heath* Arch-biſhop of Yorke, a man of great wiſedome and of a modeſt nature, *William Powlet* Marqueſſe of Winchester Lord High Treaſurer of England, *Henry Fitz-Alan* Earle of Arundell, *Francis Talbot* Earle of Shrewsbury, *Edward Stanley* Earle of Darbie, and *William Herbert* Earle of Pembroke; *Edward* Lord *Clinton* Admirall of the Seas, and *William* Lord *Howard* of Effingham Chamberlaine; Sir *Thomas Cheinie*, Sir *William Peters*, Sir *Richard Sackvil*, and *Nicholas Wotton* Deane of Canterbury: all theſe were Privie-Councellours to Queene *Marie*, and of the ſame Religion with her. To theſe ſhe joyned ſome of her own, to make a fit kind of temperature, as the times then required; *William Parre* Marqueſſe of Northhampton, *Francis Ruſſell* Earle of Bedford, Sir *Thomas Parry*, Sir *Edward Rogers*, Sir *Ambroſe Cave*, Sir *Francis Knolles*, and Sir *William Cecill*, who had beene Secretary to King *Edward* the Sixt, a man of excellent wiſdome, and indeed one of a thouſand; and a little after ſhe tooke Sir *Nicholas Bacon* (whom ſhe made Keeper of the Great Seale:) all theſe had formerly embraced the Proteſtants religion, and were in no account with Queene *Marie*: Theſe and the reſt alſo, as many as from time to time were choſen into their places, ſhe ſo ruled and kept within compaſſe, that they were evermore devoted to her pleaſure, and ſhee ſtill at her owne liberty, obnoxious to none of them.

Her firſt care is for Religion.

At her firſt comming to the Crowne, her firſt care (but communicated with ſome few of her more intimate acquaintance) was for the reſtauration of the Proteſtants Religion, which, by that inſtruction ſhe had received from her tender yeeres, and the judgement ſhe had gained to diſcerne truth from errour, ſhe was verily perſwaded was the moſt right way, conſonant to the Holy Scriptures, and agreeable to the puritie and ſinceritie of the Primitive Church; and ſhee had formerly reſolved ſtedfaſtly and unmoveably within her ſelfe to reſtore the ſame. Then ſhe dealeth with the others to have all egreſſe out of the Kingdome prohibited, to have the Tower of London committed to ſome one of approved truſt and fidelitie, to ſend over a new patent to *Thomas* Earle of Suſſex Vice-Roy in Ireland (who was faine to keepe Ireland (otherwiſe unquiet) with 320. Horſemen, and 860. footmen lying in Garriſon) likewiſe to renew the patents to the cheife Judges of the Kingdome (that the Courts might not be diſſolved, it being then terme time) adding this clauſe to them, *That they ſhould not beſtow any new office.* Alſo that new Juſtices and Sheriffes ſhould be made in all Counties of the Kingdome: money in exchange ſhould not bee tranſported beyond

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the Seas, and that the Preachers ſhould abſtaine from handling of controverted points of Religion in their ſermons. For forreine matters her care was to have Embaſſadours ſent to the Princes of the Chriſtian World, to ſignifie the death of Queen *Marie*: Whereupon Sir *Thomas Chaloner* was forthwith ſent with letters to the Emperour *Ferdinand*, wherein the Queene under her owne hand-writing gave him to underſtand *that her ſiſter was dead, and that ſhe, through the gracious diſpoſing of God, her owne right of inheritance, and the conſent of her loving Subjects, had obtained the ſucceſſion in the Kingdome: furthermore, that ſhee deſired nothing rather than to have the ancient amitie betweene England and the familie of Auſtria, not preſerved onely, but encreaſed alſo.* The Lord Cobham was ſent to the King of Spaine in the Low-Countries with inſtructions to the ſame purpoſe, and with a patent withall whereby the Earle of Arundell, *Thurlbey* Biſhop of Elie, and Doctor *Wotton* Deane of Canterbury, who were lately appointed to treat of the Peace of Cambray, were againe appointed to proceed in the ſame treaty; and *William* Lord *Howard* of Effingham was joyned in Commiſſion unto them. Alſo Sir *Henry Killigrew* was ſent privately to the Princes of Germanie to gaine their good wills and affections; this meſſage the Queene diſpatched in regard of the deſire ſhe had to promote pure Religion: another Embaſſadour likewiſe was ſent to the King of Denmarke, and Sir *Armigill Waad* to the Duke of Holſt.

Queen Eliſabeth ſought in marriage by King Philip.

King *Philip* receiving certaine information of his wife *Maries* death, fearing to loſe the ſtrength and title of the Kingdome of England, which he found to be very uſefull to him, and ſuſpecting that the Kingdomes of England, Ireland and Scotland, by *Marie* Queene of Scots might at length grow into one body with the Kingdome of France, by the Earle of Ferie, whom he had ſent to ſee his Queene lying ſicke, and alſo to viſit *Eliſabeth*, he dealeth ſeriouſly with the Queene concerning the matter of marriage with himſelfe, making promiſe to get a peculiar diſpenſation from the Pope for the allowance of the ſame. This buſineſſe troubled the Queene exceedingly; and that ſhe ſhould reject the mightieſt Prince of all Europe, and one that had very well deſerved at her hands, now that of his owne accord he ſued to her for marriage, this ſhe thought would cauſe her to bee eſteemed at the leaſt unwiſe, if not ingratefull alſo.

The French King likewiſe was nettled at the hearing of this newes, who could not chuſe but be greatly affraid in regard of France, if England ſhould now againe, by occaſion of a new marriage, cleave to the King of Spaine his mortall enemy. Wherefore he let ſlip no time, but with might & maine laboured at Rome by the interceſſion of the Biſhop of Engoulme, that no ſuch diſpenſation might be granted, for as much as Queen *Eliſabeth* was known to favour the Doctrine of the Proteſtants; yea he dealeth with the Pope that the ſame might bee pronounced unlawfull: But all this covertly and cloſely, for feare of provoking the Engliſh, differences not being yet well compoſed betwixt them. The Earle of Ferie, to the end he might procure this marriage, every where in England beateth in the Papiſts eares, that there was now no other meanes left for the preſervation of the Catholique Religion, and

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their ancient honour and renowne; which if it were neglected, he could not but pitie the caſe of England, being in diſtreſſe for money, wanting marſhall men, not well fortified with Garriſons of ſouldiers, nor provided of munition; yea he ſeemed to intimate that the Councellors themſelves were deſtitute of counſell and adviſe. And true it is that the Engliſh Common-wealth was at this time greatly afflicted, and in a pitteous eſtate; entangled on the one ſide with the Scottiſh warre, and on the other with the French, greatly indebted and brought behind hand by King *Henry* the eighth, and King *Edward* the Sixth, the treaſury exhauſt, Callice and the Countrey of Oye, together with great ſtore of warlike proviſion, not without ſingular ſtaine to the Engliſh reputation, utterly and irrecoverably loſt, the people diſtracted with ſundry opinions in the matter of Religion, the Queene her ſelfe deſtitute of potent friends, and not protected by any alliance with forreine Princes.

Queen Eliſabeth putteth off King Philip, and why.

Shee, after that ſhe had more ſeriouſly pondered in her mind this beſineſſe of the marriage, ſtraightway found by reaſoning within her ſelfe, that a womans matrimony with the relict of her Siſter, by paritie of reaſon, muſt bee forbidden by divine authoritie, as well as the marriage with the widow of a mans brother, and was therefore unlawfull, although the Popes diſpenſation were procured: And ſhe perceived likewiſe, that by contracting this wedlock by diſpenſation, ſhe muſt needs acknowledge her ſelfe to be borne by unlawfull copulation, for as much as King *Henry* her Father (having divorced *Katharine* of Spaine becauſe ſhe had been his Brothers wife) begate her of *Anne Bolen*, whom hee tooke to wife in her place. Which laſt marriage notwithſtanding all the Univerſities of the Chriſtian world and the Synod at London, had allowed as good and juſtifiable by divine authority, as likewiſe that other wedlock with *Katharine* to have beene unlawfull and wholly indiſpenſable. Whereupon ſhe laboured by little and little to ſhun King *Philip* her Suiter, returning a modeſt and honeſt anſwer, and ſuch as might beſeeme a Virgins ſhame-fac'neſſe, and the ſame not in pretence, but in truth, which was, that ſhee was hindred by ſcruple of conſcience from giving eare to his requeſt. But he would not take ſo eaſie a deniall, but was ſtill inſtant and urgent by letters to obtaine his purpoſe: She alſo ever and anon was admiring and talking of the behaviour of ſo great a King, how compounded with grace and comelineſſe, how full of Majeſty and Princely comportment it was; whereupon ſundry Courtiers ſtepped forth, and declaimed againſt the Spaniards as a Nation full of pride and haughtineſſe; and ſome of the Queens more intimate Councellors, doubting which way ſhe might incline, never ceaſed whiſpering in the eares of a tender hearted Virgin, that ſhe and her friends were utterly undone, and farewell England if ſhe acknowledged the Popes authoritie in diſpenſing or in any thing elſe to be ought worth; That two Popes had already pronounced that her Mother was unlawfully wedded to King *Henrie* the eighth, and that upon their definitive ſentence the Queene of Scots challenged to her ſelfe a right to the Crowne of England; That the Pope would never diſannull that firſt ſentence, neither ought ſhe to expect any good dealing from them of that See, who had dealt ſo harſhly with her Mother before times. Beſides, the French

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King was busie at Rome to have *Mary* Queen of Scots declared Queen of England.

The Queene being utterly averse from that marriage which could not be had upon better conditions, and zealously affected to promote the Protestant Religion, considered with her selfe, that nothing would be more acceptable to God, nothing more effectuall to decline the suites of an importunate Woer, than to bring in an alteration of Religion out of hand. For she nothing doubted that upon a change of Religion, King *Philips* minde also would be changed from making any further mention of marriage. Therefore she entred into consultation how to expell Popery, and establish the Protestant Religion, giving charge to those of her more intimate Councells to hasten the deliberation, and well to weigh all the dangers that might arise from thence, and what reasons should hinder their proceedings. They presently fore-saw that dangers would ensue both from abroad, and at home: Forreine perills were likely to proceed either from the Pope, who would send forth his thunderbolt of excommunication, & expose the Kingdome as a prey to those that would invade it: or from the French King, who would from thence take occasion to procrastinate and delay the busines of the peace begun at Cambray; or rather would wage warre with the English in the Queene of Scots quarrell, and persecute them not as enemies onely, but also as Heretikes, and stirre up Scotland likewise to doe the same, which was now at his beck and command: or else from the Irish, who were most obstinately addicted to the Roman religion, and prone to seditions and rebellions: or else from the King of Spaine, who was potent in the Netherlands that neighboured upon us. They unto these particulars, first resolve that the Popes excommunication is a skar-Crow, and not to bee feared: For peace with the French, they think good to entertaine it if it be offered, otherwise to sue for it, because the same peace concluded Scotland also: Nevertheless the Protestants of France and Scotland were in no case to be forsaken: Berwick, and the borders toward Scotland, as also Ireland: were to bee secured with greater Garrisons, but the friendship of the King of Spaine was thought good to bee embraced in any wise, and the ancient Burgundian league confirmed. The dangers to be expected at home, they fore-saw would proceed from the Nobles that were removed from the Councell, from the Bishops and Ecclesiasticall persons that were to bee displaced, from the Judges that administred justice, from the Justices of peace in the severall Counties, and from some Lay-persons, that in Queene *Maries* reigne were great for wealth and estimation, because they were devoted to the Roman religion. They conclude that they must bee displaced, and held in obedience by the severitie of Lawes (which course Queene *Marie* had taken against the Protestants) and none but Protestants admitted to any place of government, nor admitted into the Colledges of either Universitie; and withall they determined to remove all Popish Masters and Presidents out of both Universities; and the Schoole-masters from Winchester, Eaton, and other Schooles. They found it necessary likewise in time to suppresse those Protestants, that through a desire of Innovation began at that time to coine a new forme of Ecclesiasticall politie; and not to suf-

Consultation about bringing in the Protestant Religion.

Dangers abroad.

Dangers at home.

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fer in any caſe more than one and the ſame Religion, leſt diverſity of Religions amongſt the Engliſh (a people full of animoſitie, and ready upon all occaſions to take up armes) might miniſter perpetuall fuell to diſcord and ſedition. The correcting of the Booke of Common prayer, ſet forth in the Engliſh tongue under King *Edward* the ſixth his reigne, was now committed to the care and diligence of Doctor *Parker*, *Bill*, *May*, *Coxe*, *Grindall*, *White-head*, and *Pilkington*, Divines of great learning and ſingular moderation; as alſo to Sir *Thomas Smith*, a learned Knight: this buſineſſe was cloſely carried, and not communicated to any, ſave onely the Marqueſſe of Northampton, the Earle of Bedford, and Sir *William Cecill*.

Neverthelеſſe certaine Miniſters, impatient of delay (as it ſhould ſeeme) and deſirous rather to anticipate and prevent the Lawes, than expect till things were brought to maturitie, began freely to preach the Proteſtant Doctrine, firſt in private houſes, afterwards more boldly in the publike Aſſemblies for Gods ſervice; and the common people, greedy of any novelty, flocked to them in great multitudes; and they began ſo eagerly to diſpute of controverted queſtions in religion, amongſt themſelves and againſt the Papiſts, that the Queene, to cut off all occaſions of wrangling and contentions, made ſevere Proclamation, that points of this nature ſhould not be medled in. Yet ſhe permitted the Epiſtles and Goſpels, and the ten Commandments to bee read to the people in the Engliſh tongue, but the ſame without any manner of gloſſe or expoſition; alſo the Lords prayer, the Apoſtles Creed, and the Letanie might be had in the vulgar tongue likewiſe. In all other matters they were to follow the Roman rite and cuſtome, untill order could be taken for the eſtabliſhing Religion by authority of Parliament. In the meane while the Queen cauſeth the funeralls of her Siſter *Marie* to be ſolemnized with great pompe and preparation in the Cathedrall Church of S. *Peter* at Weſtminſter: and a little after, the ſame rites were performed to *Charles* the Fifth, Emperour of Germanie; who for two yeeres before (a rare example amongſt Emperours, but more glorious than all the victories in the world) overcame himſelfe, gave over the Empire, and left off living to the World, that he might live wholly to God, and be at liberty to ſerve him alone.

Part of the Service read in the Engliſh tongue.

Anno 1559. Reg. 2. Noble men reſtored.

At the beginning of the new yeere, *William Parr*, deprived of his honour for Treaſon under Queene *Marie*, was by the Queenes grace againe created Marqueſſe of Northampton; *Edward Seimor*, by a certaine private Law, and the envie of his adverſaries formerly deſpoyled of a great part of his inheritance, and his fathers honours, ſhee now advanced to the honour of Baron Beauchamp and Earle of Hertford; Sir *Thomas Howard*, ſecond ſonne of *Thomas* Duke of Norfolke, was made Viſcount *Howard* of Bindon; Sir *Henrie Carie* of Hunſdon, couſen German to the Queene by *Mary Bolen*, and Sir *Oliver Saint-John* of *Bletneſho*, were made Barons: all theſe were averſe from the Popiſh Religion. Now the Queene in Princely ſtate, and with incredible applauſe and gratulation of the people, was brought from the Tower of London to Weſtminſter; where the day following ſhe was inaugurated after the manner of her Anceſtors, and annointed by Doctor *Oglethorp* Biſhop

Bishop of Carlile, for as much as the Arch-bishop of Yorke and the rest, refused to performe this Ceremonie, out of a suspitious and solicitous feare for the Roman Religion, which they conceived, both in regard that the Queene from the first beginning had beene instructed in the Protestant Religion, as also because, when the Bishop a little before was to celebrate divine service, she forbade him to elevate the Host for adoration: likewise she suffered the Letanie, with the Epistles and Gospels, to be used in the popular tongue, which things in their opinion were piacular and unlawfull.

She nevertheless was truely pious, who daily as soone as she rose set apart some time for the service of God, afterwards at set houres retired her selfe into her private Closet, frequented the Chappell duely upon Sundaies and Holy-daies; nor was there ever any Prince that with greater devotion was present at Divine Service. In blacke array, and after the manner of the former ages, shee heard attentively the Lenten Sermons, although she would often say her selfe, what she had read of King *Henrie* the third her Predecessor, that *shee had rather speake devoutly to God in prayer, than heare others discourse eloquently of God in their Sermons*. But of the Crosse, the blessed Virgin, and the Saints, she thought not contemptibly; nor did she ever speake of these without a certaine kind of reverence, nor patiently heare others speake of them without the like.

After a few daies respite, the Parliament was assembled; wherein first of all by all their suffrages it was enacted, that *Elisabeth was, and that by divine right, the Civill Law of England, and the Statutes of the Kingdome ought to be* (to use the very forme) *the lawfull, undoubted, and certaine Queene of England, and justly and lawfully descended from the bloud Royall; according to the order of succession set downe by the Nobles, and body of the Kingdome, in the* 35. *yeere of the reigne of King* Henrie *the Eighth*. That law nevertheless whereby her father had excluded her and Queen *Marie* from the succession of the Kingdome, is not repealed: in which matter Sir *Nicolas Bacons* wisedome (upon whom as an Oracle of the Law the Queen relyed in things of that nature) was by some thought wanting, especially seeing the Duke of Northumberland had objected that law against Queen *Marie* and her selfe; and for that very cause Queene *Marie* had abrogated it so farre as it concerned her owne particular. And from hence certaine seditious persons, tooke occasion afterwards to practise treacheries against her as an unlawfull Queene; although the English Law-wisedome have long since pronounced, that *the Crowne once gained taketh away all defects*. Others againe attributed this very thing to *Bacons* wisedome, who in so great perplexitie and inconstancie of Lawes and Acts, seeing what made for *Elisabeth*, seemed to cast an aspersion and disgrace upon Queene *Marie*, would not rub an old sore, and therefore he applied himselfe to the law in the 35. yeere of King *Henrie*, which after a sort made equally for the credit and dignitie of both.

Elisabeth declared Queen by Act of Parliament.

In this Parliament, after some other things dispatched, they consulted about restoring to the Crowne of England, the former jurisdiction in the affaires Ecclesiasticall. Namely, they recall the Acts of King *Henrie*

the Eight, made againſt the See of Rome, and the Lawes made by King *Edward* the Sixth on the behalfe of the Proteſtants, which Queene *Marie* had aboliſhed: and withall they enact further, *That whatſoever juriſdictions, priviledges, ſpirituall preeminences, by what Eccleſiaſticall authoritie ſoever, have heretofore beene in uſe, for enquiring into Eccleſiaſticall perſons, & correcting all manner of errors, hereſies, ſchiſmes, abuſes, and enormities, ſhall for ever be annexed to the Imperiall Crowne of England: that the Queene and her Succeſſors by Letters Patents may appoint certaine men, who ſhall exerciſe that Authoritie; with this condition nevertheleſſe, that they define nothing to bee Hereſie, but what were heretofore out of the ſacred Canonicall Scriptures, or the foure firſt generall Councells, or other Councells according to the true and genuine ſenſe of the holy Scriptures, defined to be hereſies, or now hereafter by authoritie of Parliament, with the aſſent of the Engliſh Clergy in a Synod or Convocation, ſhall bee ſo defined. And that all and ſingular Eccleſiaſticall perſons, Magiſtrates, Penſioners, ſuch as tooke degrees in the Univerſities, Apprentices that were to be made free, all that take poſſeſſion of Lands, or to be admitted into the number of the Queenes ſervants and attendants, &c. ſhould take an Oath, to acknowledge the Queenes Majeſtie to be the only & Supreme Governour of her Kingdomes and Dominions* (*for the title of* Supreme Head of the Church of England *was in no caſe liked of*) *in all cauſes, & over all Perſons, as well Spirituall as Temporall: and that all forreine Princes and Potentates were to be excluded utterly from medling with any cauſes within her Realmes.*

Theſe lawes, nine of the Biſhops who were that day preſent in the Upper Houſe (for there were but foureteene now alive) namely, the Archbiſhop of Yorke, the Biſhops of London, Wincheſter, Worceſter, Landaff, Coventry, Exceſter, Cheſter and Carlile, and the Abbot of Weſtminſter ſtiffely oppoſed. Amongſt the Peeres none at all, except the Earle of Shrewsbury, and Sir *Anthony Browne* Viſcount *Montacute*, whom the Lords of the Councell in Queen *Maries* reign, together with *Thurlbey* Biſhop of Elie, ſent on Embaſſage to Rome; that England might be reduced to the unitie of the Roman Church, and the Obedience of the See Apoſtolicall. He, out of a kind of religious zeale, and for his honours ſake, was vehemently inſtant, that it would be a great diſgrace to England, if they preſently departed from the Apoſtolicall See, whereunto they had but lately reconciled themſelves with all humilitie and ſubmiſneſſe: & the danger would be far greater, if the kingdom, after the ſentence of Excommunication denounced againſt it, ſhould through this defection be expoſed to the enemies rage and furie. He for his part by Authority from the Nobles of England, and in the name of the whole Kingdome, had ſworne obedience to the Biſhop of Rome, and therefore muſt needs performe the ſame. And in more vehement manner yet contended, beſeeching them againe and againe that they would not depart from the See of Rome, to whom they owe their firſt knowledge, and perpetuall preſervation of the Chriſtian faith. But in the Lower Houſe, when theſe matters were referred to them, the greater part by farre gave their voices with one conſent; they of the Popiſh religion in the meane while murmuring that the Parliament was packed, and the

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greater number of them choſen on ſet purpoſe from among the Proteſtants out of all the Counties, Cities, and Townes corporate; and that the Duke of Norfolke, and the Earle of Arundell, of greateſt authoritie among the Peeres, for their owne ends and hopes, and *Cecill* alſo, had cunningly begged voices to make up their party.

A conference between the Papiſts and Proteſtants touching Religion.

Now that all mens minds were ſeverally perſwaded concerning religion, by one and the ſame proclamation, order was taken that no man ſhould ſpeake irreverently of the Sacrament of the Altar, and withall it is permitted in both kinds. A conference alſo appointed to be held at Weſtminſter before the Peeres of the Kingdome, betweene the Papiſts and Proteſtants, and that upon the laſt day of March. For the Proteſtants were choſen, *Richard Coxe*, *White-head*, *Edmund Grindall*, *Robert Horne*, *Edwin Sands*, *Edmund Gueſt*, *John Elmare*, and *John Juell*: for the Papiſts, *John White* Biſhop of Wincheſter, *Ralph Baine* Biſhop of Coventry and Lichfield, *Thomas Watſon* Biſhop of Lincolne, Doctor *Cole* Deane of S. *Pauls* in London, Doctor *Langdall* Arch-Deacon of Lewis, Doctor *Harpesfeild* Arch-Deacon of Canterbury, and Doctor *Chadſey* Arch-Deacon of Middleſex. The queſtions propounded to be diſcuſſed, were theſe: Of celebrating divine ſervice in the Vulgar tongue; Of the authority of the Church in abrogating of ceremonies, and conſtituting others to edification; And of the ſacrifice of the Maſſe. But all this came to nothing: for after a few words on the one ſide and the other, firſt written & afterward rehearſed, they could not agree about the lawes of the diſputation; & ſo the Proteſtants triumphed as if they had gotten the Victory, and the Papiſts complained, they were hardly dealt withall, becauſe they had no warning of the queſtions given them untill a day or two before; and that Sir *Nicolas Bacon* Lord Keeper of the Great Seale (a man little converſant in Divinitie, and a ſhrewd adverſary of the Papiſts) ſate there as Judge and Preſident of the conference: whereas he was onely appointed to keepe good orders amongſt them; but the truth indeed was, that they ſeriouſly weighing the matter, durſt not, without making the Pope acquainted, call into queſtion matters of ſo great conſequence, which they knew were no whit controverted in the Church of Rome; exclaiming every where, *When ſhall we know what faith to rely upon, if it bee lawfull to diſpute alwaies of matters of faith? That diſputations about religion alwaies incline that way which the Scepter inclineth*; and other ſuch like ſpeeches they gave out. And the Biſhops of Lincolne and Wincheſter were ſo angry, that they thought it meet to have the Queene her ſelfe, and the Authors of this defection from the Church of Rome, ſtricken with the cenſure of excommunication; who for this cauſe were impriſoned. But the wiſer and more moderate amongſt them, were of opinion that this was rather to bee left to the Pope, leſt they themſelves who were ſubjects might ſeeme to caſt off their obedience to their lawfull Prince, and to hold up a flag of rebellion. Neither was the Pope unacquainted with theſe paſſages, who at this time waxing ſomewhat angry, commanded Sir *Edward Carn* a Welſh Knight Doctor of the Civill-lawes, who had lien Embaſſadour at Rome for King *Henrie* the Eighth, after for Queene *Marie*, and now for Queen *Eliſabeth*, to lay downe his office

of Embaſſadour, and (that I may uſe the very words) *by force of a mandate made by lively voice from the Oracle of our moſt holy Lord the Pope, by vertue of his holy obedience, and under paine of the greater Excommunication, and alſo the loſſe of all his goods, that he ſhould not depart out of the City, but undertake the government of an Hoſpitall of the Engliſh* (to wit, that he might not diſcloſe the ſecret practiſes of the French againſt Queene *Eliſabeth*, which he had before time performed out of hearty affection toward his Countrey.) Nevertheleſſe it was thought by ſome, that this crafty old man had of his owne accord choſen this baniſhment, out of a zealous love that he bare to the Roman Religion.

Contention about Callice.

In the mean while (that following the order of the times I may for a while omit theſe Eccleſiaſticall and Parliamentary matters) the Commiſſioners of England and Spaine (who treated of the peace at Cambray) in an earneſt bickering with the French for the reſtitution of Callice, could by no means obtaine of them to part with Callice, although they offered to have blotted out of account above three thouſand Millions of French crownes, due from the French upon lawfull obligation, in lieu thereof. The King of Spaine, for as much as the Engliſh for his cauſe had loſt it, and foreſeeing that it would be for the good of the Netherlands that it remaine ſtill in the Engliſh poſſeſſion, ſtood truely and honeſtly on the Engliſh behalfe, whereas otherwiſe he would have declined the treaty of peace. The French on the other ſide urge, that Callice alone could not make amends for the loſſes ſuffered from the Engliſh, that through their aid the Spaniards had taken their Townes, that the Engliſh Navie had fired and pillaged many Villages of little Brittaine by the Sea ſide, commerce and trading (which is the ſinew of the Kingdome) was interrupted, and an infinite maſſe of money expended to hinder the ſallies of the Engliſh. Beſides, Callice was the ancient patrimony of the French Crowne, loſt by warre long agone, and now by warre againe recovered, and therefore in no wiſe to be reſtored: yea, that the Parliament of France had ſo decreed it. For the reſtoring of Callice were no other thing but to deliver a ſword into the hands of an enemy, and eternally to turne away the hearts of the French Nation from their King; and therefore the Engliſh did unjuſtly and abſurdly to require it. They againe contended, that with great equitie and reaſon they demanded it, for Callice for an age or two had beene a part of the poſſeſſion of the Crowne of England, and not gained onely by title of warre, but by right of inheritance, and yeelded upon agreement for certaine other places which the Kings of England had forgone. The damage they had received they ought to impute to the Spaniards, who drew the Engliſh againſt their wills to have fellowſhip in the warre with France, by which meanes they had ſuffered great detriment and prejudice, loſing their fortified places, and their Captaines taken Priſoners, but had received no commoditie at all. Whatſoever the Parliament of France had decreed, becauſe it was uſefull and profitable for themſelves, was not therefore juſt: neither could Callice now juſtly be detained, ſeeing that the ſeverall places taken in the former war, were upon conditions of agreement reſtored to the other Princes. The French made anſwer, that this was done in regard of the marriages to be contracted

with

with the other Princes. Therefore they made propoſitions, that the eldeſt daughter of *Marie* Queene of Scots and the Dolphin of France, ſhould marrie to the eldeſt ſon of *Eliſabeth* Queene of England, and that ſhe ſhould have Callice by way of Dowry; and withall the Queene of Scots ſhould depart with her right to the Crowne of England: or the eldeſt daughter of Queene *Eliſabeth* ſhould be married to the eldeſt ſonne of the Queene of Scots, and the Engliſh withall ſhould renounce all the right which they challenge to the Kingdome of France, and remit whatſoever was due debt from France to England; in the meane time Callice ſhould be in the power of the French.

The Engliſh, as they were deafe, neglected theſe trifles, as matters of uncertaintie, things to come to paſſe in the next age, and deviſed to breed delay.

Thus farre they had proceeded, when the King of Spaine received certaine tidings out of England, that Queene *Eliſabeth* did not only decline wholly the marriage proffered, but alſo did turne and change all in Religion. Hereupon his endeavour for the reſtitution of Callice, which before was fixed and reſolute, (as might ſeeme) began now to faile; and the Delegates of Spaine, impatient of delay, now that they were in a manner in all points agreed, ſave only for the treaty of Callice, made us beleeve that they would no longer be held from warre for that cauſe, unleſſe the Engliſh would contribute to a ſix yeeres warre larger ſummes of money, and greater forces than before. Hereupon the Cardinall of Lorraine ſtood up, and with earneſt aſſeveration affirmed, that the Queene of Scots his Niece was the true and undoubted Queene of England, and this in the preſence of the Spaniſh Delegates; therefore the King of Spaine, if he embraced juſtice, ought to labour to have Callice delivered into his Nieces hands, who was the moſt lawfull Queene of England. The Spaniard (who alwaies had the French power in ſuſpition) gave no willing eare to theſe ſpeeches. Whereupon they aſſayed to get *Katharine Grey*, to whom King *Henry* the eighth was great Uncle, ſecretly out of England, that they might have whom to oppoſe to the Queene of Scots and the French in claime to the Crowne of England, if *Eliſabeth* ſhould chance to die; that ſo the power of France might not be augmented with the addition of the Crownes of England and Ireland: and then they urged earneſtly to have a truce concluded for a while betweene France and England, in the meane time to have Callice committed in ſequeſtration to the King of Spaine, as an honourable Umpire; whereunto the French, and the Engliſh no leſſe, would not yeeld aſſent.

The Queene foreſaw thus much, that upon neglect of the marriage, and a change of Religion, no good was to be hoped for from the Spaniards. She knew alſo that this treaty of Cambray was purpoſely taken in hand to cut off the Proteſtants Religion. And ſurely a Peace, by reaſon of her ſexe, and the emptineſſe of the treaſury, ſhe thought was rather to be embraced than the moſt juſt warre, who was wont to ſay, that it was a more glorious thing to ſettle a peace by wiſedome, than to make an end of warre by an Armie. Againe, ſhe thought it was neither for her owne credit, nor the Engliſh reputation, to relie upon the King of

Spaines aſſiſtance and protection. Therefore ſhe thought it would be beſt to conclude her owne peace apart, and deale with the French King about Callice: hereunto alſo ſhe was ſolicited by frequent letters from the King of France, from *Mommorencie* Conſtable of France, and by meſſage from the Duke of Guiſe, by the Lord *Grey*, who being taken at Guiſnes, was for this cauſe releaſed out of Priſon. For the diſpatch hereof *Guido Cavalcantius*, a noble Florentine, brought up in England from his childhood, is employed: with him the French King had ſecret conference, telling him that he thought it ſafeſt to adviſe upon theſe things farther from the Spaniards, in ſome obſcure Towne of England or France, by Commiſſioners ſent thither for the ſame purpoſe.

Queene *Eliſabeth* on the contrary, like a Virgin of a maſculine ſpirit, profeſſed, that ſhe was an abſolute Prince, and free to manage her owne actions by her ſelfe and her miniſters. And although during her ſiſters reigne nothing was taken in hand without the King of Spaines counſell, ſhe nevertheleſſe, without adviſing with him, would have this buſineſſe tranſacted betwixt hers and the King of France his Delegates, and that not in an obſcure place, but at the Caſtle of Cambray (which is but a little diſtant from the Towne.) And by this meanes verily ſhe incurred no leſſe diſpleaſure with the King of Spaine, than formerly ſhe had done in deſpiſing his wedlocke, and by the alteration of Religion. The French King notwithſtanding went warily to worke: and that he might know how ſhe ſtood affected to the marriage, and toward the King of Spaine, requeſted to have two ſcruples removed; the one, that if hee parted with Callice before he certainely knew what husband the Queen would take, Callice might eaſily come into the King of Spaines hands, who would purchaſe it at any rate, and wives doe not uſually deny any thing to their beloved husbands: the other, whether (as the Spaniards make brag) the Engliſh be linked in ſuch a league with the Spaniards, that they are bound to make warre together with them againſt whomſoever?

To theſe demands this was anſwered, that the Queene carried ſuch a motherly affection toward the kingdome of England, that for any husbands pleaſure ſhe would not part with Callice; and if ſhe would never ſo faine the people of England would in no caſe ſuffer it. As for the King of Spaine, there was no ſuch league concluded as is mentioned, onely an alliance and friendly correſpondence, and that ſhe was free to contract a league that might be uſefull and commodious for England with any Prince whatſoever. Hereupon it ſeemed good that at the Caſtle of Cambray the Delegates on both ſides ſhould meet, and treat about the compoſing of differences, and making of a peace. For the Queene of England, were *Thurlbey* Biſhop of Ely, the Lord *Williams*, the Lord *Howard* of Effingham chiefe Chamberlaine to the Queene, and Doctour *Nicholas Wotton* Deane of the Metropolitane Churches of Canterbury and Yorke. For the King of France, *Charles* Cardinall of Lorraine Archbiſhop and Duke of Rhemes, the firſt Peere of France; *Annas* Duke of Mommorencie, Peere, Conſtable, and great Maſter of France; *James Albon* Lord of Saint Andrewes, Marqueſſe *Fronſac*, and Marſhall

Commiſſioners for the peace with France.

Marſhall of France; *Iohn Morvilliers* Biſhop of Orleans, and *Claud Aubeſpine*, Secretary of the Privie Councell. Theſe were the Articles of agreement.

The Articles of peace made with the French King.

Neither Prince ſhall invade the other, nor give aide to any that ſhall attempt an invaſion. If their ſubjects attempt any thing contrarie to this Peace, they ſhall be puniſhed, but the league ſhall not be broken. Ships of war, before they ſet forth from the ſhore, ſhall give in caution not to take or ſpoile the ſubjects of either Prince. Free Commerce and trading ſhall bee exerciſed. The Fortification at Aimouth in Scotland ſhall be demoliſhed. The King of France for eight yeeres ſhall peaceably enjoy the Towne of Calice with the appurtenances, and ſixteene pecces of great Ordnance; after which time expired, he ſhall reſtore the ſame together with the Town to Queen Eliſabeth. *Eight Merchant ſtrangers, that are none of the French Kings ſubjects, ſhall become engaged for the payment of five hundred thouſand Crownes in way of forfeiture if Gallice be not reſtored: Neverthelеſſe, the right over the Towne ſhall ſtill remaine to Queen* Eliſabeth. *Five Hoſtages ſhall be given until ſuch time as the ſaid Merchants become bound. If any thing during the forementioned terme of yeeres, by the Queen of England, or by her ſubjects under her authoritie, command, or allowance, by armes, directly or indirectly, ſhall be attempted or innovated againſt the moſt Chriſtian King, or the Queen of Scots, then ſhall they be freed and abſolved from all promiſe made, and fidelitie engaged, and the Hoſtages and Merchants ſhall inſtanly be freed. In like manner, if by the moſt Chriſtian King, the Queene of Scots, or the Dolphin of France, any thing ſhall bee attempted, or innovated againſt the Queene of England, then ſhall they bee tied without any farther delay to deliver up the poſſeſsion of Callice.*

Peace concluded with the King and Queene of Scots.

At the ſame time, in the ſame place, by the ſame Delegates, was a peace concluded alſo betweene the Queene of England, and *Francis* and *Marie* King and Queene of Scots; certaine articles being drawne about granting of ſafe Conducts, concerning murderers, liers in wait, and robbers neere the Borders, and renegates, to be referred to ſome Engliſh and Scottiſh choſen to conſider of them. Whereof when an agreement was finiſhed betweene *Thomas* Earle of Northumberland, *Cuthbert Tonſtall* Biſhop of Durham, *William* Lord *Dacres* of Gilleſland, and Sir *James Croſts* Captaine of the Towne and Caſtle of Berwicke, for the Engliſh; and for the Scottiſh, the Earle of Morton, the Lord Humes, and Saint *Clere* Deane of Glaſco; the ſame treaty being held at Upſalington. The peace betweene the Queene of England, the King of France, the Dolphin, and the Queene of Scots, was proclaimed throughout England, which was grudgingly entertained amongſt the people, as tending to the diſgrace of the Engliſh, in regard of the loſſe of Callice, and reſtitution not made, the Proteſtants in the meane while caſting the fault upon the Biſhops and Papiſts, and they againe upon the Lord *Wentworth* Governour of the Towne, being a Proteſtant. And indeed for this very matter in Queene *Maries* reigne hee was called into queſtion, abſent and unheard, but the times now againe altering, he was at length ſummoned to appeare, heard, and abſolved by the Judgement of his Peeres. But *Ralph Chamberlaine*, who was Governour of the

the Caſtle of Callice, and *John Harleſton* Captaine of the Fort at Riſebanke, for forſaking their ſtation were after condemned of treaſon, but the puniſhment remitted.

The Eſtates exhort the Queene to marriage.

When the Parliament aſſembly was now to be diſſolved, it was generally agreed upon that the aſſembly of the Commons ſhould admoniſh the Queene about timely contracting of marriage: and none of the Peeres would joyne themſelves, leſt they might happely be thought to adviſe for their owne ends. Therefore *Thomas Gargrave* Speaker of the Lower Houſe, with ſome few other choſen men, goeth to the Queene, after leave firſt obtained, and craving excuſe, from his office, the Princes gentleneſſe, and the weightineſſe of the meſſage, hereby gained attention, and then proceeded, to this effect: *There is nothing which we do more earneſtly pray for to obtaine at the hands of Almighty God, than that the happines whereof we have taſted by your moſt juſt and upright rule amongſt us hitherto, may be continued to the Engliſh Nation unto all perpetuitie. How this ſhould come to paſſe, whiles we ponder many things in our minds, we are not able to comprehend, unleſſe either you ſhould reigne alwaies amongſt us (which we may not hope for) or elſe by contracting of matrimony become the happy mother of children, that may at once inherit both the Kingdome and the vertues of their Parent: which God Almighty grant. This is the ſimple and onely deſire of all your people, and that which comprehendeth all the reſt. It behooveth all others of what ranke or condition ſoever, but Princes eſpecially, to be carefull that although themſelves die, yet the Common-wealth may bee immortall. This immortality it lieth in your power to beſtow upon your people of England, if (that as humane nature, your age, beauty, and fortunes ſeeme to require) you take unto you a husband, who may be a comfort and helper, a partner both in proſperitie and adverſitie. For without all doubt, the aſsiſtance of an husband alone will be more effectuall to the ordering of matters, than the united care and induſtry of many. Nothing can bee more contrarie to publike policie, than for that Prince, in whoſe matrimony the ſafety of the weale publike is contained, as a veſtall Virgin to live unwedded. It were meet that the Kingdome which you have received from your Anceſtors bee left to your children, that may be both an ornament and ſtrengthening to the Kingdome. The Kings of England were never more carefull of any thing, than to provide that the Royall Family might not be deſtitute of ſucceſsion. Hereupon your Grandfather* Henrie *the ſeventh of late memorie, ſaw to the marriage of his ſons* Arthur *and* Henrie, *while they were yet of tender age. Hence your Father* Henrie *the Eighth ſought to procure* Marie *Queene of Scots in wedlocke to his ſonne* Edward, *when he was hardly eight yeeres old; and but the other day almoſt your ſiſter* Marie, *when ſhe was old, married the King of Spaine. If want of ſucceſsion be wont to be afflicted by God as the greateſt puniſhment, both upon Princely and private families, how ſtrange and piacular a thing were it for a Prince wilfully to bring the ſame upon her ſelfe, whereby an infinite heape of miſeries, and all calamities which I tremble to mention, muſt neceſſarily overwhelme the Common-wealth? But far be it that theſe things ſhould ever happen, for which cauſe, not onely theſe few who are here preſent, but the whole Kingdome, and every Engliſh man doth lie proſtrate at your majeſties feet, and with lowly voice, and many grones of heart, doe*

moſt

moſt humbly beg and entreat, that it may never come to paſſe. Thus hee, but in many more words, and farre better eloquence.

The Queenes anſwer concerning marriage.

The Queen in few words made anſwer: *Though in a buſineſſe not very acceptable, yet your good will and the good will of my people, ſo clearely manifeſted, is moſt acceptable, for as much as it proceedeth from a right good affection towards mee, and the Common-wealth. Concerning matrimony, whereunto you exhort me ſo earneſtly, I have long ſince beene perſwaded, that God would have mee borne to ſee this light, to the end I might in the firſt place thinke and endevour the performance of thoſe things, which may make chiefly for his glory. Therefore have I made choice of that condition of life, which is moſt free from care of humane matters, that I might intend to doe ſervice to God alone: from which eſtate if either the profered matches of the moſt mighty Princes, or the danger of imminent death could have removed me, I had long ſince enjoyed the honour of wedlock. And theſe were my thoughts whiles I lived a private perſon. But now, that the publike care of the adminiſtration of a Kingdome is fallen unto me, to draw marriage cares upon me alſo, might ſeeme inconſiderate raſhneſſe and folly. Yea, which anſwere may give you ſatisfaction, I have already married a husband, to wit, the Kingdome of England. And behold,* ſaith ſhe *(which I marvell that you have forgotten) the pledge of the covenant with my husband, and token of matrimony* (and withall ſhe held out her finger, and ſhewed the ring wherewithall at the time of her inauguration, in a right forme of words, ſhee gave her ſelfe in wedlocke to the Kingdome:) Here ſhe tooke breath, and ſoone after went on in this manner: *Neither would I have you in upbraiding manner, to tell me that I live as one deſtitute & deprived of comfortable iſſue, which the marriage bed might afford; for each of you, and as many of the Engliſh Nation as are under my protection and government, are truly my children and kinred; and unleſſe by ſome ſtrange diſaſter (which God avert) I be unhappily deprived of you, I cannot (I ſuppoſe) without injurie be eſteemed deſtitute. But I commend one thing highly in you, which is, that all this notwithſtanding, you have not preſumed to make choice of a husband for me (therein leaving me to my ſelfe) which indeed had beene a great diſhonour to abſolute majeſtie and ſoveraigntie, and would ill have beſeemed your diſcretion, who are all borne ſubjects. Nevertheleſſe, if it ſhall ſo ſeeme good to the Supreme Ruler of all things, that I take upon me another condition of life, I faithfully promiſe you to doe nothing therein which may be prejudiciall to the Common-wealth, but will take ſuch a husband, as ſhall be no leſſe carefull of the Weale publike than my ſelfe. But if I proceed in ſingle life, as I have already begun, I doubt not but God will ſo direct my counſells and yours, that there ſhall ariſe no queſtion concerning ſucceſſion, but that one ſhall come after me, who ſhall be no leſſe ſtudious of the publike good, than if he were borne of me; for as much as we have daily experience, that the iſſue of the beſt Princes doth too often degenerate. Now for mine owne part, I ſhall account it a great glory to my ſelfe, and a meane to preſerve my memory everlaſtingly, if after I have ſent forth my laſt breath, this inſcription can bee ſet upon my Tombe;* Here lieth Queene ELISABETH, who reigned a Virgin, and died a Virgin.

At this meeting of the Parliament, beſides thoſe particulars formerly mentioned, certaine other Acts were made, prohibiting all violence

lence againſt the Queenes perſon; alſo for reſtoring of Tenths and firſt fruits to the Crowne; for one uniforme manner of Common Praier, to wit, concerning the Liturgie, and adminiſtration of the Sacraments in uſe under King *Edward* the ſixth, which were now enjoyned to be had in all Churches, ſome few things onely altered; and a puniſhment was to be inflicted upon all perſons, that ſhould deprave the ſame, or uſe any other forme. It was enacted likewiſe, that all perſons ſhould goe to divine Service upon Sundaies and Holidaies, and a fine of twelve pence laied upon every ones head that was abſent, & the ſame to be given to the poore. Alſo for the quieting of ſeditious rumours and reports againſt the Queen, about merchandize, navigation, clothing, iron-works, tumultuous & unlawfull meetings: And to omit other matters (not ratified by law) an act concerning the lands and poſſeſſions of Archbiſhops and Biſhops, That none of them ſhould let out the lands of the Church longer than for one and twenty yeers, or a leaſe of three lives, *ſave to the Queene and her ſucceſſours, reſerving ſtill the old rents.* But that exception (*for the Queene*) proved very gainefull to the Courtiers, that abuſed the Queenes bountie; as alſo to certaine Biſhops too mindfull of their own private benefit; but brought great detriment and damage to the Church, untill King *James*, at his firſt comming to the Crowne, to the great good of the Church, tooke away that liberty alſo. There was at this aſſembly no body at all proſcribed or baniſhed, which for the moſt part commeth to paſſe ſtill at the firſt Parliaments of Princes; but there were reſtored to their birth-right and honours, *George Fines* Lord *Dacres*, and *Thomas* his brother, whoſe father had beene put to death in the reigne of King *Henrie* the Eight; alſo *Henrie Howard*, afterward Earle of Northampton, and his three ſiſters, the children of *Henrie Howard* Earle of Surrey, who for ſlight cauſes was beheaded by King *Henrie* the Eight, a little before his death; likewiſe *John Grey* brother to the Marqueſſe of *Dorſet*, *James Croſis*, and *Henrie Gates*, who were convicted of treaſon under Queene *Maries* reigne, and ſome others.

Noblemen reſtored.

After the Parliament was diſmiſſed, by the ſame authority the Common Prayer in the vulgar tongue was ſtraightway brought into all Churches, Images without any great adoe taken away, the Oath of *Supremacy* propounded to Biſhops, and other Papiſts of the Eccleſiaſticall function, which the greateſt number of them had ſworne unto formerly during the reigne of King *Henry* the eight. As many as refuſed to ſweare were forthwith deprived of their Benefices, Dignities, and Biſhoprickes. And the number of theſe (according to their owne account) throughout the whole kingdome, wherein are reckoned above nine thouſand and foure hundred Eccleſiaſticall Promotions, no more ſave onely eighty Parſons and Rectors of Churches, fifty Prebendaries, fifteene Maſters of Colledges, twelve Arch-Deacons, ſo many Deanes, ſixe Abbats and Abbateſſes, and fourteene Biſhops, all that then ſate in the Epiſcopall See (excepting onely *Anthony* of Landaffe) namely, *Nicholas Heath* Archbiſhop of Yorke, who before, of his owne accord, left the Chancellors place, and lived quietly many yeares, converſant with God and good ſtudies, in his houſe at Cobham in Surrey,

and

and was in ſo great favour with the Queene, that in wonderfull humanity ſhee would viſit him ever and anon. *Edmund Bonner* Biſhop of London, who had beene employed in ſundry Embaſſages to the Emperour, the Pope, and the French King; but hee joyned to his authoritie ſo much harſhneſſe and ſeveritie, that hee was noted of all men for a cruell and bloody Prelate, and was held in priſon a great part of his life. *Cuthbert Tunſtall* Biſhop of Durham, a man adorned with all kind of learning, having paſſed through ſundry degrees of honour at home, and famous for Embaſſages abroad; who in his younger yeeres vehemently oppoſed the Popes Primacie, in a long epiſtle written to Cardinall *Poole*; and when he was now verie old, yeelded up the ghoſt at Lambeth. Where alſo *Thomas Thurlbey* Biſhop of Elie finiſhed his life; one that had gained great commendation for his wiſedome, firſt in the Embaſſage to Rome, whither he was employed by Queene *Marie*, to profer obedience to that See in the name of the whole Kingdome; and afterwards at the treaty of Cambray, under Queene *Eliſabeth*. Likewiſe *Gilbert Bourne* Biſhop of Bath and Wells, a man that deſerved well of his See: *John Chriſtopherſon* Biſhop of Chicheſter, ſometime maſter of Trinitie Colledge in Cambridge, one verie learned in the Greeke tongue; who to the great benefit of the Chriſtian Common-wealth, faithfully tranſlated a great part of *Euſebius* and *Philo* the Jew. *John White* Biſhop of Wincheſter, a man of tolerable learning, and a good veine in Poetrie, as the times were then: *Thomas Watſon* Biſhop of Lincolne, a learned man in Schoole Divinitie, but auſterely grave and ſterne: *Ralph Baine* Biſhop of Coventry and Lichfeild, another reſtorer of the Hebrew tongue, and Regious Profeſſor of the ſame at Paris, under *Francis* the firſt King of France, when good letters began to flouriſh againe: *Owen Oglethorp* Biſhop of Carlile; *James Turbervile* Biſhop of Exeter, and *David Poole* Biſhop of Peterborough. Afterwards Doctor *Fekenham* Abbot of the *Benedictines* at Weſtminſter, a learned and good man, who lived a long time, and by doing good to the poore people every where, did win the hearts of his very adverſaries; yet was hee alſo removed. Theſe were at firſt committed to priſon, but ſoone after delivered to the cuſtody of Biſhops; or of their owne friends, excepting thoſe two malapert Prelats, Lincolne and Wincheſter, that threatned to excommunicate the Queen. But three onely, *Cuthbert Scot* Biſhop of Cheſter, *Richard Pate* Biſhop of Worceſter, and *Thomas Goldwell* Biſhop of Saint *Aſaph*, changed their religion of their owne accord, and ſome holy votaries, Virgins: as alſo not long after certaine Noble perſonages. Amongſt whom they of principall note were, *Henrie* Lord *Morley*, Sir *Francis Ingleſield*, and Sir *Robert Peckham*; which two were Privie Councellours to Queene *Mary*: Sir *Thomas Shelley*, and Sir *John Gage*.

Into the roomes of theſe Prelates and the reſt that dyed, were enſtalled the beſt learned men that could be found amongſt the Proteſtants.

Matthew Parker, a godly and learned man, and of moſt modeſt and mild carriage, who had ſometime been Chaplaine to King *Henrie* the Eight, and was Deane of the Collegiate Church of *Stoke-Clare*, was rightly elected to the Arch-biſhoprick of Canterburie: at the time of his conſecration, there was a Sermon, Praiers, and the holy Communion adminiſtred,

miniſtred, and he was conſecrated by the impoſition of the hands of three that formerly had beene Biſhops, *William Barlow* of Bath and Wells, *Iohn Scorie* of Chicheſter, *Miles Coverdale* of Exeter, and *Iohn* Suffragan of Bedford; this action was performed at Lambeth. Hee after conſecrated Biſhop of London, *Edmund Grindall* a famous Divine; and *Richard Coxe* who had beene Tutor to King *Edward* the ſixth in his minoritie, Biſhop of Elie; *Edwin Sands*, an Eloquent and ready Preacher, Biſhop of Worceſter; *Rowland Merick* Biſhop of Bangor, *Thomas Young*, a learned Doctor of both lawes, Biſhop of Saint *Davids*; *Nicolas Bullingham* Doctor of the lawes alſo Biſhop of Lincolne; *Iohn Iuell*, a man well ſeene in all liberall learning, Biſhop of Salisburie; *Richard Davis* Biſhop of Saint *Aſaph*, *Edward Gueſt* Biſhop of Rocheſter, *Gilbert Barkley* Biſhop of Bath and Welles, *Thomas Bentham* Biſhop of Coventrie and Lichfield, *William Alley*, a ready expounder of Scripture, Biſhop of Exeter; *Iohn Parkhurſt*, a man beautified with all humane learning, Biſhop of Norwich; *Robert Horne*, one of a ſtrong and fruitfull braine, Biſhop of Wincheſter; *Richard Cheney*, a ſtiffe Lutheran, Biſhop of Gloceſter; and *Edmund Scambler* Biſhop of Peterborough. The ſame *Matthew Parker*, now Arch-biſhop of Canterbury, confirmed the ſaid *William Barlow* (who in King *Henrie* the Eighth his daies was Biſhop of Saint *Davids* firſt, after of Bath and Welles) Biſhop of Chicheſter; and *Iohn Scorie*, a man learned and judicious, Biſhop of Hereford, who had formerly beene of Chicheſter. In like manner in the Province of Yorke, *Young* was tranſlated to the Archiepiſcopall See in Yorke, from Saint *Davids*; and then hee conſecrated *Iames Pilkington*, a man of ſingular learning and as good manners, Biſhop of Durham; *Iohn Beſt*, Biſhop of Carlile, and *William Downham* Biſhop of Cheſter. What theſe men were, and how many things they endured, while they were in baniſhment in Germanie, or lay hid here at home in England, I paſſe over, leaving it to the Eccleſiaſticall Writers to ſet downe.

But when men of learning were more rare and hard to be found, many mechanick perſons from the verie ſhop, and ſuch as had no more learning than the popiſh Prieſts, attained unto Eccleſiaſticall dignities, Prebends and fruitfull Parſonages. Yet many of the popiſh Prieſts themſelves, thought it more for their owne benefit, and the good of their religion, to ſweare obedience to the Queene, and renounce the Popes authoritie; if for no other end, yet that they might hinder the Proteſtants from comming into their Church livings; and withall, might be able to releeve the neceſſitie of their owne, that were already diſplaced. This they thought to be godly diſcretion, and meritorious likewiſe; and therefore they hoped that the Pope by his authoritie would diſpenſe with their Oath.

Religion changed by degrees.

Thus was the ſtate of Religion ſoone altered in England, whiles the Chriſtian world wondered, how ſuch a thing ſhould be brought to paſſe ſo eaſily and without any ſtirre: but this change was not ſudden or violent, but ſlow and by degrees. For, for a whole moneth or more from the death of Queen *Marie*, the Roman religion continued in the ſame ſtate and requeſt which formerly it had beene.

The 27. of December leave was given to have the Epiſtles, Goſpels,

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ten Commandements, the Lords Prayer, the Creed and Letanie in the Engliſh tongue. The two and twentieth of March, when the Nobles and Commons were met in Parliament, the entire uſe of the Lords Supper, to wit in both kinds, was allowed, and the Law made to that intent in King *Edward* the ſixth his dayes revived and put in new force. The 24. of June, by vertue of an Act *For the uniformity of Common Prayer, and adminiſtration of the Sacraments,* the ſacrifice of the Maſſe was aboliſhed, and the Liturgie in the Engliſh tongue eſtabliſhed. In July the Oath of *Supremacie* was propounded to the Biſhops and others; and in Auguſt the Images removed out of Churches, and broken or burnt. And when it came to paſſe that certaine malevolent and calumniating diſpoſitions began to ſlander the Queene, as if ſhe arrogated to her ſelfe the title of the *Supreme Head of the Church of England*, and aſſumed authoritie (forſooth) to celebrate divine Service, and offices in the Church and Congregation; ſhe declareth by Proclamation, that *ſhe tooke nothing more upon her than what anciently and of right belonged to the Crowne of England, to wit, that ſhe had ſupreme power and juriſdiction under God over all ſorts of people within the Kingdome of England, whether they were Eccleſiaſticall or Lay perſons; and that no forreine power hath or ought to have any juriſdiction or authority over them.*

The Queenes authority in Eccleſiaſticall matters explained.

By this change of Religion, as ſome wiſe Stateſmen have obſerved, England was made the moſt free Kingdome of all the Chriſtian world, the Scepter as it were made free from the ſervitude to the Biſhop of Rome, and ſo the Crowne richer by that meanes than it had beene in former ages; a mighty maſſe of money kept at home, which was wont to be carried to Rome daily for firſt-fruits, Indulgences, Appeales, Diſpenſations, and ſuch like, by which meanes the Commonwealth was incredibly exhauſted of much treaſure.

The Queenes care for the defence of Religion and the Commonwealth.

Now that the Proteſtant Religion was eſtabliſhed by Parliamentarie authoritie, it was the Queenes firſt and principall care to defend the ſame inviolable, and conſtantly to uphold it againſt the projects and machinations of all men, and amidſt thoſe who for that very cauſe were her mortall enemies; nor would ſhe give way at any time to the leaſt innovation under what pretence ſoever it might inſinuate it ſelfe. Her ſecond care was, how to maintaine conſtancie and equabilitie throughout her whole life, and in every particular action of the ſame; whence ſhe gave this as her Motto, *Semper eadem*, Alwayes the ſame. The reſt of her counſells were employed upon theſe and ſuch like thoughts, that the ſafetie of her people might be carefully provided for; for ſhe would often ſay, that ſhe was never ſecure to the end the Common-wealth might be alwaies ſafe, and that ſhe would be ever ſtudious to get her ſelfe beloved by her owne, feared amongſt her enemies, and magnified of all. And ſhe knew right well that thoſe things onely remaine firme and ſure, which good advice beginneth, and care preſerveth. In what ſort ſhe exceeded her owne ſexe by theſe maſculine cares and conſultations, and what matters ſhe effected by her prudence to foreſee, diligence to turne aſide, and fortitude to reſiſt all perills, let the preſent age and poſteritie paſſe ſentence from thoſe relations which ſhall bee truely and faithfully ſet downe out of the unqueſtionable

queſtionable Records and Monuments of the Kingdome.

The Emperour intercedes for the Papiſts.

About this time the Emperour and the Catholike Princes mediated by frequent letters, to have the Biſhops that were lately diſplaced, mercifully handled, and to have Churches apart allowed to the Papiſts in all Cities of the Kingdome. To which demands the Queene made anſwer, that although thoſe Popiſh Biſhops had carried themſelves very inſolently, and had openly ſtriven againſt lawes enacted, and the quiet of the Kingdome, and did now obſtinately reject that doctrine which themſelves, for the greateſt part of them, under the reigne of King *Henry* the eighth and King *Edward* the ſixth, with heart and hand, in their Sermons and writings publiſhed, when as they were not private perſons, but bare publike rule and government, of their owne accord propoſed to others to be beleeved: yet would ſhe upon the requeſt of ſo great Princes deale more mildly with them than otherwiſe ſhee ſhould, though with the offence and diſlike of her owne ſubjects. But as for Churches wherein to celebrate divine Service apart, ſhe could in no wiſe grant them, without manifeſt hazzard of the ſafetie of the Common-wealth, without ſtaining her honour, and which is more, her conſcience. Neither was there any juſt cauſe wherefore ſhe ſhould allow any ſuch thing, ſeeing that England had embraced no new or ſtrange religion, but the ſame which Chriſt commanded, the Primitive and Catholike Church profeſſed, and the ancient Fathers with one voice and mind had allowed. Now to ſuffer Churches with different rites and ceremonies, beſides that it was flatly contrary to the Parliamentary acts, were nothing elſe but to multiply Religion upon Religion, diſtracting the minds of good and pious men, thereby nouriſhing factions, diſturbing Religion and the Republike, and breeding a confuſion in all things; which in it ſelfe were evill, bad for the example of it, pernicious to her owne people, and not very commodious nor verily ſafe for thoſe to whom this toleration ſhould be granted. That therefore of her owne inbred clemency of diſpoſition, and chiefly for their requeſt, ſhe had decreed to trie if ſhe could remedy the private inſolency of a few with her favourable connivence; yet ſo, that ſhe would in no caſe cheriſh and ſooth up refractory ſpirits by her too great indulgence.

The Emperour deſires the Queen in marriage for his ſon Charles.

The King of Spaine being now out of all hope of matching with the Queene, and moreover ready now to marry the French Kings daughter, had his thoughts nevertheleſſe ſeriouſly bent upon England, which he would be full loath to ſee united to the French power. And to the end he might the better retaine the honour and affinitie of ſo great a Kingdome within his owne Familie, dealeth with the Emperour *Ferdinand* his Uncle, to commend one of his ſonnes to Queene *Eliſabeth* for a husband; the which he put in practiſe forthwith, ſending letters full of love and courteſie to the Queene, and laboured with all diligence to promote the buſineſſe. And the King of Spaine himſelfe, to effect the ſame, maketh liberall proffers of favour and ſingular reſpect to the Queene; and ſhe on the other ſide, hearing that he intended a voyage to Spaine by Sea, offereth him the uſe of her Ships and Ports, and all offices of friendſhip in abundant manner, by Sir *Thomas Chaloner* her Agent.

The French now had caſt his eyes upon England on the behalfe of the

the Dolphin his ſon, and *Marie* Queene of Scots, and ſo withdrew not the French Garriſons out of Scotland, as upon agreement he had promiſed, but privily ſent over freſh ſupplies, and more vehemently than before dealt with the Pope to pronounce Queene *Eliſabeth* an Heretick, and illegitimate, and to declare *Marie* the lawfull Queene of England. Which thing notwithſtanding the King of Spaine and the Emperour by their Agents at Rome laboured earneſtly, but ſecretly, to hinder. The *Guiſes* nevertheleſſe ſo led on the French King, being ambitiouſly credulous, and nuzzled him with the hope of joyning England to the French Crowne by the Queene of Scots their Niece, that he openly challenged England for his ſon and daughter-in-law; and becauſe he could obtaine nothing at Rome, gave charge that in all their Writs and Patents they ſhould uſe this Title, Francis *and* Marie *by the grace of God King and Queene of Scotland, England, and Ireland.* And the Armes of the Kingdome of England he gave joyntly with the Armes of Scotland in all furniture and houſhold-ſtuffe, painting the ſame every where upon walls, and giving order that in all the Heralds Coats they ſhould be woven in like maner; the Engliſh Embaſſadour all the while in vaine complaining, that this was a notable injurie and diſgrace to Queen *Eliſabeth*, with whom he had lately contracted a league of friendſhip, and that whiles Queene *Marie* lived, who proclaimed open warre againſt him, he offered no ſuch thing. Moreover, he levied troops of horſemen, and foot companies up and downe France and Germanie, that were to be wafted over into thoſe parts of Scotland which bordered upon England: In ſo much that Queene *Eliſabeth* could not chuſe but be greatly affraid of the French King, who now breathed nothing but bloud and ſlaughter againſt the Proteſtants. But an unexpected death cut him ſhort of his intendments, whiles he was tilting at the Marriage Feſtivities of his daughter with the King of Spaine, and his ſiſter with the Duke of Savoy; which indeed fell out very opportunely for the Queens affaires, whom as an Heretick, and as illegitimate, he was ready to aſſault with all his might on the one ſide out of Scotland, and on the other out of France. She notwithſtanding (that the deceaſed Prince might not want the honour befitting his perſon) cauſed his funerall exequies to be kept in St. *Pauls* Church with great pomp and glory, as if he had beene her friend and allie. Likewiſe ſhe ſent *Charles* ſon to the Lord *Howard* of Effingham (ſince high Admirall of England and Ireland) to *Francis* the French King, condoling the death of his father, and gratulating his ſucceſſion, and treateth with him that the league of friendſhip late begun might be continued. But *Francis* and the Queene of Scots his wife (through adviſe and inſtigation of the Guiſian partie, who now in a manner bore all the ſway in France) publikely pretend themſelves to be the lawfull Princes of England and Ireland, not abſtaining from the Armes of England which they had aſſumed, but uſing the ſame every where with greater oſtentation than before.

The French King claimes England.

The French King uſurps the title and Armes of this Kingdome.

Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*, who was there Embaſſadour in Ordinarie, a ſtout and wiſe Gentleman, expoſtulating ſomething vehemently hereabout, was put off with this anſwer, That it was lawfull for the Queene of Scots to beare the Engliſh Armes, with ſome little note of

difference, by reaſon of her propinquitie of bloud to the Kings of England. Which he denied, and urged that by the *Law of Armes* it was not lawfull or allowable for any one to uſe the Armes of a Familie, not being borne of a certaine heire of the ſame. Afterward they replied, that ſhe aſſumed the Armes for no other end, but becauſe the Queene of England ſhould forbeare to uſe the Armes of France. To which he made the ſame anſwer which before Doctour *Wotton* had done in the treaty of Cambray; that twelve Kings of England on a row had uſed the Armes of France, and had ſuch undoubted right to the ſame, that in all leagues betwixt the Engliſh and French there had never beene any order taken to the contrarie. At laſt, he brought it to paſſe, by the interceſſion of Duke *Montmorencie*, who envied the Guiſian faction, that the French King and Queene ſhould no more uſe the Title nor Armes of the Kingdome of England; for he thought it no honour at all to the Kingdome of France, that any other Title or Armes ſhould be arrogated in writings, or engraven in the Seale, ſave only King of France: that this one Title might ſerve in ſtead of many, and that the former Kings uſed no other, no not then when they challenged and proſecuted their right to Naples and Millan. But the truth is, that this uſurped Title and Armes, which *Henry* King of France, through the perſwaſion of the Guiſian party had impoſed upon the Queene of Scots, when ſhe was yet but of tender yeeres in compariſon, was the ſource from whence all thoſe miſchiefes flowed, which after entangled her. For from hence it was that Queene *Eliſabeth* held profeſſed hatred againſt the Guiſian Familie, and ſecret enmitie againſt her, which the malice and ſubtiltie of them of both parties cheriſhed and augmented daily, new occaſions ariſing every day, that nothing but death could extinguiſh them. For the Kingdome will admit of no mate or copartner, and Majeſtie is more ſenſible of injuries.

The French deale injuriouſly with the Engliſh.

After a ſhort time there were but three hoſtages ſent for Callice, whereas by vertue of the Treatie foure were to be given; the Engliſh Merchants were injuriouſly handled in France; one of the ſervants of *Throckmorton* the Embaſſadour was forcibly taken from him by *Francis* great Prior of France, brother to the Duke of Guiſe, and ſent to the Gallies; gunnes were ſhot off againſt the Embaſſadour within his owne houſe, nor had he any ſervice at his table, but in diſhes in which contumeliouſly the Armes of the Kingdome of England were joyned with the French. *Broſſy* likewiſe with levied companies of ſouldiers was ſent into Scotland; Gallies and Ships alſo prepared to trouble our Seas.

At this time the profeſſours of the Proteſtant Religion in Scotland, who had taken upon them the name of the *Congregation*, through the perſwaſion of certaine head-ſtrong Miniſters, and chiefly one *Knox*, an hot oppoſer of the Princes authoritie, were made beleeve that it appertained to the Nobilitie by their owne authoritie to take away Idolatrie, and to reduce by force the Prince to the preſcript of lawes: careleſſe they were of giving any honour or obedience to the Queene Regent, and the Queene Mother, a moſt modeſt and vertuous Matron; they brought in a change of Religion, tumultuouſly firing and pillaging conſecrated

ſecrated places, drew to their partie the Lord *Hamilton* Duke of Caſtleherald, the moſt potent man of all the Kingdome, who was lately provoked through the injuries of the French; and many more likewiſe of the prime Nobilitie, that were brought on with the hope of getting the revenues of the Church: In ſo much that they ſeemed not ſo much to take the cauſe of religion in hand, as a plaine rebellion againſt the Queen Regent, and a defection from the French, which now ſojourned and bore armes in Scotland: and *James* the Prior of S. *Andrewes* the Queenes Baſtard brother (who was after Earle of Morray) their Ring-leader, was by them accuſed for going about to get the Crowne from his ſiſter. He endevoured to put off that ſuſpition, making ſolemne proteſtation, that he had propoſed no other end to himſelfe, but the glorie of God and libertie of his Countrie, and that he could not chuſe but exceedingly lament to ſee how the ſame was oppreſſed by the Queene Regent and the French.

The Maſters of the Congregation began now to make grievous complaint to Queen *Eliſabeth*, ſending hither *William Maitland* of Lidington Secretarie, who in a verie dolefull oration laid open, how that ſince the Queen of Scots was married to the Dolphin, the government of the Kingdome was quite altered; that the ſtrange ſouldiers ruined all, and that the chiefe offices and functions of the Kingdome were conferred upon the French; that the Caſtles and Forts were delivered into their hands, and for their gaine the pure money of the Kingdome was adulterate and corrupted; and that the French by theſe and the like deviſes did make way to ſeize the Kingdome of Scotland into their owne hands, if it ſhould pleaſe God the Queene were taken away. *Cecill* (whom in theſe and all ſuch like affaires, for his ſingular wiſedome, the Queene made uſe of) by Sir *Henrie Percy* afterward Earle of Northumberland dealeth with them, to find out what marke it was which the *Maſters of the Congregation* aimed at, by what meanes they thought to bring their deſires to paſſe: and in caſe aide were afforded them, upon what conditions amitie ſhould be concluded betwixt the two Kingdomes. They, with eyes lifted up to heaven, make anſwer, that they had no other aime or intention but to promote the glorie of Jeſus Chriſt, and the ſincere preaching of the word, to root out ſuperſtition and Idolatrie, to reſtraine the furie of their perſecutors, and to conſerve their ancient libertie. By what meanes they ſhould bee able to bring this to paſſe, they were utterly ignorant, yet they hope that Almighty God would bring to a deſired iſſue what they had taken in hand, with the confuſion of their adverſaries. Now the mutuall love and friendſhip betweene the two Kingdomes was the ſum of their deſires and wiſhes, for the ratification whereof they vow their eſtates, fidelitie and conſtancie.

The Scots crave aide of Queen Eliſabeth.

Here in England, they deliberate of theſe matters ſlowly and at leaſure, for that the Scots were not very well furniſhed with money and munition, and were alſo not truſty or faithfull among themſelves; only they are adviſed not to be forward to trie the hazzard of war. But ſo ſoone as they were certified here, that Marqueſſe *Albeuf* Uncle to the Queene of Scots, cauſed forces to be levied by the Reingrave in Germanie for a Scottiſh warre; that the great Ordnance was carried to the

Ports, and greater proviſion made, than was requiſite for the ſurpriſing of a few unarmed Scots (for that was their pretence) that the French likewiſe, to draw the King of Denmark to their partie, promiſed that the Duke of Lorraine ſhould yeeld up his right to the Kingdome of Denmarke; and likewiſe with greater importunitie ſought to get the Popes cenſure of Excommunication againſt the Queene, and the ſentence declaratorie for the Queen of Scots title to England: Sir *Ralph Sadlier*, an underſtanding Gentleman, was ſent to the Borders of Scotland, that he might be ready with his adviſe to aſſiſt the Earle of Northumberland Keeper of the middle Border, and Sir *James Crofts* Governour of Berwick. For what theſe things ſhould meane, the Councellours in England could not perceive, but that they intended an invaſion of England, and ſought to get that by Armes now, which by titles and enſignes they made their owne before.

Hereupon ſerious conſultations are held in England: a matter of very bad example it ſeemed for a Prince to lend protection to the rebellious ſubjects of another Prince; againe, on the other ſide it might ſeem little leſſe than impietie to be wanting to the profeſſours of the ſame religion. And yet a prepoſterous thing it were to ſuffer the French, who were ſworne enemies of the Engliſh Nation, that challenged the Kingdome of England, and were ſecure and at reſt from enemies round about them, to dwell in Scotland neighbouring ſo neere upon us, and being continually in armes, from thence to invade us at a moſt opportune and fit part of the Kingdome for that purpoſe, where the Nobilitie and common people of England were moſt addicted to the popiſh religion. That this were no other, but ſlothfully and cowardly, to betray the ſafety of every one in particular, and the generall quiet of the Kingdome. Therefore it was not good to dwell upon conſultations, when it was time to take weapons in hand; that it was alwaies wont to bee the Engliſh forefight to prevent enemies, and that it was alwaies lawfull as well to prevent as to repell dangers, and to defend our ſelves againſt our enemies with the ſame deviſes wherewith they aſſaile us. That England can never be ſecure and ſafe, but when it is armed and potent; and then it is like to be more potent, when it hath no cauſe of feare from Scotland. For the preventing of which feare, aide and ſupply muſt be afforded to the profeſſours of the ſame Religion, and the French driven out of Scotland, againſt whom not councells and treaties, but armes muſt availe. The neglect whereof not long ſince, was the cauſe that Callice was loſt with great ſhame and dammage; and a little before Ambleteul and the fortifications neere Bologne taken upon a ſudden, whence it came to paſſe, that Bologne it ſelfe upon neceſſitie was yeelded up. And nothing elſe was to bee expected to befall Berwicke, and the Townes upon the Borders, if armes were not preſently taken up, and no credit given to the French in Scotland, pretending a deſire of peace; for as much as the conſultations of the French are wont to bee cloſe, their ambition boundleſſe, and their revenues infinite: in ſo much that it was long ſince become a proverbe in England, that France for three whole yeeres together could neither be poore, nor ceaſe waging of warre. Queene *Eliſabeth* alſo her ſelfe frequently uſed

It is decreed that the French be removed out of Scotland.

that

that saying of *Valentinian* the Emperour, ΤΟΝ ΦΙΛΟΝ ΕΧΟΙΣ. ΓΕΙΤΟΝΑ ΟΥΚ ΕΧΟΙΣ: *Let the French be thy friend, but not thy neighbour.* This advise they concluded on, that it was just, honest, necessarie, and profitable, speedily to drive the French out of Scotland.

Forces sent into Scotland.

Hereupon Sir *William Winter* Master of the Ordnance is sent with a Fleet into *Edenburgh Frith*, who to the great terrour of the French setteth upon their ships of warre placed neere the shore, and the French garison in the Iland *Inchkeith*. Straightway the Duke of Norfolke is made *Lievtenant Generall in the Northerne parts towards Scotland*; and *William* Lord *Grey* (who had lately, though without good successe, courageously defended Guisnes against the French) is set over the middle and Easterne border. And *Thomas* Earle of Sussex, who in Queene *Maries* reigne was Deputy of Ireland, is sent backe thither with the title of *Lievtenant of Ireland*, and with Commission and command, above all things, to see that the Irish nation, a rude and untaught people, and therefore more superstitious, were not stirred up to rebellion by the subtilty of the French, under the pretext of religion. To see to the Castles and Forts; to admit *Surly-Boy* that demanded certaine lands and possessions in Ulster by right of Inheritance, and to settle the same upon him by tenure of fee to doe service; lastly, to encrease moderately the Queenes revenues, and to reduce the Queenes exchequer to the manner and custome in use in England.

At this time departed this life one of the chiefe Councellors of the Kingdome, *Francis Talbot* the fift of that Family, Earle of Shrewsbury, leaving to succeed him one onely sonne, *George*, whom hee had by his wife *Marie*, daughter to *Thomas* Lord *Dacres* of Gilsland.

Anno 1560. Reg. 3.

So soone as the Duke of Norfolke was come to Berwick, there met him the Prior of S. *Andrewes James* the Bastard, the Lord *Rothuen* and some others, who in the name of the Lord *Hamilton* Duke of Castle-herald, and the Confederates, enter into a league with him in the name of the Queene of England, whereof this was the summe.

The Confederacie of Berwicke.

That seeing the French by right or wrong, seeke to bring Scotland into subjection, and to unite it to the Crowne of France; the Queene of England shall take into her protection the Duke of Castle-herald, assigned heire of the Kingdome of Scotland, as also the Nobles and people of Scotland, so long as the French King shall have to wife Marie Queen of Scots, and one yeere after: She shall send an armie by Sea and land, furnished with all warlike provision, to expell and exclude the French out of Scotland: She shall entertaine no peace with the French, but upon condition that Scotland may enjoy her ancient liberties; for the aide of the English, the fortifications recovered from the French shal presently be demolished, or shall be given up into the hands of the Duke of Norfolke, if he shall think good: the English shall fortifie no places in Scotland, but by the consent of the Duke of Castle-herald and the Nobles; they shall give the best assistance to the English that they are able: they shal account them as their owne enemies, whosoever shall be enemies of the English; & they shall not suffer the Kingdome of Scotland to be united to France, but by that right of marriage whereby they are now joyned together. If England be invaded on this side the river Tine, the Scots shall

send

ſend two thouſand horſe and one thouſand foot under the Queen of Englands pay: But if it be invaded beyond Tine, they ſhall aſsiſt the Engliſh with all the forces they can, and that upon their owne charges for thirty daies together, as they are wont for the defence of Scotland: The Earle of Argile, Juſtice of Scotland, ſhall doe his endevour to bring into ſubjection the North part of Ireland, upon certaine conditions which ſhall be agreed upon betweene him and the Vice-Roy of Ireland. Laſtly, it is decreed what ſhall bee performed on both ſides, if it happen that James Mac-Conel, *or any others of the Weſtern Ilands make any tumult or commotion in Scotland or Ireland. For the confirmation of this agreement, hoſtages ſhall be given before the Engliſh Armie enter into Scotland, and the ſame ſent into England, but may be changed every ſixth or fourth moneth at the Scots pleaſure; and this during the time of the Matrimony betweene the French King and the Queen of Scots, and one yeere after. The Duke of Caſtle-herald, and the Confederate Earles and Barons of Parliament ſhall make a ratification hereof within twenty daies, by their ſubſcriptions and ſeales; and withall, ſhall declare (for as much as the Queen of England hath undertaken all this for no other cauſe but in reſpect of friendſhip and neighbourhood, and to defend the Scots from the yoak of ſervitude) that in all things they will ſhew obedience to the Queene of Scots, and the King her husband, which ſhall not make to the enthralling of their ancient libertie.*

French forces ſent into Scotland.

By this time, through the frequent meſſages of forraine Princes, and by ſundry letters intercepted, it was made manifeſt that the French had determined to invade England; and withall *Sebaſtian Martigue*, a Noble young man of the family of Luxenburg, with five hnndred footmen old ſouldiers, and a wing or two of horſemen, arrived in Scotland. *D'Oiſelle* a French Peere, and an intimate Counſellour of the Queene Regent of Scotland, more confident than the reſt, made a propoſition to the Scottiſh Nobles at Aimouth neere Berwicke, to joyne their forces, and put the King and Queene of Scots into the poſſeſsion of England. But they perceiving the difficultie of the matter, and unwilling moreover to breake the peace ſo lately made, refuſed. But *Martigue* in his youthfull heat longed to make an invaſion into England, whom the ſage adviſe of the Queene Regent could hardly reſtraine. But that heat was ſoone allayed, when the Marqueſſe *Albeuf*, who ſailed toward Scotland with greater forces, was ſorely beaten with violence of weather upon the Coaſt of Holland, and driven backe againe to Diepe, from whence he lanched, having loſt ſome ſhips and a great number of men.

The Spaniard perſwadeth a peace.

Now there was come into England from the King of Spaine, *Philip Stavel* Knight of the golden Fleece, and Maſter of the Ordnance, to lay open the complaints of the French againſt the Queene, about the Scottiſh buſineſſe, and to perſwade agreement and peace in his Kings name. Nevertheleſſe under hand he gave counſell to the Queen, to goe on ſtoutly in the protection of Scotland which ſhe had taken upon her, although the King of Spaine on the other ſide openly forbad to carry into England that munition which the Queene had bargained for at Antwerpe; ſo that ſhe was enforced to get new proviſion out of Germanie. Nor was it free from ſuſpition, that *Stavel* made propoſition to have certaine companies of Spaniards ſent into Scotland, that ſhould there joyne with

with the French to ſubdue the Scottiſh Rebels, and withall hinder the French, if they went about any thing that might tend to the dammage of England. By this time *Michael Seur*, the French Embaſſador in ordinarie, dealt with the Queen to call back her Navie out of Scotland: whereunto ſhe was not unwilling, in caſe the French likewiſe were called home. But delayes being ſought on all ſides, the matter is deferred from day to day, till at length *J. Monlucy* Biſhop of Valence (who ſomething favoured the Proteſtant religion) came from France; who when hee was come hither, made anſwer that he had no authoritie or Commiſſion thereunto. He neverthelеſſe (as he was a man of eloquence and good ſpeech) laboureth as much as in him lay, to have the Navie and Army called home from Scotland: contending moreover, that the bearing of the Armes of England, was no diſhonour at all to the Queen, but an honour rather to the royall familie of England. But not being able to perſwade this, for the abſurditie, nor the other, for the danger thereof, *Seur* deſireth *Stavel*, and the Biſhop of Aquila, the King of Spaines Embaſſadour in ordinarie, that they would be preſent as witneſſes, at what time hee ſhould proteſt againſt the Queen, for violating the league of peace: which they refuſed, becauſe they had no ſuch thing in Commiſſion. Yet he proteſteth in a large ſpeech; whereunto anſwer was given, and the ſame ſet out in print: in the which the *Queene would teſtifie to the whole world, that the breach of the league, and all the cauſes of warre proceeded from the French alone, and that nothing could happen leſſe pleaſing or more hatefull to her than this warre*; and much more to like purpoſe, which may eaſily be gathered by what is already ſaid, and by another writing formerly divulged; wherein ſhe declared, *that although ſhe were greatly injured, and unworthily dealt withall, the Title and Armes of the Kingdome being arrogated by thoſe that have no right to them, yet ſhe could never beleeve this to bee done with the aſſent of the King and Queene of France, or the Princes of the blood-royall, but by the evill deviſes of the Duke of Guiſes faction, who abuſed the Kings favour, and the wealth both of King and people, and now went about to wound England through the ſide of the Scottiſh: But ſhe for her own part could not ſo careleſly be wanting to her owne and her peoples ſafety.* And without all doubt the Guiſians, out of love to the Queene of Scots their Niece, and hatred to Queen *Eliſabeth* for her Religion ſake, ambitious alſo to deſerve well of France, by adding new Kingdomes to that Crowne, relying upon the promiſes of certaine Engliſh averſe from the Proteſtant religion, did earneſtly endevour the deſtruction of Queene *Eliſabeth*. But this was turned aſide by ſome jarrings and heart-burnings riſen in France, in regard of the publike adminiſtration of matters there, tranſlated from the Princes of the blood-royall to the Guiſian partie; and ſhee ſo maturely and warily met with their envious projects, and the hoſtile counſells of all others, that ſhe was alwaies after admired by her friends, and feared of her enemies.

The ſame day the Lord *Grey* entred into Scotland with his armie, *Suer* and *Monlucie* were exceedingly urgent for the calling back of the Armie, and gave the Queen hopes of having Callice reſtored, in caſe ſhe would call it backe. But ſhe made anſwer plainely, that ſhe cared not a ruſh

Callice offered by the French, and refuſed.

ruſh for Callice, a little towne of Fiſher-men, in compariſon of the ſafetie and ſecuritie of all Britaine. The very ſame day ſhee ſent to Spaine Sir *Anthonie Browne* Viſcount *Montacute*, a man of noted wiſedome, but earneſtly addicted to the Roman religion, and in that reſpect likely to be more welcome to the King of Spaine, that together with Sir *Thomas Chamberlaine* the Lieger there, hee ſhould (amongſt other things) acquaint the King of Spaine for what juſt cauſe ſhee had ſent her Armie into Scotland; to wit, the ſame I mentioned formerly: and withall, ſhould intimate to him how the Queene of Scots, a young Princeſſe, and not very healthfull, was married into France to a ſickly King, ſo that there was no hope of iſſue by her: that through the ſtratagems of the Guiſian faction treachery was plotted againſt the Lord *Hamilton* Duke of Chaſteau-Herald (who was deſigned the next heire of the Kingdome of Scotland by authority of Parliament) and againſt his ſonne that now was travailed into France; and that their Councels tended to the joining of the Crowne of Scotland to the Kingdome of France, and not ſo much to preſerve the Queenes; which how dangerous a thing it was likely to prove to the Provinces of the Netherlands, and to Spaine likewiſe, hee ſhould doe well to weigh ſeriouſly with himſelfe. On the other ſide, the confederate Nobles of Scotland ought not to be branded with the marke of rebellion; which confederation they had for no other end taken in hand, but to preſerve and keepe ſure the Kingdome to the Queene and her lawfull Succeſſors, which without great injury to themſelves and their Nation they could not ſuffer to be endammaged by the undermining of the Guiſians, or tranſlated to the French.

Viſcount Montacute ſent into Spaine.

In the beginning of Aprill the armie of the Engliſh, wherein were twelve hundred horſe and ſixe thouſand foot, landed neere unto Leith in Scotland. This towne is ſituate upon Edenburgh Frith, the greateſt Bay of all Britaine, where the river Leith in greater breadth emptieth it ſelfe, and affordeth a commodious haven for ſhips, not above a mile or twaine from Edenburgh the chiefe Citie of Scotland; and this for the commodiouſneſſe of the ſituation the French had fortified as a place of refuge; and for that it was fit alſo to receive ſupplies when they were ſent. The Engliſh that firſt landed, *Martigue* ſet upon with his foot Companies, that he might keepe them from a hill hard by, where he thought they would pitch their tents: but after they had skirmiſhed a matter of foure houres, and ſome ſlaine on both ſides, he was driven back into the Towne. Then they raiſed a bulwarke, and caſt up heapes of earth; and from thence and from the ſhips they let flie into the Towne continually. The French ever and anon with greater courage than force ſally out, and ſhew many tokens of valour and proweſſe. Amongſt other things upon the 15. of Aprill they got the bulwarke, and choked up three of the great Ordnance, and tooke Sir *Maurice Barkley* priſoner: But Sir *James Croſis*, and Sir *Cuthbert Vaughan* ſoone drave them thence, and with the ſlaughter of ſome of them, made them flie back againe into the Towne. At the ſame time Sir *Arthur Grey*, ſonne to the Lord *Grey*, who was chiefe Commander of the Engliſh Armie, was ſhot thorow the ſhoulder with a bullet. Afterwards they brought their Tents neerer the Towne, becauſe in regard of their farre diſtance, moſt of their ſhot

Leith beſieged by the Engliſh.

fell

fell ſhort. A little after by caſualty of fire, a part of the Towne and ſome Barnes were ſeene to flame; which cauſed great terrour to the French: and the Engliſh planting their Ordnance on that ſide of the Towne, encreaſed it, and in the meane ſpace went into the ditch, and meaſured the height of the walls. Upon the ſixth day of May (which time was agreed upon by common conſent betwixt the Engliſh and the Scottiſh) bringing ladders, they began to ſcale the walls on all parts of the Town, with all their might and force. But the ladders proving too ſhort, and the waters very high by reaſon the ſluce was ſhut, they were repelled from the top of the walls with great ſtore of ſhot, and a great number loſt, and more wounded. The fault of this calamitie received, was layed upon Sir *James Crofts*, for that, as it were diſliking the enterpriſe (whether for that his judgement led him to diſtruſt the event, or through love to the French, or hatred of the Lord *Grey*, it is hard to ſay) he ſate as an idle Spectator on that part of the Towne which was allotted to him, and brought no aide nor reſcue to thoſe that were in danger. Certaine it is, the Duke of Norfolke, and the Lord *Grey* in letters ſent to the Queene accuſed him; and that not only in this regard, but alſo for having ſecret conſultations with the Regent of Scotland, and for oppoſing this expedition. Whereupon he was after called into queſtion before the Councell, and put by from being Governour of Berwick, and the Lord *Grey* put in his place. Nevertheleſſe he loſt not the Queens favour, for ſhe afterward made him Comptroller of the houſhold. By this firſt experiment of bad fortune, the minds of the Engliſh and Scottiſh were dejected, whom the Duke of Norfolk by ſending freſh ſupplies confirmed. From that time there happened ſome few light skirmiſhes, till at length the King of France, being certified that his men were ſo hemmed in at Leith, that all entrance to the Towne was blocked up both by Sea and land, and reliefe could not fitly bee brought upon the ſudden, for the great diſtance of the places, ſeditions alſo and tumults encreaſing every day at home; he gave authoritie to the Biſhop of Valence, and *Charles Roch-foucald* to tranſ-act the buſineſſe with the Delegates of Queen *Eliſabeth*; who ſent ſtraightway into Scotland Sir *William Cecill*, and *Nicolas Wotton* Deane of the Churches of Canterbury and Yorke. For the King and Queene of France thought it a great diſparagement to Majeſtie, to deſcend to a conference upon even termes with their ſubjects. At which time *James* the Prior made ſuch propoſitions, as *Cecill* was of opinion, were neither fit for ſubjects to propound, nor for Princes to grant. Whiles the buſineſſe was in diſceptation, *Marie* of Lorrain the Queens Mother, and Regent of Scotland, departed out of this life, a godly and prudent Prince, much vexed and unworthily reproached by certaine importune and fervent preachers, as alſo by the *Maſters of the Congregation*; who, as they were borne Counſellours of the Kingdome, in the name of the Queene of Scots and her husband, ſuſpended her from all adminiſtration of affaires of the Common-wealth, as an adverſary to the glory of God, and liberty of the Nation.

The French King deſireth peace.

The Articles whereupon the Commiſſioners agreed, within three moneths after the ſiege begun, were theſe: "The treaty of peace held "in the Caſtle of Cambray betweene Queene *Eliſabeth* and *Henry* the "ſecond

The treaty of Edenborough.

"ſecond of France ſhall be renewed and confirmed. The treaty "held at the ſame place betweene England and Scotland ſhall be ratifi- "ed. All warlike preparation ſhall ceaſe on all ſides. The Fort at Ay- "mouth in Scotland ſhall be demoliſhed. The King of France and "Queene *Marie* ſhall forbeare the Title and Armes of England and Ire- "land. The conference about recompence of injuries done to Queene "*Eliſabeth*, and caution concerning the fift Article, is referred to ano- "ther meeting to be held at London. But if then they cannot agree nei- "ther, the matter ſhall be committed to the Catholike King. The King "and Queene ſhall be reconciled to the Nobles of Scotland their Sub- "jects. This treaty ſhall be confirmed within thirty dayes, and an oath "given on both parts for the obſervation of the ſame.

Peace proclaimed.

This peace was proclaimed in the Tents and the Towne, and received with great joy on all parts: for the Engliſh, in regard of the Countrey ſpoiled every where round about, the French debarred of all ſuccour and reliefe, and the Scottiſh not well payed, were all weary of the war. And truely the peace was thought to be for the great good of all Brittaine, whereby the ancient liberty of Scotland was preſerved and retained, the credit of England upheld, and ſecurity atchieved, which from henceforth had no cauſe of feare from Scotland: inſomuch that Queene *Eliſabeth* was by the Engliſh held the Foundreſſe of their ſecuritie, and by the Scots moſt gladly acknowledged the Recoverer of their libertie.

She was all this while, through the ſingular love and affection ſhe bare to her people, ſo buſied and intentive for the publike welfare, that ſhe had in a manner blotted out of her mind all the loves of the potent Princes of Chriſtendome. For at the ſame time there ſued to her for marriage *Charles* Arch-Duke of Auſtria, younger ſon of *Ferdinand* the Emperour, by the Count of Helfenſtein: *James* Earle of Arran, commended by the Proteſtants of Scotland, with advice propounded how to unite the Kingdome of Scotland to the Crowne of England; the Queene praiſed the man, but preſently rejected the motion: *Errick* King of Suevia, by his brother *John* Duke of Finland, whom his father *Guſtavus* a little before his death ſent into England upon that Embaſſage: he conceived better hope, for that he was of the ſame Religion with the Queene, and ſo credulous was he within himſelfe, that he thought to come into England, though the King of Denmarke, out of a hoſtile affection he carried toward him, had determined to intercept him, who thought it would not be for his commoditie that England and Sweveland, Denmark lying betwixt them both, ſhould grow into one by a marriage. The Queene tooke notice of his high and ſingular love, and commended the ſame; made anſwer, that he ſhould be welcome into England, but ſhe could not as yet bend her mind to change her condition of ſingle life, which ſhe found very convenient and well-pleaſing to her ſelfe. Wherefore ſhe entreated him that in any other matter hee would make triall of her love, and he ſhould find he had not evilly placed his affection, though he compaſſed not this his deſire. She adviſed him alſo not to deferre any longer the time to make choice of a wife, and ſhe deſired he might get one worthy of him. With anſwers of this

kind

kind *John* Duke of Finland returned home within six moneths, having done all he could to advance the marriage, wooing the Queene most diligently, giving bountifull rewards to the Courtiers, and seeking the good will of the common sort; amongst whom he would throw pieces of silver, saying, that his brother when he came would divide gold amongst them. Nevertheless his suspicious brother ill entreated him at his returne, as though he had wooed for himselfe, and holding his purpose for two yeeres together, never ceased to send conditions, importuning the Queene, but to no purpose. And at the same time he desired to wife the Daughter of *Philip* Landtgrave of Hessia, by whom hee was also rejected, and then married a woman of a meaner condition. 1560.

But *Charles* of Austria fed himselfe with hope and expectation, both that the house of Austria, which was most fortunate with the matches of the greatest Princes, should yet be made greater by the accession of England; as also that the Religion of their forefathers should by his meanes be at least tolerated, if not recalled. Neither did Queene *Elisabeth* straightway cut him short of his hopes: For she openly professed, both in the presence of Count Helfenstein, as also by letters to the Emperour she made protestation, that amongst many renowned and worthy matches that were profered her, she held none more worthy or renowned than this of *Charles* Duke of Austria. Notwithstanding she could not yet, either for a storme of danger before her eyes, or for any augmentation and addition of honour, resolve to change her manner of life; yet would she not utterly renounce wedlocke. And she did certainely hope that the divine providence of God, upon whose goodnesse she did wholly relie both in this and all other matters, would direct her counsells to her owne and her peoples safety. *Adolph* also Duke of Holst, Uncle to *Frederick* the second, King of Denmarke, (who was excited by the Dane to disturb the marriage with the King of Suevia, was ravished with hope of matrimonie, by some letters wherein the Queene desired *to have him joyned to the English in the same alliance which formerly he had with the Spanish*) came into England: whom she royally entertained, bestowing upon him the honour of the Garter, and a yeerely pension, and so by her singular bounty perpetually obliged to her an excellent Prince, and a famous Warriour.

Some also there were at home, who, as lovers are wont, pleased themselves with vaine dreames and hopes to have the Queene in marriage; namely, Sir *William Pickering*, who was of some gentility of stocke, and indifferent wealth; but his studiousnesse of good letters, sweet demeanour, and the well performing of an Embassage into France, and another into Germanie, had won him no small credit: *Henrie* Earle of Arundell, exceeding wealthy, but now in his declining age; and *Robert Dudley*, youngest son of the Duke of Northumberland that fell in Queen *Maries* reigne, but this his son she set upright againe; he was now in the flower of his age, and of a very comely body, for excellent feature of face, and straightnesse of limbs; whose father was not in greater obloquie and hatred amongst the people, than he in grace and favour with Queene *Elisabeth*, whose clemencie was rare and singular towards him; preserving him, and heaping honours upon him, whose father sought her

The Queene advanceth Robert Dudley.

1560. deſtruction. Whether this came to paſſe by his vertues, whereof hee ſhewed ſome eminent tokens, or for that under Queene *Maries* government they had both the ſame lot of impriſonment, or for what other reaſon it is hard to determine; but as a preſage of future favour, and for the firſt token of good will towards him, ſhe made him Maſter of the horſe, and together with the Duke of Norfolke, Marqueſſe of Northampton, and the Earle of Rutland, conferred upon him the Order of the Garter (which all know to be the greateſt title and higheſt pitch of honour in England) and that in the firſt yeere of her reigne, to the great wonder of all men.

Montacutes Embaſſage into Spaine.

In Spaine the meane while Viſcount *Montacute* layeth open the neceſſitie of the Scottiſh war, wipeth away as well as he can the ſtaine of rebellion from the Scottiſh; expoundeth, but that coldly and faintly (himſelfe being a devout Profeſſour of the Romane Religion) how that no other Religion was brought into England than what was agreeable to the Scriptures, and the foure firſt generall Councels; requeſteth that the Burgundian league, long ſince contracted betwixt the Kings of England and his Anceſtours, may be renewed. The King of Spaine made anſwer, that the renewing of the league was not at all neceſſarie (yet is it a moſt received cuſtome amongſt Princes, which doth as it were give life to the leagues themſelves, and teſtifie to the world their mutuall good wills; and both he and his father *Charles* the Emperour in the treaty of the marriage with *Marie* Queene of England *Anno* 1553. bound themſelves to confirme that league): He deploreth the change of Religion in England, is grieved that an Armie ſhould be ſent into Scotland, and Rebells aſſiſted, and complaineth that he was no ſooner acquainted herewithall. He nevertheleſſe had ſecretly oppoſed himſelfe to the endevours of the French, who would have Queen *Eliſabeth* excommunicated, and had effected by his Agents at Rome, that without his privitie ſhe ſhould not be enthralled or entangled with any Eccleſiaſticall cenſure. For his owne behalfe likewiſe hee ſeemed to intimate that it was too late, that into the Articles of agreement with the French it ſhould be inſerted, that if the French returned into Scotland it ſhould be lawfull for the Engliſh to expell them; and that in expreſſe words there ſhould be a caution put in for the reſtoring of Callice: nevertheleſſe the Viſcount perceived that he was really diſpleaſed, as well by theſe words which I have now related, as alſo (and that chiefly) for that he delivered into the Viſcounts hands the Garter, which was the Embleme of his Knighthood received in England. For by this circumſtance he ſeemed to renounce for ever all friendſhip with the Engliſh. But he was yet farther diſpleaſed for a repulſe he after received, when he interceded by his Embaſſadour in England (upon the procurement of the Earle of Feria who had married the daughter of Sir *William Dormer*) that *Jane Dormer*, daughter of *Thomas Newdigate*, the widow of Sir *Robert Dormer*, and Grandmother to the Counteſſe of Feria, *Clarence* an old Gentlewoman which was intimate with Queene *Marie*, and her private Almoner, *Richard Shelley*, after *Prior of the Order of Saint John in England*, and *Thomas Harvey*, that theſe who were moſt earneſtly addicted to the Popiſh Religion, and deare to the King of Spaine, might

The King of Spaine refuſeth to renew the league.

have

have the Queenes good favour to remaine in the Low Countries and in Spaine, whither they had withdrawne themſelves in regard of Religion, without licence. For the old lawes of England have taken order, that none, except the Nobles and Merchants of the Kingdome, under paine of confiſcation of all their goods, ſhall preſume to depart out of the Kingdome without the Kings ſpeciall leave, and that they ſhall not remaine there beyond a certaine time prefixed, and that either for the recovering of their health in a hotter climate, or for encreaſe of nurture and breeding in ſome Univerſitie abroad, or elſe to learne military diſcipline. Now to the petition of the King of Spaine, the Queene wrote backe in this manner; *That it was a thing without example to give leave unto women to be perpetually abſent from their Country. And although in it ſelfe it ſeemed to be a matter of no great moment, yet foraſmuch as the private benefit could not doe them ſo much good, as the example would doe others hurt, who from thence might take a pattern, to the wrong of the Common-wealth, ſhe thought not good to ſuffer it.* The Earle of Feria interpreted this as an injurie to himſelfe; and, to the end he might not let it paſſe unrevenged, laid hold upon a ſervant of *Chamberlaines*, who was Leiger in Spaine, and cauſed him to be taken to the Inquiſition as guilty of hereſie; and himſelfe, offended at the Queene and the Engliſh, never ceaſed (his wife in vaine perſwading him to the contrary) to kindle the fire of contention, and to exaſperate the Kings mind already diſpleaſed. It was reported likewiſe that he dealt with the new elected Pope of Rome, *Pius* the fourth, to have the Queene excommunicated. But he (God knowes upon what ground or hopes) ſent hither to her *Vincentius Parpalia*, Abbot of Saint Saviours, with ſecret Commiſſion, and letters full of kindneſſe: which I will here ſet downe entire, though ſome may think that I tranſgreſſe herein the lawes of hiſtorie.

1560.

The Count of Feria incenſeth the King of Spain againſt the Queene.

To our moſt deare Daughter in Chriſt ELISABETH Queene of England.

DEare Daughter in Chriſt, health and Apoſtolicall benediction. How greatly we deſire (our Paſtorall office ſo requiring it) to procure the ſalvation of your ſoule, and to provide likewiſe for your honour, and the eſtabliſhment of your Kingdome withall, God the ſearcher of all hearts knoweth, and you may underſtand by what we have given in charge to this our beloved ſon Vincentius Parpalia, *Abbot of Saint Saviours, a man well knowne to you, and well approved by us. Wherefore we doe againe and againe exhort and admoniſh your Highneſſe, moſt deare Daughter, that rejecting evill Counſellours, which love not you, but themſelves, and ſerve their owne luſts, you would take the feare of God into counſell with you, and acknowledging the time of your viſitation, ſhew your ſelfe obedient to our fatherly perſwaſions and wholeſome counſells; and promiſe to your ſelfe from us all things that may make, not only to the ſalvation of your ſoule, but alſo whatſoever you ſhall deſire from us for the eſtabliſhing and confirming of your Princely dignitie, according to the authoritie, place, and office committed unto us by God. And if ſo be, as we deſire and hope, you ſhall returne into the boſome*

The Popes letter to the Queene.

1560. *of the Church, we ſhall be ready to receive you with the ſame love, honour, and rejoycing, that the Father in the Goſpell did his Son returning to him: although our joy is like to be the greater, in that he was joyfull for the ſalvation of one ſon, but you, drawing along with you all the people of England, ſhall heare us and the whole company of our brethren (who are ſhortly, God willing, to be aſſembled in a Generall Councell, for the taking away of hereſies, and ſo for the ſalvation of your ſelfe and your whole Nation) fill the Univerſall Church with rejoycing and gladneſſe. Yea, you ſhall make glad heaven it ſelfe with ſuch a memorable fact, and atchieve admirable renowne to your name, much more glorious than the Crowne you weare. But concerning this matter the ſame* Vincentius *ſhall deale with you more largely, and ſhall declare our fatherly affection toward you: and we intreat your Majeſtie to receive him lovingly, to heare him diligently, and to give the ſame credit to his ſpeeches which you would to our ſelfe. Given at Rome at Saint Peters, &c. the fifth day of May 1560. in our firſt yeere.*

What propoſitions this Legate made I cannot learne, neither doe I thinke that they were committed to writing, or recorded for poſteritie; and to ſet downe fables or fictions (with the Vulgar Hiſtorians) it is not my mind. That Queene *Eliſabeth* was ſtill like her ſelfe, and continued *Alwaies the ſame*, and that the Popes matter ſucceeded not according to his deſire, all men know ſufficiently. The report goeth, that the Pope promiſed to undoe, and recall, as unjuſt, the ſentence pronounced againſt her Mothers marriage; to confirme with his owne authoritie the Booke of Common Prayer in Engliſh, and to permit the uſe of the Sacrament in both kinds to the people of England, in caſe ſhe would joyne her ſelfe to the Church of Rome, and acknowledge the Primacie of the Romane See; yea, and that he promiſed ſome thouſands of Crownes to thoſe that ſhould procure this.

The French King refuſeth to confirm the treaty of Edinburgh.

Now the time was come that the Treaty of Edinburgh ſhould be confirmed; which Queene *Eliſabeth* performed for her owne particular, taking a ſolemne oath, as the manner is: but when ſhe ſent the ſame to the King and Queene of France to be ratified according to agreement, *Throckmorton* Embaſſadour there in Ordinary could by no meanes induce them thereunto, nor yet Sir *Peter Mewtas*, who for this very purpoſe was after ſent into France; although that in the inſtrument whereby the Biſhop of Valence was authorized to make that covenant, in expreſſe words, *in good earneſt, and the word of a King*, they had promiſed to confirme the ſame. The reaſons which they alledged wherefore they refuſed to confirme it, were theſe: For that the Scots, not by the Princes but their owne authority, which they ought not, had entred into a league with the Engliſh at Berwicke; that it was concluded by Rebells, and ſigned with the counterfeited ſeales and hands of faithfull ſubjects; and that they had not performed the obedience promiſed in the ſame agreement.

While theſe matters are debating, *Francis* the ſecond, King of France, not yet complete eighteen yeers of age, is taken out of this life, in the ſecond yeere of his reigne, and left the Queene of Scots a widow; whether the Papiſts ſorrow or the Proteſtants joy throughout Britaine were greater by reaſon of this accident, it is hard to ſay.

Queene

Queen *Eliſaberh* being now at reſt, to the end the Church might continue pure and incorrupted, and the ſame be propagated alſo; and for the glory and flouriſhing eſtate of the Common-wealth, ſhe ſet forth two wholſome and neceſſarie Proclamations. In the one of which ſhee commanded to depart out of the Kingdome within twentie daies, certaine Anabaptiſts and ſuch like heretickes, who under colour of avoiding perſecution were come from beyond the ſeas, and remaining in the ſea townes of England, had ſpread abroad the poyſon of their ſect here amongſt us: but whether they were borne here, or were ſtrangers, upon paine of impriſonment, and the loſſe of all their goods, they muſt depart out of the Kingdome within the time limited. In the other Proclamation ſhe reſtrained a ſacrilegious ſort of people, that under pretence of taking away ſuperſtition, began to demoliſh the ancient Sepulchres, Epitaphs, and Tombes, of the moſt renowned families, and to make an vtter end of the reſt of the Monuments of venerable antiquitie which remained after the furious rage of thoſe profane hands under King *Henrie* the Eighth, and *Edward* the Sixth was ceaſed, to take the bells out of Churches, and uncover the Leads of them. 1560.

Proclamations againſt Anabaptiſts and ſacrilegious perſons.

Weſtminſter Abbey alſo, famous for the inauguration of the Kings of England uſually held there, and for their place of buriall, and cuſtody of the royall robes and enſignes, ſhe converted into a Collegiat Church; and there ordained a Deane, twelve Prebendaries, a Maſter, Uſher, and forty Scholars (which are called Kings Scholars, out of which ſixe or more (now a daies eight or ten) are every yeere ſent to the Univerſities) Vicars, Singing men, twelve Almeſmen, &c. to the glory of God, and honour of true Religion, and the encreaſe of good learning, and which hath ſince yeelded a happy ſtore of learned men to furniſh both Church and Common-wealth.

Queene Eliſabeth foundeth a Collegiat Church at Weſtminſter.

And, which maketh for her greateſt honour, ſhee began by little and little to take away the braſſe money, and to reſtore currant coyne of pure ſilver, for the recoverie of the Kingdomes credit and renowne, and the preventing of their fraud and coſenage, that counterfeited the coyne both at home and abroad, exchanging their falſe money for the beſt commodities of the Kingdome, and tranſporting the beſt mony into forraine parts: it ſerved alſo to bring downe the price of things, which was greatly enhaunced, to the exceeding detriment of the Commonwealth, but eſpecially of penſioners, ſouldiers, ſervants, and all day-labourers. And this ſhee brought to paſſe within the compaſſe of a few moneths, and that without any ſtir, firſt prohibiting all perſons to melt or carrie out of the Kingdome any current money, or mony mingled with braſſe; and then bringing the braſſe mony to the juſt value, to wit the braſſe penny to three farthings, and the two pence to three halfe pence, the teſter to a groat &c. for there was but ſo much ſilver in them: laſtly, buying the ſaid money from them that held it, and that with her owne loſſe, if within a certaine time they brought it into the Mint. So that by Queen *Eliſaberhs* meanes, the money was better and purer than had beene knowne in England for two hundred yeares before, or was uſed any where over all Europe. And a while after ſhee cauſed to be coyned *Sterling* money for the Kingdome of Ireland, to

1561. this value, that a ſhilling ſhould be worth twelve pence in Ireland, and nine pence in England. This verily was a great act and memorable, this King *Edward* could not, and Queene *Marie* durſt not adventure upon; after that King *Henrie* the Eighth, who of all the Kings of England was the firſt that mingled the money with braſſe, to the great diſgrace of the Kingdome, and dammage of his Succeſſours and people, giving an egregious example of laviſhneſſe and profuſion, though his Father left him greater wealth, than any King of England had left to his Succeſſor; and though hee exacted mightie ſummes of money by tributes (and if we beleeve Cardinall *Poole*, more than all the Kings from the Norman Conqueſt) and infinite maſſes he ſcraped together from every place, when as by authoritie of Parliament he ſeized upon all the lands of the Engliſh in Ireland, if they were abſent from thence; all the firſt fruits of Eccleſiaſticall Benefices and Promotions, and the tenths in England and Ireland, and all the revenues, endowments, and goods of Abbies, and religious houſes.

This yeere dyed *Francis* Lord Haſtings Earle of Huntingdon, the ſecond of that race, who had to wife *Katharine Poole*, the daughter of *Henrie* Lord *Montacute*, brother to Cardinall *Poole*, of whom he begot *Henrie* that ſucceeded him, and many more children, of one affection toward each other, but not of one Religion.

The rebellion of Shan O-Neale in Ireland.

In Ireland *Shan*, otherwiſe called *John O-Neale*, a great Lord of Ulſter, the true and legitimate ſonne of *Con O-Neal*, ſirnamed *Bacco*, that is, the *Lame* (whom *Henrie* the Eighth made Earle of *Tir-Oen*) after that he had ſlaine his baſtard brother *Matthew* Lord of Dungannon, falſly thought to be his Fathers lawfull iſſue, and deſpoyled his own Father of the government, who ſhortly after died of griefe, and by a barbarous manner of election, namely, by caſting a ſhooe over his head, had aſſumed the title of *O-Neale*; fearing leſt he ſhould bee queſtioned by law, brake forth into open rebellion. Whereupon there were ſent out of England five hundred ſouldiers foot companies, and ſome wings of horſemen levied in Ireland. But after ſome light skirmiſhes, when he perceived himſelfe unequally matched with the Engliſh, hated and forſaken of his owne, and ſaw *Surley-Boy*, *James Mac-conell*, and *O-Donell* up in armes againſt him, through the perſwaſion of the Earle of Kildare his kinſman by marriage, he laid aſide his armes, and promiſed to come into England to beg pardon for his offence. Which he afterward did, as we ſhall ſet downe in its proper place.

Anno 1561. Reg. 4.

At the beginning of the next yeere, *Francis* Earle of Bedford was ſent into France to lament the death of *Francis* the French King, and to congratulate *Charles* the Ninth his Succeſſor: and apart, together with *Throckmorton*, he often dealt with the Queene of Scots, that ſhe would confirme the treaty of Edenburgh; but in vaine, for ſhee gave him no other anſwer, but that a thing of that great conſequence, was warily and deliberately to be adviſed of, and that ſhe neither could nor would confirme the ſame without the counſell of the Nobles of Scotland. And *Throckmorton* never ceaſed, with all the arguments he could, diligently to urge the Cardinall of Lorraine, and the reſt of the Guiſian familie her Uncles, and *James* her baſtard brother newly come into France.

But

But after that he was held off with delaies and excuſes from day to day, Queene *Eliſabeth*, ſuſpecting that they had ſome miſcheivous intendment towards England, reſolved to prevent it. Whereupon ſhe ſendeth Sir *Thomas Randoll* into Scotland, to perſwade the Nobles of Scotland, to enter into a band of mutuall amitie; and to give them to underſtand, how the Princes of Germanie had already made a league and confederacie againſt the Pope; and that Queen *Eliſabeth* deſired nothing rather than that ſhee her ſelfe and the Scottiſh might bee comprehended in the ſame. Now was the time moſt fit, in regard of their unitie in religion, and the widow-hood of the Queene of Scots, to lay aſleepe all diſcord betweene the Scottiſh and Engliſh Nations, who had beene ſo many Ages together at variance; in which time much blood had on both ſides beene ſpilt. And that was to be done either by contracting a perpetuall league with the Engliſh, or by cutting off ſome certaine conditions in an ancient league with the French, which were of that nature, that they had ſowne diſcord and diſtraction betweene the Scottiſh and the Engliſh. And laſtly, he was to admoniſh the Scottiſh, in no caſe to permit the Queen of Scots, now a Widow, to marrie againe to any forreine Prince; for by that meanes, it was likely ſhe would revenge her ſelfe upon thoſe that lately reſiſted the French, and their libertie ſhould be in danger to be enthralled. 1561.

The Queene of Scots in the meane while purpoſing to returne into Scotland, ſent before hand *D'Oiſelle* a French Noble man, to entreat favour of Queene *Eliſabeth*, that upon publike aſſurance, none offering violence, ſhe might paſſe into Scotland by Sea, and that *D'Oiſelle* might paſſe through England. But Queene *Eliſabeth* in the hearing of a great multitude that ſtood by, denied both the one and the other, alledging for a juſt reaſon of this her deniall, that the Queen of Scots had not confirmed the treatie of Edenburgh, according as ſhee had plighted her troth for the ſame. But if ſhe would confirme that, ſhee promiſed faithfully, whatſoever might be expected at the hands of a Queene, an Allie, and a Neighbour; and that, whether ſhee would take her journey by Sea or Land. The Queene of Scots moved by this anſwer, ſent for *Throckmorton*: with whom ſhe had long conference concerning this buſineſſe, the which it will bee expedient here to inſert, as by his letters ſent into England was manifeſted; that ſo the beginning and progreſſe of the differences betweene two great Princeſſes, may appeare more evidently and plainely to all. Shee taking *Throckmorton* apart, began in this manner to ſpeake unto him:

The Queen of Scots denied paſſage into Scotland.

What is my infirmitie as I am a woman, and how I may be carried aſide in my heat, I cannot tell: nevertheleſſe I would be loth my weakeneſſe ſhould appeare before ſo many witneſſes, as were preſent when your Miſtreſſe ſpake to D'Oiſelle *my Embaſſadour. Nothing ſo much troubleth me, as that I requeſted of her that which I needed not. I ſhall be able (by the grace of God) to returne into my Country, and aske her no leave, as well as I came hither againſt King* Edwards *will her brother, who laboured what hee could to hinder me. Neither doe I want friends that are both able and willing to carrie me thither. But I choſe rather to make uſe of her friendſhip, than of any other. I have often heard you ſay, that an amitie betwixt me and her*

Her expoſtulation to Throckmorton.

was

1561. was moſt neceſſarie and profitable for both our Kingdomes; but ſhe ſeemeth to be otherwiſe perſwaded, elſe I had never beene denied ſo ſmall a requeſt. But it may be ſhe is better affected towards the Scottiſh, that rebell againſt me, than toward me the Queene of Scots. But doe you thinke that any ſuch true friendſhip and love can bee betweene thoſe which rebell againſt me, as might be betwixt her and me? Or doth ſhee think that I ſhall be left deſtitute and deprived of all friends and aſſiſtance? The truth is, ſhe hath now driven me to require helpe of thoſe whom willingly I would not have troubled. And they cannot ſufficiently wonder, upon what ground ſhe hath long ſince lent aide to my ſubjects againſt mee, and doth now hinder me from returning to my owne people. I demand nothing in this world of her, but friendſhip onely; I trouble her not in any kind, nor doe I interpoſe my ſelfe in any affaires which concerne England. Yet I am not ignorant that there are many in England which are not contented with the preſent ſtate of matters there. She upbraideth me, that my experience is but ſmall; I confeſſe ſo much, age bringeth experience, yet I am of that age and experience, that I know how to demeane my ſelfe toward my kinred and friends, in friendly, loving, and juſt manner; and I ſhould be ſorry to utter any thing againſt her, which might unbeſeeme a Princeſſe, or one that is her allie. Alſo with her good leave let me ſay, that I am a Queene as well as ſhee her ſelfe; I am not deſtitute of freinds, and I beare a ſpirit as high and lofty as ſhee doth: wherefore there is no great inequality betwixt us. But I forbeare compariſons, which in themſelves are odious, and likely to breed contention. As for the treaty of Edenburgh, it was made while the King my husband was living, to whom it was meet I ſhould in all things ſhew my ſelfe obedient; and ſeeing that he deferred the confirming thereof, upon him, and not upon mee let the blame reſt. Hee being dead, the Counſellors of France have left me to mine owne Counſellors, and my Uncles here would not intermeddle with any Scottiſh affaires, being unwilling to give offence to my people in Scotland, or to the Queene of England. The Scottiſh that are now about me, are private perſons, and beſides, not ſuch perſons for underſtanding or qualitie, that I ſhould uſe their advice in matters of ſo great conſequence. As ſoone as I ſhall have conſulted with the Nobles of my Kingdome, I ſhall returne a reaſonable anſwer; and I make haſt home that I may returne it the more ſpeedily. But ſhe hath reſolved to ſtop my paſſage, leſt I ſhould give an anſwer hereunto; ſo that ſhe is to be blamed, if I give not ſatisfaction: or it may be ſhe is unwilling to be ſatisfied, that ſo there may be no end of difference betwixt us. She objecteth diſgracefully, and that often, that I am a young woman; and a young foole ſhe may well hold me to be, if I ſhould manage buſineſſes of ſo great moment, without the counſell of my Peeres. The wife (as I am given to underſtand) is not bound either in honour or conſcience to make good all her husbands deeds. But this I diſpute not: Yet let me truely ſay thus much, I have done nothing to my moſt deere ſiſter, which I would not ſhould be done to my ſelfe. I have ſhewed all offices of ſervice and reſpect; but ſhee either beleeveth them not to be ſuch, or elſe contemneth them. I would to God I were as deare to her, as I am neere of blood, for that were a kind of conſanguinitie truly precious. God forgive them, if there bee any, that ſow ſtrife betweene us. But you who are her Embaſſador, tell me in good earneſt for what cauſe ſhee is thus offended with mee, who never

hitherto

hitherto have done her injurie, either in word or deed. 1561.

Hereunto *Throckmorton* replied thus: *I have no Commiſsion to anſwer thoſe things which you have objected, but to receive your anſwer touching the confirmation of the Edenburgh treatie. Nevertheleſſe, if you pleaſe to heare what is the cauſe that her Majeſtie is offended, laying aſide the perſon of an Embaſſador, I will briefly declare the ſame. Preſently upon the inauguration of the Queen my Miſtreſſe, you invaded the Title and Armes of the Kingdome of England, which before you offered not, whiles her ſiſter* Marie *reigned. If any greater injurie can be done unto a Prince, doe you in your wiſdome judge. Certainely private perſons will never digeſt an injurie of that nature, much leſſe will Princes.*

Tea (but ſaith ſhe) *my husbands father, and my husband himſelfe, did ſo will and command it. Since they departed this life, and I came to have command of my ſelfe, I have wholly abſtained from the Title and Armes: Although I doe not well know what great wrong it can bee to the Queene, if I, who am a Queene alſo, and the grandchild of King* Henrie *the Eighth his eldeſt ſiſter, ſhould beare thoſe Armes; for as much as ſome others farther off, have beene ſuffered to beare them.* Truly *Courtney* Marqueſſe of Exeter, and the Dutcheſſe of Suffolke, Niece to King *Henrie* the Eighth by his younger ſiſter, by ſpeciall favour did beare the Armes of England with ſupporters different.

But Queene *Eliſabeth* not ſatisfied herewithall, who was perſwaded, that ſhe did nothing but interpoſe delaies for ſome new hopes in hand, ſeeing ſhee had made no propoſition touching the Edenburgh treatie to the Nobles of Scotland, who had met oftentimes ſince the death of her husband; being now on her way, once againe ſhe ſent for *Throckmorton* to Abbeville, where ſhe courteouſly demanded of him, how ſhee might ſatisfie Queene *Eliſabeth* by word or deed. Why (ſaith he) by ratifying the Edenburgh treatie, as I have often told you alreadie. She replieth:

The Queen of Scots endevours to ſatisfie Queene Eliſabeth.

Heare then firſt, and judge afterwards; are not thoſe moſt juſt and lawfull reaſons, which ſhee taketh for delaies, and vaine excuſes? The firſt Article therein, for the confirming of the treatie held at the Caſtle of Cambray, betweene England and France, appertaineth not at all to me. The ſecond, for the ratifying of the treatie made there betweene England and Scotland, was ratified by my husband and me, and cannot againe bee ratified, unleſſe it bee concluded in my name alone, whereas my husband is expreſly named in it. The third, fourth, and fifth Articles, are already performed; for all warlike proviſion is laid aſide, the French Garriſons are called backe from Scotland, the fortification at Aimouth is laid levell with the ground. I have forborne the Title & Armes of England, ever ſince the death of my husband: To blot them out and deface them in all veſſels, and houſhold ſtuffe, buildings, and written inſtruments over all France, is not in my power: neither have I authoritie to ſend into England the Biſhop of Valence, and Randan, who are none of my ſubjects, to enter into a conference concerning the ſixth Article. As for the laſt Article, I hope my ſeditious ſubjects in Scotland, ſhall have no cauſe to complaine of my harſhneſſe or ſeveritie. But I perceive the Queene, who thinkes to hinder my returne home, will be an occaſion that they taſte not ſo much of my mercie as otherwiſe they might doe. What is now be-

1561. *behind in that treatie, which can either hurt or pleaſure your Queen? Nevertheleſſe to give her more abundant ſatisfaction, I will with my owne hand write letters more at large to her, concerning this buſineſſe, although ſhee vouchſafeth not to write to mee but by a Secretarie. Now you who are an Ambaſſador, do the part of an Ambaſſador, which is, rather to mollifie and moderate, than to aggravate matters on both ſides.*

But Queene *Eliſabeth* was not ſatisfied with theſe letters neither; for the injury of aſſuming the Title, and quartering the Armes of England with the French and Scottiſh, ſtucke ſtill in her ſtomacke, and would not be removed: and ſorely troubled ſhee was, leſt in time to come the Queene of Scots might againe arrogate them, unleſſe by confirming the Treaty, and by the ſacred bond of an oath, ſhe were tyed for ever after to abſtaine from them.

The Queen of Scots returnes into Scotland.

In the meane while the Queene of Scots, having gotten a faire ſeaſon, looſed from Callice, and arrived in Scotland, and eſcaped the Engliſh ſhips, ſailing by them in a foggy miſt, which ſome thought were ſent to be an honourable convoy to her; others, that they were ſent out againſt Pyrates; ſome againe were perſwaded they were ſent forth to intercept her in her journey. For *James* the Baſtard, who returned a little before through England, adviſed the Queene to intercept her, if ſhee loved her owne ſafetie, and the good of Religion. *Lidington* alſo, rejoycing that *D'Oiſelle* was detained in England, gave the ſame advice; *leſt* (as the tenure of the letters went) *upon her returne ſhe ſhould raiſe troubles in Scotland, hinder all commerce by letters or meſſengers with the Engliſh, ruine the partie addicted to the Engliſh, and at length rage againſt the Proteſtants of Scotland, not under the name of Traitors or Rebells, but puniſh them as Heretikes, in ſuch ſort as Queen* Marie *of England had lately done.* But the truth is, that ſhe upon her returne, intreated her ſubjects in moſt loving maner, altered not the Religion, though it had been brought in with tumult and great ſtirre, and addreſſed her ſelfe to governe the Common-wealth according to the beſt lawes and cuſtomes. Then ſhe ſent *Lidington* to Queen *Eliſabeth*, with letters from her ſelfe, and from the Nobles of Scotland, wherein ſhe proffered all obſervance and readineſſe, both to enter into a league with the Queene, and to conſider of the beſt waies how the ſame might be preſerved inviolable; alledging for one, that none could bee better, or more ſure, than this, that Queene *Eliſabeth* by authoritie of Parliament ſhould declare her to bee the lawfull Heire, next to ſucceed her in the Kingdome of England, in caſe ſhe her ſelfe ſhould have no iſſue.

She demands to be proclaimed Heire apparent to the Kingdome of England.

This ſeemed to Queene *Eliſabeth*, a new and ſtrange matter, who expected rather a confirmation of the Treatie at Edenburgh, which by her ſpeeches and hand writing of her own, ſhe had promiſed. Nevertheleſſe ſhe made anſwer:

Queen Eliſabeths anſwer.

As for ſucceſsion, ſhe well hoped the Queene of Scots would not goe about to take away from her, or from her children, if ſhee ſhould have any, the Crowne and Diademe of England. She would no way derogate from her right unto the ſame, and that ſhe promiſeth, though through the haſty and overforward ambition of ſome others, ſhe had arrogated the Title and Armes of England; for which injurie it was reaſon ſhe ſhould give ſatisfaction.

faction. But ſhee feared that by deſigning a Succeſſor, friendſhip might rather be diſ-joyned than confirmed; for as much as we ſee that Succeſſors are alwaies held hatefull and ſuſpected by thoſe that beare preſent rule, and the people commonly are ſo inconſtant, that through a lothing of the preſent condition of things, they are ſtill looking to the Sun when it riſeth, and ready to forſake the Sun ſetting; and the Succeſſors themſelves, by reaſon of the hopes of others & their own inclination, can hardly containe themſelves within the limits of right and juſtice. In ſo much that if ſhe ſhould confirme the ſucceſſion to her, ſhe ſhould thereby cut off her owne ſecuritie, and as it were cover her own eyes with a graeve cloth whiles ſhee yet lived; yea lead the way to her owne funerall, her ſelfe living and beholding the ſame. 1561.

After that ſhe had returned this anſwer, ſhee ſent letters againe to the Queene of Scots, friendly admoniſhing her to confirme the Edenburgh treatie. Neither did ſhee directly denie to doe it, but intimated that ſhee could not conveniently doe the ſame, untill matters in Scotland were ſettled. And at that time her Unkles and other Nobles of France, that had brought her home, returning through England, were by the Queen bountifully and lovingly entertained, and no office of humanitie neglected, which either ſhee could ſhew, or they poſſibly expect.

Nevertheleſſe the Engliſh Merchants were unworthily dealt withall, and their ſhips taken from them which lay upon the Coaſt of France, by the Duke of Guiſes meanes; and likewiſe ſecret practices ſet on foot againe at Rome, that Queene *Eliſabeth* might bee excommunicated. Nevertheleſſe *Pius* the Fourth, Pope of Rome, thought to deale with her more gently. For he (as we have related) dealt with her by courteous letters the laſt yeere; and now having appointed a day of aſſemblie to the Councell of Trent, which was called long before, but interrupted by frequent warres, and inviting all Chriſtian Princes thither, though averſe from the Popiſh religion, he deſigned the Abbot of Martinego for England, ſending by him letters full of humanitie and courteſie. But he ſtayed by the way in the Low Countries, and requeſted favour that hee might bee received into England: for an ancient Law had provided, that it ſhould bee unlawfull for any of the Popes Nuncio's to come into England (till they had obtained leave) leſt they might happely under hand attempt ſomething, which might be prejudiciall to the King, or to the libertie of the Kingdome. But the Councellours here thought it not fit in any caſe to admit him, ſeeing that ſo many every where, being bred up to the Popiſh Religion, laboured to make troubles both at home and abroad. The Abbot then not being permitted to paſſe over into England, the Biſhop of Viterbium in Italy, who was the Popes Nuncio in France, dealt with *Throckmorton* very earneſtly, that the Queene would ſend her Orators to the Councell; and many Princes of the Chriſtian world by their letters doe adviſe the ſame, the French King, the King of Spaine, and above all, the Duke *D'Alva* (who was hitherto very affectionately enclined towards her) that in the matter of religion, which is the onely anchor of Chriſtians, and the ſtay and prop of Kingdomes, ſhe would relie rather upon a generall Councell, than upon the judgement and opinions of a few private perſons, though otherwiſe learned enough. Shee made anſwer, that ſhe heartily deſired

The Pope alureth the Engliſh to the Councell of Trent.

His Nuncio denied acceſſe into England.

1561. deſired a generall Councell, but to a Popiſh Aſſembly ſhe would not ſend: that ſhe had nothing to doe with the Pope, whoſe authority was baniſhed out of England, by the conſent of the Peeres of the Kingdome. Moreover, that he was not to call a generall Councell, but the Emperour to doe it; nor could ſhe acknowledge any greater authority in him, than in any other Biſhop.

Sir Edward Carne dieth at Rome.

At the ſame time that entrance into the Kingdome was interdicted to this Abbot, the laſt Nuncio of the Popes of Rome into England, Sir *Edward Carne*, of whom we made mention before, a wiſe man, and learned in the Imperiall lawes, who was inveſted with the honour of Knighthood by the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, and the laſt Oratour of the Kings of England to the Popes of Rome, there departed this life.

Chamberlaine the Queenes Embaſſadour in Spaine, when as he perceived the King of Spaines mind to be daily more and more alienated upon this anſwer, which was diſgracefull to the Pope, having obtained leave, returned home. For the King of Spaine, now that *Francis* the French King was dead, being out of fear for the uniting the Kingdomes of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to France, began utterly to neglect the Engliſh. In his room Sir *Thomas Chaloner* was emploied, who as ſoon as he was arrived in Spaine, being a man impatient of injuries, for that he had been ſent on Embaſſage into Germanie ſundry times, where he found nothing but courteous dealing, ſent letters into England, earneſtly labouring that he might be called home; for that (according to the manner of the Countrey there) all his cheſts and trunkes had beene broken up. But the Queene returned him anſwer, that it was the part and duty of an Embaſſadour to take all in good part, ſo long as his Princes honour was not directly or plainly violated.

The Queene prepareth for warre.

Now the Queene, like a wiſe and provident Princeſſe (Religion being after a manner ſettled) to the end ſhe might be furniſhed with remedies againſt violence, if any ſhould be offered, and provide for her own ſecurity and the ſafety of her people, and while peace laſted, enjoy it without feare or diſtraction; notwithſtanding that ſhe found the treaſury exhauſt, yet began ſhe to repleniſh the Munition houſe with all ſtore of warlike proviſion, expending a mighty maſſe of money upon armour and weapons in Germanie, becauſe the King of Spaine detained thoſe which ſhe had bargained for at Antwerp: ſhe cauſeth many great Ordnance both of braſſe and iron to be caſt; and (as if Almighty God favoured this enterpriſe) there was found neere Keſwick in Cumberland a moſt wealthy veine of pure and native braſſe, which had laine neglected a long time; and the ſame yeelded great aboundance of metall for that uſe, and from thence likewiſe other Countries were ſupplied. The ſtone likewiſe called *Lapis Calaminaris*, which is of great uſe in thoſe braſſe workes, was now, by the mercifull favour of God, firſt found in England, and that in moſt plentifull maner. She was the firſt that cauſed gunpowder to be made here at home, the which was not wont to be gotten but at a deare rate, and with much entreatie from the neighbour Kingdomes. To the Garriſon at Berwick, which till then conſiſted but of five hundred ſouldiers, ſhe added many more, and increaſed their pay,

pay, to the great encouragement of experienced ſouldiers and valiant perſons. She appointed noble and underſtanding men to ſee the fortifications repaired, which were within twenty miles of the borders towards Scotland. She made ready a Navie furniſhed with every meet inſtrument, both for the Sea and for fight, and the ſame the moſt complete that ever Britaine ſaw: and to the end it might ride ſafely, and free from danger, ſhe erected a Bulwarke upon the banke of Medway, neere Upnore, where there is a Bay. She encreaſed the wages alſo of the Mariners and Ship workmen, in ſo much that amongſt forraine Nations ſhe was ſtiled, and that deſervedly, *The Reſtorer of the glory of Shipping*, and, *The Queene of the Northren Sea*. So that now ſhe was not driven, as her Father and Predeceſſours were often, to hire Ships for her uſe from *Hamburgh*, *Lubeck*, *Dantisk*, *Genoa*, and *Venice*. In like maner the wealthier ſort of the Inhabitants by the ſea ſide, in a certaine joy and alacritie imitating their Prince, did every day build Ships of warre, in ſo much that in a ſhort ſpace the Queenes Fleet, and her Subjects Ships withall, was ſo great, that ſhe could carrie forth twenty thouſand warriours to a ſea fight. The Nobles likewiſe, and the common ſort of people, with no leſſe cheerefulneſſe and diligence, did every where procure themſelves armour, and ever and anon were held goodly muſters, and youth exerciſed and trained to skill in artillerie. The Country-men alſo, having leave granted them to tranſport corne and graine, began to be more ſtudious of husbandry and tillage than ever was knowne before, and manured grounds which had laine waſte beyond the memory of man. In theſe dayes alſo the Queene by a ſevere Proclamation reſtrained the covetouſneſſe of Merchants, who ſupplied with warlike proviſion the Emperour of Ruſſia, and others the like enemies of Chriſtianitie, againſt the King of Poland and his ſubjects: and withall, ſhe tooke order with certaine greedy Accomptants, who had with-held the yeerly penſions aſſigned to thoſe religious perſons that were thrown out of the Monaſteries. For ſhe made Proclamation, that to as many of them as were alive, and it did not evidently appeare that they were otherwiſe promoted, payment ſhould be made to the utmoſt penny. The Commiſſioners which were authorized to take up corne and proviſion for the Navie, and the Garriſon of Berwick, ſhe recalled, and gave the Purveyors ready money to buy their commodities, that ſo the people might not be burdened: ſhe had a purpoſe alſo to take away thoſe that belonged to the Court, certaine Counties conſenting afterward to deliver proviſion at a ſet rate, that ſo they might be freed from the Purveyors (whom the Queene called Harpies) a vile generation of men. About this time alſo ſhe augmented the ſtipends of the Juſtices of Aſſiſe, and was the firſt that granted the Judges an allowance for their Circuit. And although ſhe were thought to be ſomething covetous, yet knew ſhe well where, and when, and in what meaſure liberalitie was to be uſed; and indeed ſhe was frugall, and yet providently bountifull to thoſe that deſerved well.

1561.

The Queene encreaſeth her Fleet.

Purveyors commiſsions revoked.

Now that the Common-wealth, through theſe carefull endevours of the Queene and her people, ſeemed to live againe, to the great rejoycing of all perſons, one ſad event came betweene. The faire Spire of the

1562. Cathedrall Church of Saint *Paul* in London, which to the ſingular ornament of the City was built up to an admired height, to wit, five hundred and twenty foot from the ground, and two hundred and ſixty from the ſquare ſteeple where it was placed, and was made of woodden materialls, but covered with lead, being touched from heaven with lightning, fired neere the top, and the devouring fire, to the great terrour of the Inhabitants of the Citie, deſcended with ſuch violence, that it burned the ſame quite downe, together with the roofes of that faire and large Church, which was covered all over with lead, and that within the ſpace of five houres; but the building nevertheleſſe, which was of ſolid ſtone, remained whole and entire. Notwithſtanding by the gracious bounty of the Queene, who gave great ſtore of money and materialls, and the contribution of Church-men and others, the roofes were in a ſhort time reſtored, only the Spire is yet wanting.

Pauls ſteeple burnt.

This yeere there departed this life *John Bourchier*, a man of ancient Nobilitie, the ſecond of that name Earle of Bath, and Lord Fitz-Warin, who of the Lady *Eleanor*, daughter to *George* Lord Roſſe, begate a numerous off-ſpring. *William* his Grandchild by his eldeſt ſon ſucceeded him, who lived a long time in that Honour.

Anno 1562. Reg. 5. Civill warre in France.

Now began troubles and broiles to ariſe in France, and to grow hot alſo, whiles during the minoritie of *Charles* the ninth, the ſpecious name of Religion was on both ſides pretended to beare out the private ambition and emulation of certaine Princes; and the Profeſſours of the reformed Religion were in the meane while grievouſly oppreſſed. And ſuſpitions began to be very rife every where, for that upon this occaſion certaine Papiſts in England, upon I know not what vaine hopes of oppreſſing the Proteſtants here in like manner, began in their ſecret conferences to whiſper every where up and downe many ſtrange matters. *Margaret* Counteſſe of Lenox, Niece to King *Henry* the eighth by his eldeſt ſiſter, and her husband the Earle of Lenox, who had certaine ſecret commerce by letters with the Queene of Scots, were delivered priſoners to Sir *Richard Sackvill* Maſter of the Rolles, and there kept for a while in cuſtodie. *Arthur Poole* and his brother, whoſe great grandfather was *George* Duke of Clarence, brother to *Edward* the fourth, *Anthony Forteſcue*, who had married their ſiſter, and others, were arraigned; for that they conſpired to withdraw themſelves to the Duke of Guiſe in France, and from thence to returne with an Armie into Wales, to declare the Queene of Scots Queene of England, and *Arthur Poole* Duke of Clarence. Theſe particulars they ingenuouſly confeſſed at the barre, but yet proteſted that they meant not to take them in hand during the life of the Queene, who they beleeved ſhould die the next yeere, being ſeduced by the evill art and cunning of certaine Wiſards. Whereupon they were condemned to die, but their lives were ſpared in regard they were of the bloud Royall. But too harſh meaſure, as many thought, was uſed towards the Lady *Katharine Grey*, daughter to *Henry Grey* Duke of Suffolke, who was much neerer of kin to the Queene, for ſhe was grandchild to the ſecond ſiſter of King *Henry* the eighth, who being married to *Henry* the eldeſt ſon of the Earle of Pembroke, and ſoone after lawfully divorced from him, lay a long time neglected, and being

now

now great with child, and neere her time, was caſt into the Tower, 1561.
profeſſing that ſhe was joyned in lawfull matrimonie with *Edward Seimor* Earle of Hertford, and was with child by him. He was called home out of France, whither with the Queenes good leave he was gone for his pleaſure ſake, and openly profeſſing the ſame, was ſhut up in the Tower alſo. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury and ſome others are appointed to enquire into the cauſe, and to determine it, and from their ſentence there was no appeale. And the Earle, not being able within a limited time to produce witneſſes of their marriage, the definitive ſentence was pronounced by the Archbiſhop, *that he had unlawfull and unwarrantable carnall copulation with her, and that both he and ſhe were to be puniſhed for this exceſſe.* *John Hales* an opinative man, but endued with great ſtore of learning, oppoſed this ſentence as unjuſt, unlawfull, and of no force, arguing that they were lawfull man and wife by vertue of their owne bare conſent and agreement. Whereupon he alſo was committed to priſon. The Lady was ſoone delivered of her eldeſt ſon in the priſon, and was after with child of another by the Earle of Hertford, the Keepers, as it was thought, being corrupted and bribed for that purpoſe. Sir *Edward Warner*, Lievtenant of the Tower, was put by his place, and committed to priſon, as conſenting thereunto; and the Earle of Hertford himſelfe was accuſed in the Starre-Chamber of a three-fold crime, for deflouring a Virgin of the blood Royall, for breaking of priſon, and for that he had gotten her with child againe. He proteſted that he had contracted lawfull matrimonie with her, and diſſembled not the other matter, how that finding the priſon doores open, he went to her to comfort her, in regard of the hard ſentence pronounced, and that he performed the marriage duty. Hereupon for each of theſe offences he was fined five thouſand pounds, and detained in priſon nine yeeres. She after a few yeeres, being taken with a fierce diſeaſe, before *Hopton* Lievtenant of the Tower craved pardon of the Queene for contracting marriage without her leave, and commending her children and the Earle of Hertfords liberty to her care and clemency, ſweetly and piouſly departed this life, and ſlept in Chriſt.

The Earle of Hertford called out of France.

The warre began to wax hotter and hotter in France betweene the Princes of the bloud Royall and the Guiſian partie, and the pretence of Religion, as I ſaid, was ſought on both ſides to uphold their factions; in ſo much that Queene *Eliſabeth* began to feare that England alſo might be entangled in their neighbouring broiles. For ſhe had heard that the Guiſians, to allure *Anthony* of Bourbon King of Navarre to their party, had ſecretly promiſed him marriage with the Queene of Scots, and withall the Kingdome of England for her dowrie, and that by the King of Spaines wealth and force, and the Popes authoritie, who ſhould diſſolve the matrimonie of Navarre with his wife, ſhe being an Hereticke, and for Hereſie alſo ſhould depoſe Queene *Eliſabeth* from her Crown. Hereupon ſhe ſent into France Sir *Henry Sidney*, a renowned Gentleman, to learne the truth of theſe things more perfectly, and to perſwade the leaders of both factions to a peaceable agreement. But the matter was growne to ſuch a height, that both parties reſolved not to heare of any agreement. *Sidney* returning from France, was employed to the

The Guiſians practice againſt Queene Eliſabeth.

1562. Queene of Scots to get the conference deferred till the yeere following, which ſhe deſired to have with Queene *Eliſabeth*; or at leaſt, untill ſuch time as the troubles in France were quieted.

Conſultation about an enterview betwixt the two Queenes.

Now a conſultation was held, whether it were expedient or no that theſe two Princes ſhould meet and conferre together. It was not free from ſuſpition, that the Queen of Scots, who firſt deſired this conference, did the ſame to ſerve her owne ends, hoping thereby either to confirme her owne right to the Crowne of England, or elſe to give heart to the Papiſts in England, and the Guiſians in France her Couſins. On the other ſide, ſome were of opinion, that hereby a moſt firme league of friendſhip might be made up betweene them, the league betweene the French and Scottiſh by little and little weakned, and the Queen of Scots drawne to the Proteſtants Religion. Others obſerved that by occaſion of ſuch conferences, the ſeeds of diſcord rather than love were often ſcattered, one party being ſtill ſubject to envie and reproofe, if they exceeded or came ſhort of the other in wealth, or ſtate, beautie and comelineſſe, or any other endowments either of body or mind.

The Queene of Scots likewiſe thought it not the ſafeſt courſe, to commit her ſelfe to the power of Queene *Eliſabeth*, with whom ſhee had formerly contended about her right to the Kingdome. She was likewiſe doubtfull within her ſelfe which way to encline, having lately heard that Queene *Eliſabeth* tooke part with the Proteſtants of France, and according as ſhe her ſelfe wrote, *when ſhe weighed with her ſelfe, that by the Fathers ſide ſhe was deſcended from England, and by the Mother out of France; that in France ſhee was crowned Queene, and was now Dowager; that ſhe was the undoubted Heire to the Crowne of England, and expected that that Crowne ſhould one day fall to her; ſhee was much indebted to her Uncles in France, that had given her education, and that ſhee greatly alſo reſpected the love of her deare ſiſter the Queene of England.*

Yet ſhe feared nevertheleſſe (being of a quicke underſtanding) that if ſhe applied her ſelfe to a faſt friendſhip with her, ſhe might incurre the diſpleaſure of the French King, be left deſtitute by the Guiſian familie, who were her Uncles, and loſe her dowry money out of France, while ſhe preferred the uncertaine friendſhip of Queen *Eliſabeth* (which as ſhe ſaid could not extend beyond her owne perſon) before the aſſured protection and love of the French. Hence the conference which was ſo buſily talked on, and in contriving for many moneths together, at laſt came to nothing, cheifely alſo for that the Queene of Scots by her letters ſignified, that ſhe would not come to the meeting, unleſſe ſhee were firſt by authoritie of Parliament here declared heire to the Queene of England, or elſe made the adopted daughter of Queen *Eliſabeth*, for the ſure founding of that peace and union betwixt the two Kingdomes, which had beene ſo long deſired on all ſides. In caſe either of theſe requeſts were granted, ſhe promiſed that ſhe would be alwaies devoted to Queene *Eliſabeth*, and neglect for her ſake the Guiſian familie, to which ſhe was ſo neerely allied. In the ſame letters alſo ſhe intimated, that ſhe was the more eager herein, for that ſhe had beene informed that there were ſome, who had ſecret conſultations to ſuborne another ſucceſſor,

ceſſor, and that onely for her Religion ſake, whereas it was well known that ſhe tolerated the Proteſtants Religion in Scotland. 1562.

The Cardinall of Lorraine propoundeth a marriage to the Queene of Scots.

But when as the Cardinall of Lorraine was knowne at the ſame time to deale with the Emperour *Ferdinand*, to have her match with his ſonne *Charles* Arch-Duke of Auſtria, who then ſought marriage with Queene *Eliſabeth*, the Queene by Sir *Thomas Randoll* did her word, that if ſhee gave eare to the Cardinall concerning that marriage, who was a ſworne enemie to England, that then the friendſhip betwixt England and Scotland was like to be diſſolved, and ſhe deprived of all hopes of ſucceſſion to the Engliſh Crowne. And therefore, that this might not come to paſſe, ſhee friendly adviſed her to make choice of ſuch a husband in England, with whom ſhe could verie well pleaſe her ſelfe; thereby ſatisfying both her owne people, and the Engliſh alſo; giving them to underſtand, that ſhe deſired a peace: as alſo to make way for her certaine ſucceſſion to the Crowne of England, which could not bee declared, till ſuch time as it were knowne what husband ſhee would take.

Queen Eliſabeth entreth into contract with the Proteſtants of France.

Queen *Eliſabeth*, though ſhee were ſomewhat diſtracted with theſe cares, yet were her eyes fully bent upon the French warre, leſt happely it might take hold of England out of Normandie; and after mature deliberation, ſhee tooke into her protection the French Kings ſubjects in Normandie, that implored her aide, having concluded a peace, and made a bargaine with the Prince of Condie, Roan, and Colin, and others, to lend them five thouſand French Crownes, and to ſend an armie of ſixe thouſand ſouldiers into France; of which three thouſand ſhould be employed to defend Diepe and Roan. And they for their part for a pledge ſhould deliver up to the Engliſh the Towne of Newhaven, built by *Francis* the firſt King of France, at the mouth of the river Seine (which the French call *Port de Grace*) which ſhould be defended by a Garriſon of three thouſand Engliſh in the King of France his name, untill ſuch time as Callice were reſtored. The ſame day that this agreement was made, the Queene by her Proclamation declared the ground of this advice and enterpriſe; to wit, that ſhe would ſend an Armie into Normandie, not with any intent to recover by right or wrong that Province, which was the ancient patrimony of the Kings of England, but to conſerve the ſame for the French King, who was not yet of age, and to vindicate it from the tyrannie of the Guiſian familie, who began already to rage cruelly againſt the Profeſſors of pure Religion, injuriouſly to deſpoyle her of her right to Callice, and had already invaded the Port townes of Normandy lying neere to England; the which they had in their hopes devoured already. So that ſhee muſt of neceſſity reſiſt and encounter them in theſe their violent enterpriſes, or elſe be wanting to the young King her brother and confederate, and to his oppreſſed ſubjects, not furthering to her power the peace and tranquillity of the Chriſtian world, but betraying that, and withall her owne ſafety, and the ſecurity of her people. And *Paul Fox*, the French Kings Orator in England, dealing with her to have the Vidame of Chartres Hayes, and others that had ſubſcribed the agreement in the treatie of Cambray, delivered up to his King as Traitors & League-breakers: She

1562. excuſed them by her letters to the French King, and laid the fault upon the Guiſians, whoſe turbulent ſpirits (ſhe ſaid) had engaged the Kings father, his brother, and himſelfe alſo in a cruell warre.

In the moneth of September one part of the Engliſh Armie landed at New-Haven, and was joyfully received there by the Inhabitants, under the conduct of Sir *Adrian Poinings*, who was appointed Marſhall; and the other part of it arrived at Diepe. The Earle of Warwick, Generall of the Armie, came late to New-Haven, being twice driven backe to England by foule weather. Then they made ſome ſallies out upon the Country that lay neer them; but the Rheingrave to hinder them drew neerer, and pitched his Tents not farre from them. The Engliſh and French notwithſtanding had otherwhiles ſome light skirmiſhes, and the ſhips at Sea uſed Piracie over all the Sea thereabouts, and brought in wealthy ſpoyles, daily pillaging the French ſhips that lay in the Bayes neere them.

This yeere died *John Vere* Earle of Oxford, the ſixteenth of that famous houſe, who by his firſt wife, the daughter of *Ralph Nevill* Earle of Weſtmorland, had *Katharine* the wife of *Edward* Lord *Windſore*; and by his ſecond wife, which was *Margaret Golding*, he had *Edward* who was Earle of Oxford after his Father, and waſted his Patrimonie, and *Marie* that was given in marriage to *Peregrine Bertie* Lord Willoughby.

Shan O-Neale commeth into England.

Now came out of Ireland *Shan O-Neale*, to tender his obedience according as he promiſed, accompanied with a ſtrange attendance of Galloglaſſes; a people that weare keene Axes, goe bare-headed, having curled lockes hanging downe, yellow ſhirts died in Saffron or mans urine, great ſleeves, ſhort waſted Jerkins, and rough coates: theſe the Engliſh no leſſe wondred at then, than now they would at thoſe of China and America. He was entertained very courteouſly, and caſting himſelfe at the Queenes feet, with great howling deplored his fault of rebellion, and obtained pardon for the ſame. But being affably demanded, by what right hee had deprived *Hugh*, ſonne to his brother *Matthew*, of his inheritance, he anſwered roughly, as before he had done in Ireland, that by very good right he had done it. For he (ſaid he) was the lawfull ſonne and heire of *Con*, and borne of his lawfull wife, and therefore entred upon his fathers dignitie; but *Matthew* was a Smiths ſonne of Dundalke, whom a Smith begot of his wife *Aliſon*, but his Mother had craftily obtruded him for her Son *Con*, thereby to take away the heritage and dignitie of *O-Neale*; which if hee ſhould beare patiently, yet none other of the family of the *O-Neales* would ever endure it. The grant which his Father made to *Henrie* the Eighth, and the delivery which hee himſelfe had given him by deed, was nothing worth; for that *Con* hath no power in thoſe lands which hee parteth withall longer than for his life, nor is of power to paſſe any grant without the conſent of the Nobles and people which choſe him to the honour of *O-Neale*. Likewiſe that deeds of this nature were of no validitie, except he be firſt allowed and approved to bee the true heire of the familie by the oath of twelve men, which was not done neither in this matter. But he himſelfe (he ſaid) was the undoubted heire both by

He defendeth his cauſe.

Law

Law Divine and Humane, being his Fathers eldeſt ſonne, begotten in lawfull matrimony, and deſigned *O-Neale* by the joynt conſent of the Nobles and Commons, by vertue of a Law in their Country called Taniſtry; according to which, a man of ripe yeeres is to bee preferred before a child, and the Uncle before the Nephew. Neither had hee aſſumed any authoritie over the Nobles of Ulſter, which belonged not to him; for his Anceſters had alwaies exerciſed the ſame in old time, as he was able to make good proofe, producing Records for that purpoſe. Now the Queene, upon good inducements having given credit to him, ſent him home, and diſmiſſed him honourably; and hee for a good ſeaſon performed worthy ſervice againſt the robbers of the Weſtern Ilands. 1563.

He returneth home.

In the moneth of Januarie the Parliament aſſembled at Weſtminſter, where they enacted ſundry wholſome and profitable lawes, for the releeving of the poore, for the advancing of Navigation, and husbandry, for the reſtraint of Rogues, Cheaters, Coiners and defacers of monie, Wiſards, Conjurers, Sodomites, and perjured perſons, for the tranſlating of the Bible and Booke of Common Prayer into the Welſh tongue. In like manner they made lawes for the maintaining of the honour due to the Queenes Majeſties perſon, and for the remedying of the injuries and diſgrace which ſhee ſuffered, in regard of the uſurped authoritie which the Pope challenged: and for the better reſtraining of their boldneſſe, which was ſeene to breake forth oftentimes in the defence of the ſame, they concluded them guilty of High treaſon which ſhould preſume, by writing, bookes printed, word or deed, or howſoever, to averre the authoritie in matters ſpirituall of any forreine Prince, Prelate, or State, over England, or any other the Dominions of the Queen; as alſo thoſe that ſhould refuſe to take the Oath of the Queenes Supremacie in matters ſpirituall, and over perſons Eccleſiaſticall, the ſame being twice offered them: yet with this limitation, that the blood ſhall not be diſhonoured, nor their goods confiſcated, nor this Oath required of any Baron of the Kingdome, or perſon of eminent qualitie (of whoſe allegiance and fidelitie the Queene doubted not) nor yet of any other, *unleſſe ſuch as are, have been, or ſhall be of the Eccleſiaſticall degree, or doe now, did, or ſhall beare ſome Eccleſiaſticall function; or ſuch as upon admonition given, ſhall not obſerve the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, or ſhall deprave the ſame openly by word or deed, or ſuch as ſhall ſolemnize or heare Maſſe, or the like*, as by the Statute further appeareth.

Anno 1563. Reg. 6. A Parliament holden at Weſtminſter.

The Parliament likewiſe, to gratulate the Queen for the reformation of Religion, for the peace reſtored to the Nation, for freeing England and Scotland from the feare of a forreine enemie, the coine refined, the Navie built, munition for warre, and proviſion for ſhipping provided beyond all expectation, and the laudable enterprize begun in France, to recover the ſafetie of the King of France and his Kingdome (he being now in his minoritie) and for the regaining of Callice, granted to her Majeſtie Subſidies and ſupplies of monie; the Clergie gave one ſubſidie, the Laitie or Commons alſo another ſubſidie, together with two Fifteenes and Tenthes.

The

1563. The Prince of Conde in the meane while, taking a ſpeedy journey to the auxiliarie forces of the Engliſh that were landed in Normandie, was intercepted and taken in fight, and carried away priſoner by the Duke of Guiſe; and among others, Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* was preſent there, having beene before by his owne conſent taken by the Proteſtants, to the end he might the better enter into ſome ſecret conſultations with them. But he was let goe quickly after, and paid the monie to the Duke of Colin in the Queenes name; who with the Engliſh Forces marching forth to the Caſtle of Caen, which he then beſieged, and by their aſſiſtance tooke the ſame more eaſily, and alſo compelled Caen, Bayeux, Faleiſe, and the Church of Saint Lo to ſurrender.

In the middeſt of theſe French affaires, Queene *Eliſabeth* by *Chaloner* her Embaſſador in Spaine, ſignifieth to the King, that ſhee had ſent an Armie into France, to prevent the Guiſians betimes (who now inſulted over her, and plotted her deſtruction) before they attempted a warre againſt England; and that ſhe would keep New-Haven in her hands, untill ſhee were ſatisfied for Callice. He made anſwer, that if the regaining of Callice were all ſhee aimed at, this he alſo earneſtly wiſhed for; but if this warre were undertaken for the cauſe of Religion, he might not bee wanting to defend the Religion of his forefathers: *As for the* Guiſians, *of what power* (ſaith he) *are they, that the High and Mighty Queene of England ſhould be afraid of them, ſeeing there is now no affinitie betwixt them and the King of France, which formerly there was?* In England alſo, the King of Spaines Embaſſadour often threatned the Queene, that the Spaniard his Maſter neither could nor would forſake his brother the French King in this warre. To whom ſhee gave no other anſwer, but onely uſed the Engliſh Proverb, *Every one muſt looke to his owne houſe, and I to mine.* Againe, the King of Spaine was not ignorant that the Queene at the ſame time, by Sir *Henrie Knolles*, and Sir *Chriſtopher Moncie*, had a ſerious Treatie in hand with the Princes of Germanie, for the releeving of the Prince of Conde, and to gaine their aſſiſtance in the defence of the common cauſe of Religion. Whereupon he being angry, ſecretly went about to find matter of quarrell with her concerning Religion likewiſe.

The French Hoſtages ſeeke to flie away.

About this time the French Hoſtages, that had beene formerly ſent into England, to remaine here in pledge for the five hundred thouſand Crownes to be paid if Callice were not reſtored, perceiving by all tokens that a warre was likely to come on, prepared themſelves to flie; but were brought backe againe as they were ready to take ſhipping, and *John Ribald* alſo the famous Sea-man was taken with them, who came ſecretly into England to get them away. In the meane while a peace was concluded in France betwixt the King of France, and the Proteſtants and the Prince of Conde their Captaine, who was led on with hopes, that he ſhould obtaine the chiefe government in France, during the Kings minoritie, and ſhould alſo marrie with the Queene of Scots; and this was done without any regard had to the Queen of England, or her counſell once required; in ſo much that all the French with one voice proteſted, that unleſſe the Engliſh departed preſently from New-Haven, the Covenant in the Caſtle of Cambray ſhould be made

made voide forthwith, and power was given to the French by publike proclamation, to invade, take, and ſpoyle the Engliſh, ſo long as they kept New-Haven in their hands. The ſame leave the Queene granted to her owne ſubjects the Engliſh, to account all the French as enemies, till ſuch time as they reſtored Callice; excepting only thoſe that dwelt about London. Hereupon it is almoſt incredible, with what a Navie the Engliſh covered the Seas, ſtopping all the paſſages both of the French and Spaniſh, that the Queene was faine to excuſe her ſubjects too great inſolency to the King of Spaine, and by Proclamation to reſtraine them. 1563.

The French inhabitants thruſt out of New-Haven.

The Earle of Warwicke, who was Captaine of New-Haven, when hee perceived the ſickleneſſe of the French, and how lightly they regarded their faith engaged, who upon a ſlender rumour of peace, held ſecret conſultations among themſelves, and with the Rheingrave (that was hard by with his forces) to betray the Towne, and expell the Engliſh; ſhutteth immediately out of the Towne, all the French, both Proteſtants and Papiſts without difference, and laid hold of their ſhips: the which the French tooke in very evill part, and complained that the Engliſh did not ſo much intend the protection of the French, as deſire the poſſeſſion of the place, detracting them as diſcourteous handlers of ſtrangers. Now the French made ready with all the diligence they could to ſet upon New-Haven; and withall the King and the Prince of Conde, by the Lords *Briquemaut* and *D'Alvie*, deale ſeduloufly in England to have the Towne delivered up. The Queene made anſwer that ſhee was content to yeeld it, but upon theſe conditions; *If the King of Spaine would become ſuretie that Calliet ſhould be reſtored by a certaine time perfixed. If the Treatie held at the Caſtle of Cambray were confirmed anew, and that by the Oaths of the King, the Queene Mother, and the Princes of the blood Royall, and allowed by every Parliament that ſhall bee called in France; and upon condition, that Hoſtages from among the chiefe Nobilitie were delivered, till theſe conditions were performed.*

The peſtilence among the ſouldiers.

At this time the plague was at New-port, and grievouſly afflicted the Engliſh Garriſons; and among the ſupplies ſent thither two hundred periſhed by ſhipwracke, together with Sir *Thomas Finch* their Commander, and two of the Lord *Wentworths* brothers. Whereupon, ſeeing there was ſmall hopes of keeping the Towne, Sir *Thomas Smith*, Embaſſador in Ordinarie in France, was commanded to make propoſition about the delivering up of New-Haven in lieu for Callice, and that the matter ſhould be referred to the King of Spaine to take it up, although he had married the French Kings ſiſter. But they refuſed utterly, ſaying, *That the King of France acknowledged no man for his Superiour, and that hee would not put his affaires to the arbitrement of any Prince whatſoſoever.* And they laid hands upon Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*, whom the Queen ſent with Commiſſion and inſtructions for that purpoſe, ſuſpecting him to be come thither to make ſome broyles, for that they knew him to be a man skilfull in contriving of buſineſſe; but they pretended that hee was not come into France upon publike aſſurance, although it were certaine, that hee had received letters of truſt from them,

1563. them, and had others alſo from the French Embaſſadour in England. But they would give no eare at all to him, perſwading themſelves aſſuredly that the plague would quickly get New-port for them.

Thither was already gone *Montmorancie* Conſtable of France, with the chiefe Nobilitie, and afterward the Prince of Conde, accompanied with the flower of the Proteſtants. The Engliſh exceedingly wondering that the minds of the Proteſtants were ſo quickly changed, had this anſwer given them; that now they fought not for Religion, but for their Countrey; wherefore it was meet they ſhould joyne their forces, having already concluded a peace betwixt themſelves. Duke *Montmorancie* ſent a Trumpetter to the Earle of Warwicke, commanding him to yeeld the Town: he ſent him backe againe, and Sir *Hugh Powlet* with with, to give them to underſtand, that the Engliſh were reſolved to endure any extremitie, rather than yeeld the place without the Queenes leave. Whereupon the French eagerly beſiege the Towne, caſting up earth, and diſcharging great Ordnance againſt it for many daies together, making great breaches, cutting off the conveiance of water and the like; the Engliſh notwithſtanding to their power reſiſted courageouſly, and loſt more men daily by the plague, than by the ſword of the enemie.

New-Haven beſieged.

As ſoone as Queene *Eliſabeth* had notice hereof, ſhe bewailed the miſerable caſe of her people; and that ſhe might not ſeeme any longer to expoſe her valiant ſubjects to the crueltie and violence of the peſtilence and of the ſword, having given publike teſtimonie, by writing (in print) to the valour of the Leaders and Souldiers; ſhe granted Commiſſion to the Earle of Warwick to yeeld the Towne up, if upon honeſt and honourable conditions; who preſently ſent Sir *Hugh Powlet*, Sir *Maurice Dennis* Treaſurer of the Garriſon, *Horſey*, and *Pelham*, unto *Montmorancie* to tranſ-act the buſineſſe; and after a ſhort parlie they concluded upon theſe conditions; *That the Towne, together with all the Warlike proviſion which belonged to the King of France or any of his ſubjects, ſhould be yeelded up; that the great Tower ſhould be delivered forthwith into the hands of the Conſtable of France; thoſe that were taken priſoners on both ſides ſhould be let looſe without any ranſome, and the Engliſh, with all things belonging to the Queene and themſelves, ſhould freely depart within ſixe daies, if the windes ſerved.* The Hoſtages given were Sir *Oliver Manours*, brother to the Earle of Rutland, *Leighton*, *Pelham*, and *Horſey*. The laſt that tarried in the Towne was Sir *Edward Randoll* Colonell, for his pious affection never to be commended ſufficiently, who never ceaſed to take up the poore diſtreſſed ſouldiers ſicke and viſited with the plague, and upon his ſhoulders carried them to the ſhips. Thus was New-port left to the French, after that it had beene more fiercely aſſaulted by the peſtilence than by the enemie, the Engliſh having held the ſame eleven moneths. At which time, beſides the common ſouldiers, there died of the plague, *Somerſet*, *John Zouch*, *Alberick Darcie*, *Drurie*, *Entweſſell*, *Ormesbey*, *Vaughan*, *Proud*, *Saul*, *Kemiſe*, all theſe were ſtout Commanders. The two brethren *Tremains* were ſlaine; likewiſe *Sanders*, *Bromfield* chiefe Gunner, *Robinſon* Bailiffe of the Towne, *Strangwais* a brave Pilot at Sea, and

Articles at the ſurrendring of Newport.

Goodale

Goodale a moſt skilfull and expert man in minings and trenchings. 1563.

The King of France cauſed thankes to be given publikely for the taking of the Towne, and *Te Deum* to be ſung; the Papiſts throughout France were even ſwallowed up of joy, making their boaſts, that the Engliſh were caſt out of France by the help of the ſame Proteſtants which invited them thither, and rejoycing that by this occaſion there were ſowne ſeeds of diſſention betweene the Engliſh and the Proteſtants of France. The Chancellour of France in a large Oration gratulated to his Countrey-men this expulſion of the Engliſh; and to amplifie it, told them out of a falſe report which he had heard, that the Engliſh Navie came within ſight of the Towne the day after it was yeelded, to bring them freſh ſupplies; and he boldly pronounced, that by this warre the Engliſh had loſt all their right to Callice, and were not to require it any more. The ſouldiers that were brought backe into England diſeaſed with the peſtilence, were the means that the infection thereof was diſperſed farre and neere, and the whole Kingdome moleſted with the contagion; and in the Citie of London, which then conſiſted of 121. Pariſhes, within one yeere there were buried of this diſeaſe 21530.

The civill warre encreaſing in France, the Duke of Guiſe, Uncle to the Queene of Scots, fell in the ſame, the dowrie money from France was not paid, *Hamilton* deprived of the Dukedome of Chaſteau-Herald, and the Scottiſh put by the command of the Guard in France; the Queene of Scots likewiſe tooke the ſame very heinouſly. Whereupon the Cardinall of Lorraine, another of her Uncles, fearing that upon this occaſion ſhe might forſake the French, and apply her ſelfe to the friendſhip of the Engliſh, ſolicited her by another Agent to entertaine the motion of the marriage with *Charles* Duke of Auſtria, and offered her the Countie of Tiroll for her dowrie.

Marriage propounded to the Queene of Scots.

She imparteth the buſineſſe to Queene *Eliſabeth*, who gave her the ſame advice which formerly, about chuſing of a husband, and more particularly commended *Robert Dudley* to her, (of whom we have already ſpoken, whoſe wife a good while ſince by a fall had broken her necke) and withall ſhe promiſed, that if ſhe would marrie him, ſhe ſhould by authoritie of Parliament be declared her ſiſter, or daughter, and heire of the Crowne of England alſo, in caſe ſhe her ſelfe died without iſſue. As ſoone as the Queene Mother was certified of this matter by the French Embaſſadour lying here in England, and her Uncles were informed of the truth thereof, they ſo diſdained the marriage with *Dudley*, as unequall and altogether unworthy of a Royall ſtocke, and the Majeſtie of a Queenes perſon, that they promiſed not onely to pay downe the dowrie money that was left behind unpaid, but alſo to reſtore to the Scottiſh all the former liberties and dignities which they enjoyed; yea and greater than thoſe, if ſhe would perſevere in the friendſhip of the French, and refuſe that marriage which the Engliſh profered. They whiſpered alſo that the Queene did not ſeriouſly, but fainedly make that offer, and that ſhe had allotted him for her owne husband. Beſides, ſhe had no reaſon to place any hopes in any thing that ſhould be done by authoritie of Parliament, becauſe in England what one Parliament enacteth another repealeth. And furthermore they ſaid, that the counſells

of

1563. of the Engliſh tended to no other end but to hinder her from contracting any marriage at all. She notwithſtanding referred the matter to a conference, being perplexed with grievous troubles at home in the mean ſpace, for that the Earle of Murray had caſt the Archbiſhop of Saint Andrewes into priſon, becauſe he did not forbeare ſolemnizing of the Maſſe, whoſe pardon ſhe ſcarce obtained, though ſhe begged it with aboundance of teares; and the zealous Miniſters of the Church, bearing themſelves boldly upon the authoritie of Earle Murray, offered violence freely to the Prieſt that ſaid Maſſe in the Court, though that were by law permitted. Neither was ſhe able to reſtraine their outrage, albeit her whole care was bent upon the good of the Common-wealth, freely forgetting and forgiving injuries, increaſing the ſtipends of the Judges, enacting of wholeſome lawes, making adulterers all guilty of death, and oftentimes ſitting upon the Judgement ſeat to heare cauſes in her owne perſon, that ſo all things might be fairely carried, and all perſons high and low kept in their due order.

The Scots inſult over their Queene.

This fatall yeere, to the great griefe of the Proteſtants, died *William* Lord *Grey* of Wilton, Governour of Berwicke, a man renowned for military experience; but his patrimony was growne low in regard of the great ranſome which he was faine to pay for his libertie, being taken priſoner in France in Queene *Maries* reigne when Callice was loſt: in his place ſucceeded the noble *Francis* Earle of Bedford.

There died alſo in England, to the no leſſe griefe of the Papiſts, *Alvarus a Quadra* the King of Spaines Lieger Embaſſadour here in England, who had led them on with faire hopes of procuring the reſtauration of the Popiſh Religion, and held thoſe *Pooles*, of whom I ſpake before, for his moſt intimate friends. Whereupon he was ſorely ſuſpected to bend his endevours to the raiſing of broiles, and ſetting at ods the Queene and King of Spaine, in ſo much that the Queene ſent to the King his Maſter, requeſting him to call him home. But he as well as he could excuſed him, affirming, that the condition of Princes was very hard, if upon every ſlight occaſion or offence taken, their Embaſſadours ſhould be ſo meanely eſteemed that they muſt call them back againe. Beſides, he was ſomething diſpleaſed that this his Embaſſadour, he not being made acquainted, was confined to his houſe, queſtioned and examined by interrogatories, and openly checked, and that for no other cauſe, but becauſe he received into his houſe an Italian that fled to him after that he had ſhot off a dag at another, and ſo conveyed him away ſecretly. From that time forward the King of Spaine was more and more moved againſt the Engliſh, taking occaſion from the dealings of the Engliſh, which uſed piracie upon the French upon the coaſt of Spaine, and that they intended a trade into the Weſt Indies: and ſo he openly diſcloſed the indignation which he had conceived long before, by employing Sir *Richard Shelley*, that was fled out of his Countrey for Religion ſake, in an honourable Embaſſage to *Maximilian* King of Romans; alſo by laying hold upon the Merchants Ships which lay in the Havens of Andoluzia, upon pretence that the Engliſh in the purſuit of the French had taken ſome Spaniſh Ships.

The Spaniard enraged againſt the Engliſh.

There died alſo this yeer *William* Lord *Paget*, being now well ſtricken

in

in yeeres, whose great deservings and noted vertues had wrought his advancement to sundry dignities and honourable places: for by his singular learning and wisedome he came to be nominated by King Henry the eighth amongst the Overseers of the Kingdome, and the King his sonduring his minoritie; having formerly made him his Secretarie, and sent him Embassadour to *Charles* the fifth Emperour, and *Francis* the first King of France: King *Edward* the sixth made him Chancellour of the Dutchie of Lancaster, and Comptroller of the Kings house, advanced him to the honour of a Baron, and made him Knight of the Garter, (though this *Dudley* Duke of Northumberland disgracefully tooke from him, and Queene *Marie* honourably restored, *for his wisedome and well-deservings of the Common-wealth.*) Besides, King *Edward* made him Lord Keeper of the Privie Seale, which is the fourth principall civill honour in the Kingdome: for King *Henry* the eighth by Parliament decreed, that the Chancellour should have the first place, the Treasurer the second, the President of the Councell the third, and the Keeper of the Privie Seale the fourth, and that before all Dukes and Noblemen, the Sons, Brethren, Uncles, and Nephewes of Kings excepted. Queene *Elisabeth* at his request released him from the burden of these publike cares, being now in regard of his yeeres unfit for employment, and held him evermore in singular esteeme, though he were zealously addicted to the Roman Religion. He left behind him two sons, *Henrie* and *Thomas*, who succeeded each other in the degree of Barons; *Charles* also, of whom we shall have occasion to make frequent mention. Daughters likewise he had that were married into honourable Families. 1564.

There accompanied him likewise to a better habitation *Henrie Manours*, Earle of Rutland, the son of *Thomas* the first Earle of Rutland of this name, grandchild to *George* Lord *Roos*, by the daughter of *Thomas Sellenger*, and *Anne* his wife, who was sister to *Edward* the fourth, and added great renowne to this Familie; he was great grandchild likewise to *Robert* that married the daughter and heire of the ancient Lord *Roos*, and brought goodly revenues and the Title of Lord *Roos* into this Familie. This *Henry* had two sons by *Margaret Nevill* daughter to *Ralph* Earle of Westmerland, *Edward* and *John*, which were both successively Earles of Rutland; and one daughter that was married to *William Courtney* of *Powderham*. The death of the Earle of Rutland.

There departed likewise out of this miserable life *Frances* Dutchesse of Suffolke, daughter to *Charles Brandon* Duke of Suffolke, by the Lady *Mary* second sister to King *Henry* the eighth, and Queene Dowager of France, having first seene her daughter *Jane* proclaimed Queene of England, and soone after beheaded, her husband also the Duke of Suffolke taken away from her after the same maner, the Lady *Katharine* her second daughter married to the Earle of Pembrokes son, divorced, and now shut up in the Tower, and the Lady *Mary* her third daughter dishonourably wedded to *Keyes* Sergeant Porter of the Court, and she her selfe also, forgetting her stock, and the Nobility of her bloud, married to one *Aarian Stokes* of small Nobilitie; and though thereby she incurred censure and reproach, yet she attained rest and securitie. And of the Dutchesse of Suffolke.

Now did France triumph with joy, having recovered peace and tranquillitie 1564. Reg. 7.

1564. quillitie at home, which in a ſort they were indebted for to Queene *Eliſabeth*. For they were the readier to conclude a peace amongſt themſelves, that they might the better hinder the Engliſh from aſſailing them: for they had not forgotten what ſpoile and tumult the Engliſh had formerly made in France, being called thither by the Duke of Burgundy, out of a private grudge which himſelfe had conceived. The Queene of England ſeeing her ſelfe neglected by the ungratefull Proteſtants of France, reſolved not to trouble and dammage her ſelfe any farther about the affaires of others, but adviſedly bethought her ſelfe how to compaſſe a peace; for which purpoſe ſhe employed Sir *Thomas Smith*, a Gentleman of ſingular wiſedome and learning; and the French gave a ready eare to the motion. *Throckmorton*, who was now in France held in a manner in a free cuſtody, was joyned in commiſſion for the procuring of the ſaid peace. The French King referred the conſideration of the buſineſſe to *Morvilliers* Biſhop of Orleans, and *James Burdin* his Secretarie, who agreed upon the peace in the moneth of Aprill; and theſe were the conditions: *Neither ſhall invade other. Neither ſhall aſsiſt any other perſon or perſons attempting an invaſion. If any private perſons commit any thing contrary to this agreement, themſelves only ſhall be liable to it. There ſhall be free trade. No letters of mart ſhall be granted. All injuries ſhall be forgotten. All rights, claimes, actions, pretences, which either party hath reſpectively, ſhall remaine to them whole and ſafe, this agreement notwithſtanding; and all exceptions and pleas of defence ſhall be reſerved in like manner.* The day following theſe Articles were concluded on apart: *A certaine ſumme of money ſhall be paid downe to the Queene at appointed times. The Hoſtages in England ſhall be freed upon the paiment of ſixe hundred thouſand Crownes, and Sir* Nicholas Throckmorton *ſhall have libertie to returne into his Countrey ſo ſoone as this league is confirmed.* The French, as their manner is, teſtified their joy for this peace by making bonefires. The Queene of England ratified the ſame by her Oath in the preſence of *Gonor* and *Foix* the French Kings Embaſſadours, and ſhortly the King of France alſo, in the preſence of the Lord *Hunſdon*, who at that time inveſted him with the Knighthood of the Garter, uſing all the due rites and ceremonies appertaining thereunto.

Articles of peace betwixt France and England.

At this time came into England *Diegus*, or *Didacus Guſman*, Canon of Toledo, into the place of the Spaniſh Embaſſadour that was lately dead, a venerable and grave perſonage. In this ſpace of time the Engliſh in Spaine were hardly uſed, in hatred of their Religion, by meanes of *Roderic Gomer de Sylva*; but the Duke *D'Alva* procured a mitigation thereof, whether out of reſpect which he pretended to beare toward the Engliſh, or in emulation of *Gomer*, whom he loved not, it is hard to determine. The Engliſh alſo were harſhly handled in the Netherland Provinces of the King of Spaine, the Cardinall of Granvella, out of a hatred likewiſe to the Proteſtants Religion, endevouring to ſet the Dutch and Engliſh at odds, who traffiqued together very lovingly till then. For by his procurement the Dutch made complaint to the King of Spaine the yeere before, that greater cuſtomes were impoſed upon their merchandize in England than was wont to be (though that were done under

The Engliſh hardly dealt with in Spain.

under King *Philip* and *Marie*) alſo that ſundry Dutch commodities of their handicrafts men were prohibited in England by authoritie of Parliament. The Engliſh in like manner complained, that their goods in the Low Countries were upon ſlender pretences confiſcate, by vertue of certaine new Proclamations, by which alſo certaine commodities might not be tranſported; that their paſſage was hindered through the Low Countries with horſes, triacle, and gunpowder, which they brought out of Germanie and Italie; and that grievous and unheard of cuſtomes and tributes were laid upon them for victualls, anchors, dwelling houſes, &c. and the ſame exacted with rigour and ſeveritie; and all this contrary to the league of commerce (called *The great Intercourſe*) long agoe concluded. 1564.

The meane ſeaſon the Dutcheſſe of Parma, Governeſſe of the Netherlands, firſt of all forbids the exportation of any Dutch materialls into England, whereof thoſe prohibited wares in England were made; and preſently after forbade alſo the importation of any Engliſh cloth into the Low Countries, under a colour that the peſtilence had lately been hot in England, and therefore it was dangerous to receive them; but indeed by the ſubtle counſell of the Cardinall, that by this meanes the Engliſh Clothiers, and the poor people depending on them, might be driven to make a tumult; and that cloathing in the mean time might be ſet up in the Low Countries. Hereupon the Engliſh Merchants waxing angry, tooke occaſion from hence to pretend that they feared the Spaniſh Inquiſition, which was lately brought into the Netherlands, and ſo foreſeeing there would ariſe tumults there, they ſet up a ſeat of merchandize for cloth and other Engliſh commodities at Embden in Friſeland. But the Governeſſe againe ſtraightly commanded, that no Dutch man ſhould uſe traffick with the Engliſh at Embden or elſwhere, nor bring into the Low Countries any commodities bought from them, under paine of the forfeiture and confiſcation of the ſame. Engliſh Merchandize prohibited in the Netherlands.

Guſman the Spaniſh Embaſſadour here, eſteemed this manner of dealing too ſevere, and likely to prove hurtfull to both parties. For he was a wiſe man, and knew well what wealth was brought into the Netherlands by meanes of commerce with the Engliſh: whereupon *Lewis Malan* Earle of Flanders, about the yeere 1338. invited the Engliſh to ſet up a trade of Engliſh wooll at Bridges in Flanders, and promiſed them faire immunities and priviledges whereby to allure them. For it was almoſt an incredible thing how by the concourſe of all Nations almoſt into Flanders, to buy clothes made of Engliſh wooll, and other Engliſh commodities, Merchandize, Navigation, and fiſhing, flouriſhed within a ſhort time among the Dutch: So that the Engliſh wooll was verily to the Netherlanders the *Golden Fleece*, to which that famous and renowned Order of the Knights of the *Golden Fleece* were beholden for their Originall, and the Dukes of Burgundie for a great part of their wealth. Certaine it is that upon this conſideration the Spaniſh Embaſſadour endevoured all that he could to compoſe the difference, and effected thus much, that the commerce and trade which had ceaſed ſhould be againe renewed, and all decrees and ordinances to the contrary, from the firſt of Januarie, in the firſt yeere of the Queenes reigne, ſhould be Reſtored by Guſmans mediation.

1564. in ſuſpenſe untill ſuch time as the Delegates on both ſides had more fully agreed the matter.

The yeere following Vicount *Montacute*, *Nicholas Wotton*, and *Walter Haddon* Maſter of the Requeſts, were for the Engliſh, and other Delegates for the Dutch; and theſe began once and againe to treat of this buſineſſe at Bruges in Flanders, but were ſtill interrupted by the ſtirres and broiles ariſing in the Low Countries: yet they agreed at length, that free trade ſhould be exerciſed untill either Prince gave warning to the other to the contrary, and that the Merchants on both parties, having notice given them fortie dayes before, ſhould looke to themſelves and their Merchandize, and not trafficke beyond that time, but at their owne perill.

Theſe matters being thus compoſed abroad, the Queene went on Progreſſe at home, to view the ſweetneſſe of the Countrey, and in that travell came to ſee Cambridge Univerſitie, one of the eyes of Great Britaine; where ſhe was entertained by the Students with all manner of honour and reſpect, and delighted with Comedies, Tragedies, and Scholaſticall diſputations; and viſiting every particular Colledge, was ſaluted with Latine Orations, wherewithall ſhe was ſo affected, that ſhe acknowledged their propenſion and good will towards her to be very acceptable; commending their great variety of learning, and exciting them to be ſerious in the ſtudies of pietie and all good learning, adding her promiſe withall, that ſhe would ſtudie to deſerve well of them.

Sir Robert Dudley created Lord of Denbigh, and Earle of Leiceſter.

At her returne home Sir *Robert Dudley*, Maſter of the Horſe, and her intimate favourite, whom, as I ſaid before, ſhe had deſigned for the Queene of Scots husband, to the end he might be the more honoured and fitted for ſo great a wedlock, ſhe createth him Lord of Denbigh (giving him Denbigh and all the lands belonging to it) and Earle of Leiceſter, to him and the heires male of his body lawfully begotten. For his ſake alſo ſhe had a little before made his elder brother *Ambroſe Dudley* Lord Liſle, and Earle of Warwicke, *to him and his heires male lawfully begotten, and to his brother* Robert *and the heires male of his body lawfully begotten. Dudley* having theſe honours heaped thus upon him, to the end he might the better get into the favour of the Queen of Scots, whom he ſought by all kind offices and courteous ſervices to make his friend, and to win unto himſelfe, ſtraightway he accuſed Sir *Nicholas Bacon* Keeper of the great Seale to the Queene, that he had intermedled in the matter of ſucceſſion againſt the Queene of Scots, and was privie to the libell of *Hales*, which challenged the right of the Engliſh Crowne for the Family of Suffolk, in caſe the Queene ſhould die without iſſue; whereupon he was caſt into priſon. Nevertheleſſe Sir *William Cecill*, who reſerved to himſelfe his owne opinion and judgement concerning this matter, and ſo reſolved to doe alwayes, unleſſe, as he profeſſed, the Queene ſhould command him to declare what he thought herein (for ſhe never could endure to heare the right of ſucceſſion debated or called into queſtion:) he (I ſay) at length with much difficultie got *Bacon* reſtored into the Queenes favour, although he denied himſelfe to be guilty of that whereof the Earle of Leiceſter accuſed him. Now did nothing

He accuſeth Bacon.

more

more trouble the wiſer and the wealthier ſort of men, than the thought who ſhould be next Heire to the Crown: the more zealous Proteſtants in this diſtraction about Religion, ſaid, that the Queene of Scots, though her right to the Kingdome of England were unqueſtionable, yet ought to be rejected, out of I know not what trickes and niceties of the Law, becauſe ſhe was of another Religion: moſt of the Papiſts thought it no more than juſtice and equitie to acknowledge the Crowne to belong to her: and ſome againe were of opinion that the Queene of Scots Aunt, who was *Margaret* the wife of *Matthew* Earle of Lenox, and her children, ought to be preferred, hoping that this counſell might be profitable to the Common-wealth, for as much as theſe children were borne in England. Theſe things were not ſo cloſely carried, but that the Queene of Scots got information hereof; and to remove this obſtacle out of the way, if it were poſſible, through the adviſe of the Counteſſe of Lenox her Aunt, ſhe invited into Scotland *Matthew* Earle of Lenox, under a colour of reſtoring to him his ancient Patrimonie, but indeed, to conſult with him about theſe matters; ſo hee by his wives meanes obtained leave from Queene *Eliſabeth*, and letters of commendation likewiſe, and ſo returned into his Country, from whence he had beene an exile full twentie yeeres together. 1564.

The Earle of Lenox called into Scotland.

He (that for the more perſpicuitie wee may fetch the matter a little further) was deſcended from the moſt noble houſe of the *Stuarts*, and the blood-Royall of Scotland. For *Marie*, the daughter of *James* the Second King of Scots, bare to *James Hamilton James* the firſt Earle of Arran of this ſtocke, and one daughter named *Marie*, the wife of *Matthew Stuart*, the firſt Earle of Lenox of that Chriſten name. *James* Earle of Arran having divorced his firſt wife, while ſhe was yet alive, married *Jenet Beton* the Aunt of Cardinall *Beton*, of whom he begot *James Hamilton* the Duke of Caſtle-Herald; and from hence it was that ſome who envied him, ſaid he was an illegitimate. *Marie* the Earle of Arrans ſiſter, bare to *Matthew* her husband *John* Earle of Lenox, who while he went about to releaſe *James* the Fourth King of Scots, and to vindicate his libertie, was ſlaine by the *Hamiltons*, and left behind him this *Matthew Stuart*, of whom we ſpeake, the ſecond of that name Earle of Lenox, whom for his Fathers ſake *James* the Fifth held moſt deare to him. But this *Matthew* after the Kings death, becauſe the *Hamiltons* bore the ſway in Scotland, ſtole away into France: and from thence he was ſent back againe into Scotland by *Henrie* King of France, to ſee that the Common-wealth ſuſtained no detriment by *Hamilton* Vice-Roy there. But he being a man open and harmleſſe, though he carried himſelfe diligently and uprightly, yet was ſo entrapped by the ſubtilties and wiles of *Hamilton* and Cardinall *Beton*, that he ſoone loſt the French Kings favour. And now that he might neither ſafely tarry at home, nor yet returne into France, he came into England, and committed himſelfe to the fidelitie and courteſie of King *Henrie* the Eighth, who willingly received him, for that he knew him to be powerfull in the Weſtern part of Scotland, and acknowledged him the next heire of the Kingdome of Scotland after *Marie*, which was at that time an infant (although the *Hamiltons* then condemned him, and confiſcated all his

His genealogie.

1564. lands) and gave him in marriage *Margaret Douglaſſe* his Niece by his eldeſt ſiſter, and lands in England withall, amounting to the value of ſeventeen hundred Markes by the yeere, upon agreement and compoſition, that he ſhould deliver into the King of Englands hands the Caſtle of Dunbritton, the Ile of Buth, and Rothſay Caſtle, the which he valiantly attempted, but ſucceſſe failed him.

The cauſes of the calling home of Lenox.

The Queene of Scots, a prudent and provident woman, and deſirous withall to advance her hopes towards the Crowne of England, ſent for him into Scotland, remitted his baniſhment, and reſtored his fathers inheritance to him; to the end that ſhe might both have a friend to oppoſe the interpriſes of her baſtard brother *James*, whom before ſhe had made Earle of Murray, and withall by the marriage of his ſonne *Henrie Darly*, might make ſure worke for the ſucceſſion of England, and prevent the hopes of any others in that way. For ſhee feared that if hee, being a youth of the blood-Royall, borne in England, and dearely beloved of the Engliſh, ſhould match with any Peeres daughter that were potent in England, then the Engliſh might aſſiſt him with might and maine, and ſo he be an obſtacle in her way to the ſucceſſion of England; for as much as moſt were perſwaded, that next to her ſelfe he was the ſecond heire to the Engliſh Crowne. Beſides, ſhe coveted nothing ſo much, as to have the two Kingdomes of Scotland and England derived by her to ſome of the Scottiſh blood, and ſo united into one, and propagated by him to poſteritie in the ancient name of the *Stuarts*.

Queene *Eliſabeth* had an inkling of this, and, to prevent the ſame, ſhe addreſſed an Embaſſage to the Queene of Scots by Sir *Thomas Randoll*, giving her to underſtand that that match was ſo univerſally diſallowed of all her ſubjects the Engliſh, that againſt the wills of her Privie Councell ſhee had prorogued the Parliament, leſt the Peeres of the Kingdome diſpleaſed herewithall, ſhould from hence take occaſion to enact ſomewhat againſt her right in the ſucceſſion. Wherefore for their ſatisfaction, and preventing of the like danger in time to come, it were beſt that ſhe bethinke her ſelfe of ſome other marriage: and now againe ſhe more earneſtly commended to her the Earle of Leyceſter for a huſband, whom for this reaſon principally ſhe had advanced to the honour and place of an Earldome.

A conference about the marriage of Leiceſter with the Queen of Scots.

Hereupon, in the moneth of November, the Earle of Bedford, and Sir *Thomas Randoll* for Queene *Eliſabeth*, and the Earle of Murray and *Lidington* Delegates for the Queene of Scots, at Berwike entred into a Treaty concerning the marriage with the Earle of Leyceſter. The Engliſh Commiſſioners aſſured them, that the friendſhip would prove inviolable, the peace perpetuall, and the ſucceſſion certaine, if the Queene of Scots tooke Leyceſter for her husband. For upon this condition Queen *Eliſabeth* promiſed, that by authoritie of Parliament ſhe would declare her for her adopted daughter, or ſiſter, ſo ſoone as ſhe her ſelfe was married. The Scottiſh on the other ſide eagerly contended that it was not for the dignitie of the Queene of Scots, that was deſired to wed with *Charles*, the Emperour *Ferdinands* ſon, ſued to by the King of France, the Prince of Conde and Duke of Ferraria, to deſcend to match with a new upſtart Earle, and a ſubject of England, eſpecially

cially upon bare hopes, without any Dowrie promiſed: neither (ſaid they) is it for the honour of the Queene of England to commend ſuch an husband to her owne neere kinſwoman. But this would ſeeme an argument of true love indeed, if Queene *Eliſabeth* would ſuffer her to chuſe an husband according to her owne liking, he being ſuch a one as holdeth peace and good correſpondence with England, and withall confirme to her the right of ſucceſſion by authoritie of Parliament. In this whole buſineſſe the principall deſire and ayme of Queene *Eliſabeth* was to have the ſucceſſion of both Kingdomes united and eſtabliſhed in the Engliſh ſtocke by this marriage, though herein ſhe went to worke ſlowly and deliberately. The Queen of Scots ſeeing the matter protracted and delaied for two whole yeeres together, and having alreadie in her purpoſe deſigned *Darlie* for her husband, ſuſpected that ſhe was not fairely dealt withall, and that Queene *Eliſabeth* for no other end propounded this marriage, but that ſhe might the better chuſe whom ſhe liked beſt amongſt her Suiters; or her ſelfe with leſſe blame marry the Earle of Leyceſter, when ſhe who was an abſolute Queen had firſt conſented to accept him for a husband. But the Scottiſh Delegates adviſing for their owne ends, that they might the better maintaine their power with the Queen, and beare ſway more freely in the Commonwealth, reſolved to their power to diſturbe all matches whatſoever. Queene *Eliſabeth* counſelled them to hinder the marriage with *Darlie*: and the Earle of Leyceſter himſelfe, being fully perſwaded that hee ſhould obtaine Queene *Eliſabeth*, by ſecret letters warned the Earle of Bedford, not to urge the marriage with the Queen of Scots too farre, and for this cauſe he was thought to favour *Darlie* under-hand. 1565.

Darlie in the meane ſpace by his Mothers meanes, who made humble and diligent interceſſion to Queen *Eliſabeth* on his behalfe, at length, though with much adoe, obtained leave to goe into Scotland, and there to tarry for three moneths ſpace, under colour that he might be put alſo in poſſeſſion of thoſe lands and revenues, which his father through the Queene of Scots favour had recovered. And ſo in a moſt ſharpe and bitter Winter, when the River of Thames was ſo frozen, that men paſſed over on foot, he came to Edenburgh in the moneth of Februarie. He was a young man of a comely countenance, and princely preſence, as he had beene made for an Empire; his feature of limbes handſome and proportionable, of a gentle diſpoſition and ſweet behaviour. The Queene of Scots ſo ſoone as ſhee ſaw him fell in love with him; and the better to conceale her affection, ever and anon ſhee entertained conference with Sir *Thomas Randoll* Embaſſadour for the Queen in Scotland, about marriage with the Earle of Leyceſter; and withall went about to get a diſpenſation from Rome, becauſe the Lord *Darlie* was ſo neere of kin to her, that by the Canon Lawes ſhee could not marrie him without a diſpenſation. And when the matter grew apparent, in ſo much that every one perceived her inclination, ſhee ſent *Lidington* into England to Queen *Eliſabeth*, deſiring her conſent to the marriage of *Darlie*, and that ſhe might be no longer hindred and put off with vaine expectation. 1565. Reg. 8.

The Queen of Scots falleth in love with the Lord Darly.

She propounded the matter to ſome of her Privie Counſell, whom ſhee

1565. ſhee beſt truſted; and they, through the ſecret ſuggeſtions of the Earle Murray, where eaſily induced to beleeve, that the Queene of Scots thoughts were, by this marriage to ſtrengthen her title and right to the Kingdome of England, and at length to vindicate the ſame to her ſelfe; and withall that hereby ſhee hoped to bring the Popiſh Religion in againe; and that ſome for the certainty of ſucceſſion to the Engliſh Crowne, and others out of hope to ſee Popery reſtored, would cleave to her; for as much as they had found for certaine, that the greateſt number of Juſtices of Peace throughout England were addicted to the Popiſh Religion. Now to prevent all theſe inconveniences that might happen, they held it very neceſſary, firſt of all to requeſt the Queene to marry out of hand, that the eſtates and hopes of her ſubjects of England might depend upon her children and their off-ſpring, and nothing be either hoped or feared from ſtrangers; becauſe they were afraid, that if the Queene of Scots ſhould firſt marry, and have children, the greateſt number might have their eies bent upon her, and their affections likewiſe knit to her, out of hope to find ſecuritie, where they ſaw the ſucceſſion undoubted. Then againe they thought good to endevour the weakning of Popery, and the Profeſſors of that Religion, over England, as much as might be, and the eſtabliſhing of the Reformed more and more: the one to be effected by dealing moderately and favourably with certaine Proteſtant Miniſters, that were ſomewhat too zealous and forward about things of indifferencie in the Church; the other, by calling backe the Popiſh Biſhops that were diſplaced at the Queenes comming to the Crowne, and committing them to priſon, for as much as now, by reaſon of the late peſtilence, they were diſperſed abroad in the Countries, and might hearten ſome in their errours, and corrupt others, having ſuch opportunitie of libertie: Likewiſe by conferring upon the Proteſtant Biſhops more full authoritie to execute the Eccleſiaſticall Lawes, againſt that skar-Crow of *Premunire* (which the Lawyers objected) by ſuppreſſing Popiſh bookes ſent into England from the Low-Countries, by *Harding* and other runnagate Divines, by ſending away certaine Scottiſh Prieſts, that lay lurking in England up and downe, by depriving the Engliſh that were fled away of their Church-livings which they held hitherto, and by conſtraining the Judges and Juſtices, who were Papiſts for the greateſt part of them, to take the Oath of the Queenes Supremacy. Now to hinder the marriage of the Queene of Scots with the Lord *Darlie*, it was held fit to levie a company of ſouldiers for terror ſake, about the Borders toward Scotland, and fortifie Berwick with a greater Garriſon: Alſo to commit to priſon the Counteſſe of Lenox the Lord *Darlies* Mother, and her ſonne *Charles*, and to recall from Scotland the Earle of Lenox and his ſonne *Darlie* upon paine of the loſſe of all their goods in England; and this to bee done before any league were made with the Spaniard, or the French King. The Scots that were knowne averſe to that marriage ſhould bee releeved and aſſiſted, and *Katharine Grey*, with the Earle of Hertford, ſhould be received into ſome grace, about whom alone it was thought the Queene of Scots was very ſolicitous, as her rivall to the Engliſh Crown. And this was all which they thought might breed

Conſultation about the marriage of the Queen of Scots.

breed diſturbance and delay in that marriage. 1565.

Hereupon Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* was ſent to the Queen of Scots, to counſell her in the Queenes name, that it were beſt to deliberate at leaſure of that which muſt but once be accompliſhed; that repentance was moſt often the attendant of too haſty marriages; to put on againe the Treaty of the marriage with the Earle of Leiceſter, and to ſignifie to her, that the match with *Darlie* that was her Aunts ſon was contrarie to the Canon Lawes. She returned anſwer, that the matter was ſo farre paſſed that it could not bee againe recalled, and that Queene *Eliſabeth* had no reaſon to bee diſpleaſed, becauſe following her adviſe, ſhe had not matched with a ſtranger but with an Engliſh man, and had made choice of one that was deſcended from the blood Royall of both Kingdomes, and the greateſt Peere of all Britaine. *Lidington* being in England at this time, ever and anon diſſemblingly propounded the marriage of the Queene of Scots to the Earle of Leiceſter, as alſo to the Duke of Norfolke, as the more fit perſon to marry a Queene; but he at that time modeſtly excuſing himſelfe, declined it.

Throckmorton ſent to hinder the marriage with the Lord Darlie.

Queene *Eliſabeth*, to hinder a little this haſtie marriage, calleth home the Earle of Lenox, and the Lord *Darly* his ſonne; commanding them upon their allegeance, and as they were her ſubjects, to returne, according to the forme of the licenſe granted them for their departure. The father by letters modeſtly excuſed himſelfe, the ſonne beſeecheth the Queene not to ſtand in his way, nor be a hindrance to his honour and advancement; withall intimating, that hee may poſſibly ſtand England in ſteed, which hee acknowledgeth for his deare and beloved Country, and profeſſing plainely that he loved and honoured the Queen of Scots before all Princes whatſoever. She alſo, to be anſwerable to his love, ſoone after graceth him with the honour of Knight-hood, and the dignities of Lord Ardmanack, Earle of Roſſe, & Duke of Rothſay; which Dukedome by birth appertaineth to the firſt ſon of the Kings of Scotland. And ere he had been in Scotland five months, ſhe tooke him to the honour of her Royall bed, with the conſent of moſt of the Peeres, and declared him King: The Earle of Murray in the meane while, that waited upon his owne ambitious deſignes, fretting and enraged, who alſo under the ſpecious pretext of Religion, had drawne to his party the Duke of Caſtle-Herald; others likewiſe were much diſquieted, moving turbulent and dangerous queſtions: *Whether it were lawfull to admit a Papiſt King? Whether the Queene of Scots might make choice of a husband for her ſelfe, at her owne pleaſure? And whether the Peeres of the Kingdome might not out of their owne authoritie impoſe one upon her?*

The Queen of Scots marrieth the Lord Darlie.

The Queen of England, who knew well the ſweet diſpoſition of the Lord *Darlie*, and how plaine and honeſt hearted likewiſe his father was, began to compaſſionate her young kinſman, and the young Queen that had to doe with men of turbulent ſpirits; which after twenty yeeres freedome and upward from the command of a King, could not endure one at length, and therefore tooke this matter the more patiently. Nor could ſhee ſee any cauſe why ſhe ſhould be afraid of them, ſeeing that the Queen of Scots power, though ſhe were her rivall, yet was not great-

1565. greatly encreaſed by this marriage, which was but of meane condition in compariſon, having alſo *Darlies* mother in her owne hands, and foreſeeing that hereupon there were likely to bee troubles ſoone raiſed in Scotland; which fell out indeed quickly after. For ſome of the Peeres of Scotland, *Murray* eſpecially and *Hamilton* were full of indignation hereupon: *Hamilton* becauſe the Queene had married without Queene *Eliſabeths* conſent; *Murray* out of emulation againſt the familie of Lenox, but both of them under the pretenſe of Religion; in ſo much that they diſplaied their enſignes to hinder the marriage, that the Queene was faine of neceſſitie to levie an Armie, that the Nuptials might be ſolemnized in ſafety. And through the helpe of the King her husband, ſhe purſued the Rebels ſo cloſely, that they were faine to flie into England, before the Engliſh forces which were promiſed for their aide could arrive. But Queene *Eliſabeth* received *Murray*, for that hee had ſeemed alwaies greatly addicted to the Engliſh, and granted him a convenient place for ſhelter, under-hand alſo ſupplying him with money by the Earle of Bedford, untill he returned againe into Scotland the day after that *David Rizie* was ſlaine, as ſhall be ſent downe in its proper place. The reaſons wherefore the Queene admitted into England *Murray*, and the Scottiſh Rebels, were theſe, for that the Queen of Scots had received into her protection, *Yaxley*, *Standon* and *Walſh*, that were fled out of England, and *O-Neale* out of Ireland; had entred into conſultation with the Pope againſt the Engliſh, and had not executed Juſtice upon the Robbers and Pirats.

This marriage being now finiſhed, they in England that were moſt carefull of the flouriſhing of the Goſpel, and the ſafetie of the Commonwealth, thought nothing fitter to preſerve them both entire, than that the Queene by ſeriouſly applying her ſelfe to marry, ſhould daſh the hopes of the Queene of Scots to the Kingdome of England. And at that time, the Emperour *Maximilian* the Second, ſent to her by his Embaſſadour *Adam Smircorite*, propounding honourable conditions concerning her marriage with his brother *Charles* of Auſtria. Now there aroſe at Court ſudden diſtractions and grievous heart burnings between the Earle of Suſſex, that eagerly favoured this proffered marriage, and Leiceſter, who for his own hopes ſecretly oppoſed it. Certainely they cheriſh in themſelves new and ſtrange hopes, who have once attained to that which they could not hope for. Sure it is that the Earle of Suſſex moſt injurioufly contemned him as a new upſtart fellow, who (as he was wont to ſay detractingly) could alledge but two Anceſtors, to wit, his father and grandfather, and they both Rebels to their Prince, and enemies to their Countrie. Hereupon the whole Court was parted into ſides and factions, and the Earles, whenſoever they went abroad, carried along with them a great number of followers, armed with ſwords and bucklers, as the faſhion was then, as if they meant to put all to the laſt hazzard. But after a few daies the Queene reconciled them, and indeed rather buried their hatred and emulation, than tooke it away; yet ſhe laboured all ſhee could to remove it quite. For ſhee utterly diſallowed the diſſenſions of the Peeres, and that by-word, *Divide and Reigne*, which ſome ſuggeſted to her; affirming that the

Diſſention betwixt the Earles of Surrey and Leiceſter.

the ſtrength of a Kingdome conſiſted in the agreement of the ſubjects. 1565.

But ſhe nevertheleſſe, in the middeſt of theſe differences not unmindfull of the Scottiſh affaires, within a moneth or two after the marriage ſolemnities in Scotland, ſent to the Queene of Scots *Tamworth* a Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, to admoniſh her that ſhe would not breake the peace, to expoſtulate with her concerning her marriage with a borne ſubject of England, and that haſtily without her conſent; and withall by force of the league requireth her to ſend backe the Earle of Lenox and his ſon the Lord Darlie, and to receive the Earle of Murray into favour. The Queene of Scots having an inkling hereof, would not admit him to her preſence, but by Articles, delivered in writing, *ſhe promiſeth in the word of a Prince, that neither ſhe nor her husband will ever attempt any thing that ſhall be to the prejudice of the Queene of England, or any children of her body lawfully begotten; neither would ſhe any wayes hinder the peace of the Kingdome, either by receiving of ſuch as fled out of England, or contracting any league with forraine Princes, or by any other way; yea, that ſhe would moſt willingly enter into a league with the Queene of England, which might be for the good and honour of both Kingdomes, and that they would make no innovation in the lawes, religion, or liberties of the Kingdome, if it ſhould come to paſſe that they ſhould ever enjoy the Crown of England: but upon this condition, that Queene* Eliſabeth *would performe the like to her and her husband in all points, and confirme the ſucceſſion of the Crowne of England in her perſon, and her lawfull iſſue; and if that failed, in* Margaret *Counteſſe of Lenox, her husbands mother, and her lawfull iſſue; and this to be done by authoritie of Parliament. As for the other particulars, ſhe ſaith, that for her marriage with the Lord Darly, ſhe had made the Queene acquainted with her purpoſe ſo ſoone as ſhe had fully reſolved it, but had received no anſwer; and that ſhe had ſatisfied the Queenes demands, for aſmuch as ſhe had not taken a ſtranger to her husband, but one borne in England; and beſides him ſhe knew none in all Britaine more nobly deſcended, or more worthy of a Queene. But one thing ſeemed very ſtrange to her, that ſhe might not detaine the Lord Darly with her, whom ſhe had joyned to her ſelfe in the holy band of matrimony; or that ſhe might not retaine in Scotland the Earle of Lenox, who is a Nobleman of Scotland borne. As for the Earle of Murray, whom ſhe had found a moſt cruell enemy to her, ſhe courteouſly deſired the Queene to leave her own ſubjects to her judicious dealing with them, ſeeing ſhe intermeddled not with the cauſes of her ſubjects in England.* With this anſwer *Tamworth* returned into England, not being entertained, as he thought, anſwerable to the dignitie of his perſon and employment; and thereupon he was pleaſed to defame the Queene of Scots, laying upon her I know not what aſperſion, which he either feigned, or brought along with him out of Scotland, and not vouchſafing the title of a King to her husband.

The Embaſſadour neglected in Scotland.

At the ſame time (which may not be omitted) it hapned, to the honour of Queene *Eliſabeth*, that all the Chriſtian world reſounding with her fame, *Cecill* the ſiſter of *Erric* King of Sueden, and wife of *Chriſtopher* Marqueſſe of Baden, being great with child, came from the fartheſt part of the North, a long journey, through Germanie, to ſee her, whom

1565. whom together with her husband ſhe entertained moſt royally, allowed them a yeerely penſion, and was Godmother to her ſon at the holy Font, whom ſhe named *Edward the Fortunate*: and *Donald Mac Carty More*, a great Potentate of Ireland, in ſuppliant manner delivered into the Queenes hands all his moſt ample territories, to receive the ſame from her, *to hold them in right of fee to himſelfe and his heires male lawfully borne*; and in caſe they failed, he decreed them to the Crowne of England. She (being a Princeſſe borne to win all mens good will) embraced him full lovingly for his great humanitie, out of her wiſedome ſolemnly inveſted him with the honour of Earle of Glencarne, and Baron of Valentce, beſtowed preſents upon him, and paid the charges of his journey, that by theſe benefits ſhe might procure inſtruments of aſſiſtance againſt the Earle of Deſmond, who was now ſuſpected to take an innovation in hand there.

This yeere governed Ireland under the title of a Juſtice Sir *Nicholas Arnold*, a Knight of Gloceſter ſhire, and he had not above fifteene hundred and ninety ſouldiers in Garriſon there. But he was quickly called home, and left his place to Sir *Henry Sidney*, who in Queene *Maries* reigne was ſome while Juſtice and Treaſurer of Ireland, and at this time Preſident of Wales. The firſt Preſidents of Ireland, who now were called Viceroyes, that I may note thus much by the way, from the firſt entrance of the Engliſh there under King *Henry* the ſecond, to the times of *Edward* the Third, were termed *Juſtices of Ireland*, and *Juſtices and Keepers of the Land of Ireland*, afterwards Lievtenants, and their Vicegerents were called Deputies. Afterwards, at the Princes pleaſure, now Deputies, then Juſtices, then Lievtenants; which laſt Title was the Title of greateſt honour, but the power in a manner the ſame.

Diſſention betweene the Earles of Deſmond and Ormond.

Sidney having taken this charge upon him, found Munſter, which is the South part of Ireland, in a moſt confuſed diſorder, for that *Girald* Earle of Deſmond, who had ſolemnly promiſed to doe all the duties of a faithfull ſubject, and *Thomas* Earle of Ormond, and others, were at ſtrife together, and ready to breake out into civill broiles: in ſo much that the Queene ſent for the Earle of Deſmond into England, to end the controverſie by that meanes, and appointed a Preſident to adminiſter juſtice in that Province, together with an Aſſiſtant on the Bench, two Lawyers, and a Notarie; and the firſt Preſident that ſhe mentioned to this place was Sir *Warham Saint-Leger*, a man throughly experienced in the affaires of Ireland.

In the middeſt of October this yeere Sir *Thomas Chaloner* yeelded up his ſoule to Almighty God, being returned out of Spaine a good while before: a moſt renowned Gentleman he was, borne in London, and brought up at Cambridge, who devoted himſelfe both to *Mars* and the *Muſes*, to warre and learning. In his younger yeeres he ſerved as a ſouldier under the Emperour *Charles* the fifth in the expedition to Algier, where he ſuffered ſhipwracke, and was faine to ſwim for his life till his ſtrength and armes failed him; at length, taking hold of a Cable rope with his teeth, he eſcaped, but loſt ſome of his teeth. In the reigne of *Edward* the ſixt he fought ſo valiantly in the battell of Muſſelburgh, that the

the Duke of Somerſet, then Lord Protectour, rewarded him with the honour of Knighthood. Under Queene *Eliſabeth* he was employed in an honourable Embaſſage to the Emperour *Ferdinand*, and Embaſſadour in Ordinary in Spaine for almoſt foure whole yeeres together; where he wrote five bookes, *Of the reſtoring of the Engliſh Commonwealth*, in elegant and learned verſes; while, as he ſaid, he lived in a Stove in Winter, and in a Barne in Summer. He was carried in funerall magnificence befitting his dignitie, to the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Paul* in London, at which time one of the chiefe mourners was Sir *William Cecill*, for his Son *Thomas*, who afterward was Tutour to *Henry* Prince of Wales, was not yet growne. 1566.

In the beginning of the next yeere *Charles* the ninth, King of France, ſent his Embaſſadour *Ramboulet* into England to the Queene, with the Robes and Ornaments of the Order of Saint *Michael*, which ſhe might beſtow upon which two of the Nobilitie ſhe pleaſed. She therefore made choice of the Duke of Norfolke, and the Earle of Leiceſter; of the one for the love ſhe bare to him, and the other for that he was the nobleſt Peere of the Kingdome, whom *Ramboulet* in the Palace at Weſtminſter inveſted, uſing the due rites and ceremonies appertaining to that action. This the Queen at that time accounted as a great honour; calling to mind that none had ever beene received into that Order amongſt the Engliſh, ſave onely King *Henry* the eighth her father, *Edward* the ſixth her brother, and *Charles Brandon* Duke of Suffolke: and ſhe, who was a Princeſſe moſt obſervant of all things belonging to honour, grieved to ſee this dignitie afterward ſo vilified, that it was proſtitute and beſtowed upon any one almoſt without difference. Nor was ſhe carefull of things appertaining to honour alone, but above all things ſhe was moſt carefull for the welfare of her ſubjects: for when divers underſtanding men gathered by the unſeaſonablenes of the weather that there was likely to be a dearth of corn, ſhe not only forbade to carry any grain out of the Kingdome, but alſo provided to have great ſtore brought in. 1566. Reg. 9. Norfolke and Leiceſter made Knights of the Order of St. Michael.

About this time *Henry* Earle of Arundell, one of the greateſt Peeres of England, after that upon vaine hopes of marrying with the Queene he had ſpent a world of wealth at the Court, and that hope altogether fruſtrated by Leiceſter the moſt potent at Court, and his friends neere the Queene not proving faithfull to him, obtaining leave to travell for the recoverie of his health, but indeed to diminiſh his griefe, he departed out of the Kingdome. But others of the Engliſh Nation, eſteeming themſelves borne for labour, not for eaſe, at that time when moſt of the noble Spirits in Europe were excited to the warre againſt the Turke, they alſo tooke their voyage into Hungarie; amongſt whom thoſe of better note were Sir *John Smith*, Couſin Germane to *Edward* the ſixth, for he was the ſonne of the Lady *Jane Seimors* ſiſter, that was King *Edwards* mother; *Henry Champernoune*, *Philip Butſhide*, *Richard Greenvill*, *William Gorge*, *Thomas Cotton*, and others.

The June following the Queene of Scots, in a happy houre, and to the great good of this whole Iland, was delivered of a ſonne, that was named *James*, afterward *James* the Sixth of Scotland, and the mighty Monarch of great Britaine; which ſhe ſoone ſignified to Queene *Eliſa-* James the ſixth King of Scots borne.

1566. *beth* by *James Melvin*. The Queen though ſhe grieved to ſee her Rivall prevent her in the honour of a Mother, yet forthwith ſhe ſent Sir *Henrie Killegrew* to congratulate her ſafe deliverance, and her new ſonne; and to exhort her, not to give countenance any longer to *Shan O-Neale* who then rebelled in Ireland, nor foſter *Chriſtopher Rokesby* who was fled out of England, and that ſhe would puniſh certaine that robbed upon the Borders.

Queene *Eliſabeth* now walked forth into the Countrie to recreate her ſelfe, and becauſe ſhe would ſhew her ſelfe as gracious to Oxford, as before ſhe had done to Cambridge, thither alſo ſhe turneth aſide in her progreſſe; where ſhee was royally entertained, and tarried ſeven daies, by reaſon of the ſweetneſſe of the place; but chiefly delighted with the beautie of the Colledges, the pregnant wits of the Students, and the exquiſite learning which ſhee found there, entertained by night with Stage-Plaies, and by day with learned diſputations, for the which ſhee gave them thankes in a ſweet Oration of Latine, and bad them farewell.

So ſoone as ſhee was returned to London, the Parliament aſſembled upon the firſt day of November, being the day appointed for that meeting; and after a law or two enacted, they began earneſtly to diſpute the matter of ſucceſſion, ſeeing that the Queen now for eight whole yeeres together, as it were vowing Virginitie, entertained no ſerious thought of marrying: and on the one ſide the Papiſts propounded the Queene of Scots that had lately brought forth a ſonne; on the other the Proteſtants, divided amongſt themſelves, propounded ſome one, ſome another, each partie mindfull of their owne Religion, and preſaging moſt fearefull times to enſue, if the Queene ſhould die before the Succeſſor were certainely knowne. And ſome fierce and hot ſpirits went ſo farre, that they ſpared not to accuſe the Queen as one careleſſe of poſteritie and the good of her Countrey; to defame *Cecill* with reproaches and libells, as if he had beene her Councellor in this matter; and to curſe to the pit of hell Doctor *Huic* her Phyſitian, that was thought to diſſwade her from matrimonie, by reaſon of I know not what womaniſh inſufficiency. Alſo the Earles of Pembroke and Leiceſter, and ſome others openly, and the Duke of Norfolke under-hand, were of opinion that either a husband muſt be made choice of for the Queene, or elſe by authoritie of Parliament a Succeſſor openly declared, and that though againſt the Queenes will. Whereupon they were excluded from the Preſence Chamber, and forbidden to approach to the Queene; but upon preſent ſubmiſſion, and confeſſion of their raſhneſſe they obtained pardon.

The States urge the Queene to marry, and to deſigne a Succeſſor.

Yet they and the reſt in the Higher Houſe ſolicitous of a Succeſſour, by Sir *Nicholas Bacon* Keeper of the great Seale, their Orator, with great earneſtneſſe and importunitie beſought the Queen, and that out of their duty to God (as they proteſted) allegeance to their Prince, and love to their Country, that for as much as by her they did now quietly enjoy all the benefits of Peace, Juſtice and Clemency, their poſteritie alſo might by her meanes ſecurely and perpetually enjoy the ſame. But this happineſſe (they ſay) is not likely to befall them, unleſſe ſhe marrie, and withall deſigne a Succeſſor to the Crowne. Wherefore their

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chiefe wiſhes were, and they did humbly alſo beſeech her, to joyne her ſelfe in the ſacred bond of matrimonie, to whomſoever, whereſoever, and as ſoone as ſhe pleaſed, that from her loynes they might have children to prove the ſtaies and props of the Kingdome: and withall, that ſhe, together with the Peeres of the Kingdome, would conſtitute a Succeſſor to the Crowne, in caſe ſhe or her children (which God defend) ſhould die without iſſue. They intimated moreover, that there were many cauſes wherefore they urged this matter ſo vehemently, and held it ſo neceſſary a thing to be done; to wit, the late feare which ſeized upon them all when ſhe began to be ſicke; the fitneſſe of the time, now that the Peeres of the Kingdome were met, and might conſult maturely and deliberately of matters of this great conſequence; the terror which by this meanes they ſhould ſtrike into their adverſaries; and the immortall rejoycing which ſhee ſhould hereby bring to all her loving ſubjects. Moreover they praiſe and extoll the examples of their Anceſtors, who in matters of this nature were provident for the ſecuritie and welfare of poſteritie, damning that ſpeech of *Pyrrhus*, who ſaid *he would leave the Kingdome to him that had the ſharpeſt ſword*. Beſides, they declare what a ſtorme of evills hung over their heads, what miſchiefes were likely to happen to England, if ſhe ſhould die before a Succeſſor were deſigned; ſeditions and civill warres were likely to breake out, wherein even victorie it ſelfe was moſt wretched, Religion baniſhed, Juſtice overwhelmed, Lawes troden under foot, there being no certaine Prince, who is the ſoule of the Law, and ſo the Kingdome become a prey to ſtrangers. Other calamities of that nature they heaped up and aggravated, which were likely to fall upon their families, if ſhe dyed without iſſue. Out of the Scriptures alſo, but modeſtly, they adde precepts, counſells, and examples to this purpoſe. 1566.

Motives to deſigne a Succeſſor.

But ſome in the Lower Houſe carried this matter more turbulently, amongſt whom were *Bell* and *Monſon* two Lawyers of great account, *Dutton*, Sir *Paul Wentworth*, and others, that ſomewhat boldly diſparaged the Queenes authoritie, and amongſt other matters diſcourſed how that Princes were bound to deſigne a Succeſſor to the Crowne, and that the ſubjects love was the ſtrongeſt bulwarke of Princes, yea their onely ſtay and upholder: but Princes could not win that love and affection unleſſe they provided for their ſubjects welfare, and that not onely while they themſelves lived, but even after their death alſo. Now this could never be, unleſſe they were certaine what Succeſſor they ſhould have to rule over them; that the Queene by forbearing to mention a Succeſſour, ſhould provoke Gods wrath againſt her, and alienate the hearts of her ſubjects from her. Therefore to the end ſhe might obtaine the favour of Almighty God, and demerit the love and duty of her faithfull ſubjects, erecting to her ſelfe in the hearts of men everlaſting Monuments which never die, her beſt way were to nominate a Succeſſour. If otherwiſe, then were ſhe to be termed, not a Nurſe, not a Nurſing Mother, but a Step-mother, yea a parricide of her Country, who now that England lived by her breath, had rather it ſhould expire with her, than ſurvive her. That none but cowardly Princes, and ſuch as were hated of their ſubjects, and timorous women, were ever afraid

1566. of their Succeſſours, and that that Prince which is environed with the love and good will of her ſubjects, need never feare any danger from whoſoever were deſigned Succeſſor.

Dangers of a knowne Succeſſor.

All this ſhe gave eare unto, but very unwillingly, and for ſome time ſhe either contemned it or diſſembled it. For ſhee knew by experience what danger hangeth over a Princes head, when a Succeſſor is once deſigned; for as much as whiles Queene *Marie* reigned, the greateſt part of the Nobilitie and Commons had their eies and minds fixed upon her; and whatſoever things were ſpoken in the Queenes Privie Chamber, and nothing that was ſaid or done in the moſt ſecret and ſerious counſell of State, but the report thereof was ſtraightwaies brought to her, and how *Wiat* and others, not content with the preſent ſtate of matters, and deſirous of innovation, conſpired againſt Queene *Marie*, and meant to ſet her upon the Throne, who did not ſo much as once dreame of it. She knew the hopes of Competitors were by this meanes the better reſtrained, and they held better to their duties, all the while ſhe held every one in ſuſpence, and declared no body for the certaine heire. She knew that even children themſelves out of a haſtie deſire of bearing Rule, had taken up Armes oftentimes againſt their owne Fathers; and no better conditions were to be expected from kindred. She had by reading obſerved, and ever and anon in diſcourſe made mention, how that Succeſſours in a Collaterall line have ſeldome beene declared; that *Lewis* of Orleans, and *Francis* of Angouleme, that ſucceeded, the one to *Charles* the Eight, the other to this *Lewis* mentioned, were never declared Succeſſours, and yet obtained the Crowne without any noiſe.

And moreover, that the declaring of Succeſſours in England, had ever been pernicious to thoſe that were declared. For *Roger Mortimer* Earle of March, deſigned heire of the Kingdome by King *Richard* the Second, was ſhortly after made away, and his ſon *Edmund* for no other cauſe was caſt into priſon in Ireland, where hee lay languiſhing for twenty whole yeeres; that *John De-la-Poole* Earle of Lincolne, deſigned Succeſſor to the Crowne by *Richard* the Third after his ſonne was dead, was alwaies held ſuſpected by *Henry* the Seventh; and at length attempting an innovation was ſlaine in battell; and his brother *Edmund* beheaded under King *Henry* the Eight.

Nevertheleſſe when as ſome men with exaſperated minds, and great importunitie ceaſed not to declaime in thoſe words which I ſet downe before, yea, in more bitter ſpeech other whiles; the Queene commanded that thirtie of the higher Houſe of Parliament, and as many of the lower Houſe, ſhould be choſen out and appeare before her, whom ſhe calmed by her gentle objurgation, and by that comportment of Majeſtie which carried great authoritie along with it, prevailed with them to deſiſt from their purpoſe, making them large promiſes that ſhe would alwaies ſhew towards them, not onely the carefulneſſe of a Prince, but alſo the affectionate love of a Mother. And they offering larger Subſidie monies than they were wont, upon condition that ſhee would deſigne to them a certaine Succeſſor; ſhee commended their forwardneſſe, but refuſed the over-plus money which they proffered,

red; yea ſhee remitted the fourth Subſidie which they granted, ſaying, that it was all one whether the money were in her ſubjects Coffers, or her owne. 1566.

The laſt day of this Parliament-meeting ſhe ſpake to the Peeres and Commons after this manner; the effect of which words I will briefly ſet downe.

The Queenes ſpeech at the Parliament.

For as much as the words of Princes are wont to ſinke more deeply than other into the eares and hearts of men, therefore give eare to me thus farre. I who alwaies meant ſimply and plainely, thought you to doe the like: But I was deceived. For I have found in this Parliament, diſſimulation walking under the falſe habit and pretext of Libertie and Succeſsion. There are amongſt you who thought Libertie muſt needs be granted them to diſpute and debate the matter of Succeſsion at their pleaſure; ſome againe thought it not fit to be granted. If I had condeſcended, thoſe having gotten their wiſhes would have triumphed over me; but if I denied, then they made full account to ſtirre up my ſubjects hatred againſt me, which is more than the mortalleſt enemies I have, were able to doe hitherto. But theſe mens adviſe was unſeaſonable, their counſells over forward, neither did they foreſee the event of things. Neverthleſſe I have hereby had the opportunitie to underſtand, who of my ſubjects bare more and who leſſe affection towards me; and me thinks I may fitly divide your whole company into foure rankes. For ſome were the plotters and contrivers; others not authors but actors, that urged the matter in fine words, and winning ſpeech; others being led away with their elegant ſpeech, gave conſent; ſome againe wondring at this ſtrange boldneſſe held their peace; and theſe indeed are the more excuſable. What? doe you thinke that I neglect your ſafetie and ſecuritie in the matter of Succeſsion, or that I meane to infringe your Libertie? God forbid; I never ſo much as thought it. But the truth is, I ſaw you ruſhing careleſly into a deepe inconvenience, and I thought good to reſtraine you. There is a time and ſeaſon for all things. It may be that after me you may have a wiſer Prince than I am, but one more loving, or more carefull of your welfare you ſhall never have. Whether I ſhall live or no to ſee ſuch another Parliament I know not; but I adviſe you to beware that you bee not injurious to your Princes patience. Neverthleſſe hereof aſſure your ſelves, that I conceive very highly of the moſt of you, and as alwaies hitherto, ſo ſtill with hearty love I embrace you every one.

Thus the wiſedome of a woman quelled theſe tumults, which time ſo calmed, that ſaving ſeditious and fearefull perſons, very few were troubled about a Succeſſor. And indeed though not all, yet the moſt men, whatſoever pretences they make, thinke of no more in publike buſineſſe, than what belongeth to their owne private affaires. Neverthleſſe that men might know more certainely, or at leaſt imagine, whom ſhe thought in undoubted right the Succeſſion of the Crowne to belong unto, at this time one *Thornton* a Reader of Civill Law in London, of whom the Queene of Scots made complaint, that in his Lectures hee called her right into queſtion, was clapped up in priſon for his paines.

She favoureth the Queene of Scots title of Succeſſion.

In this Parliament (beſides other matters enacted for the good of the Common-wealth) it was by a joynt and unanimous conſent de-

1566. The ordination of Bishops confirmed.

clared, *That the election of the Arch-bishops and Bishops of England, together with their consecration, confirmation, and investiture* (which things some persons had slanderously called in question) *was lawfull and Canonicall; and that they were rightly, and according to the Acts and Statutes of the Kingdome, chosen and consecrated.* It was also enacted, *That both they, and all others to be consecrated in like manner hereafter, were rightly and duly consecrate, any Law or Canon to the contrarie notwithstanding.* For about this time the Papists cast aspertions and calumnies upon them, that they were false and titular Bishops onely, perhaps because the anointing, Ring, and Pastorall staffe, with some certaine Benedictions and Prayers, were not used; and that they were not orderly and duely ordained by three Bishops; nor by ascending could derive their Ordination from Apostolicall authoritie received immediatly from Christ himselfe. But this, as we said, was a meere calumnie; for they might truly produce sufficient testimonie out of the Records, that their Predecessors were duly consecrated, and that at their Consecration devout prayers were used, and the invocation of the Holy Ghost, together with the imposition of the hands of three Bishops, a Sermon preached, and the Communion administred.

About this time the Queen by her wholsome and opportune severitie, repressed the insolence of sundry persons, which offered violence to the Ministers of the Ecclesiasticall Courts (Promoters they are commonly called) beating them and vexing them with clamours and out-cries, as they passed along the streets.

Now also came the day appointed for the christening of the young Prince of Scotland; and Queene *Elisabeth*, being requested to bee his Godmother, sent thither the Earle of Bedford as her Deputie, and a Font of massie gold for a present; and gave expresse command, that neither hee himselfe, nor any of the English that went in his retinue, should honour *Darlie* with the title of King.

The Ceremonie finished, Bedford dealeth with the Queene of Scots about those matters given him in Commission; to wit, that the strife betwixt her husband and her might be fairely laid asleepe (for certaine malevolent persons, sworn enemies to them both, had cunningly made a breach betwixt them that before lived in sweet and amiable correspondence) and that the Treaty of Edenburgh might be confirmed. This latter demand she refused, objecting that there was something in the Treatie which derogated from her and her childrens right to the Crown of England: She promised notwithstanding to send Delegates into England, that should treat about the confirming of the same, with some few things altered in it; namely, that she would abstaine from the Title and Armes of England, so long as Queene *Elisabeth* lived, or any that should be borne of her, but she conceived that the Treatie meant that she should utterly and for ever abstaine from them: Likewise that those her Ministers should make knowne to the Queene, how injuriously she is dealt withall by certaine evill minded persons, who by their wicked wiles and subtilties abuse the ingenuous credulitie of her husband too too bad. Now also the Queene of Scots being sicke, by letters commended her young sonne to the trust and care of Queene *Elisabeth*, in which

which letters (*though the Nuncio* (these are the very words) *that after the Queene she was the undoubted heire of the English Crowne, and that many feigned sundry exceptions against this her right*, yet) she promised that she would not urge any further the declaration of this her right, but would with all the love and force that is possible cleave to her evermore against all persons whomsoever. 1567.

This yeere, upon one and the same day, died two of the Privie Councell, Sir *John Mason* Treasurer of the Queenes Chamber, a grave and learned man; but a great usurper and encroacher upon Ecclesiasticall Livings; and Sir *Richard Sackvill* Vice-Treasurer of the Exchequer, a man prudently provident, and allied to the Queene by her mother *Anne Bolen*. In his roome succeeded *Walter Mildmay*, a man of wisedome and integritie; but in *Masons* office came Sir *Francis Knolles*, who had taken in marriage *Katharine Carie*, the daughter of *Mary Bolen*, the Queens mothers sister.

But now before such time as those Delegates before mentioned were returned from the Queene of Scots, about a moneth or two after that the young Prince was christened, the King her husband, in the one and twentieth yeere of his age, in a stormie and tempestuous night, was villainously strangled in his bed, and cast forth into the Garden, and the house immediately blowne up with gunpowder: a wicked and horrible fact, the very mention whereof (as reason good) all honest men abhorred and detested. That the poore innocent Prince was thus murdered, all the world can tell, but upon whom to lay the blame of the fact, there is the difficultie. A rumour was straightway dispersed farre and wide over all Britaine, that *Morton*, *Murray*, and their Confederates, had wrought this exploit; but they (as the times then were) knew well enough to insult over the weaker sexe, and posting the crime from themselves, derived it upon the Queene. What *George Buchanan* the Scot hath laid open to the world concerning this matter, both in his historie of the affaires of Scotland, and a little booke entituled *The Detection*, none can be ignorant of that hath seene the printed bookes. But for as much as he (as it is well knowne) being carried aside by affection and the bounty of *Murray* (the Queens bastard brother indeed, but her mortall enemie) wrote in such sort, that the Nobles of Scotland afterward condemned that booke of falshood and impietie, to whose testimony more credit should be given; and himselfe also sighing in perplexed manner (if the word of a King may be taken) would ever and anon reprehend himselfe, that he had in such virulent sort dipped his quill against a well-deserving Queene; and dying, wished he might but live a little while longer, till he might wash away, though with his bloud, those spots and aspersions which he had wrongfully cast upon her, saving that he feared (as he said) it would be in vaine, for all men would imagine that for very age he doted. Let the Reader have patience (which is but justice) to heare the other party also speake, and that in no other manner than the writings of those times published, but were suppressed here in England, in favour of *Murray*, and to procure envie and hatred to the Queene of Scots, as also out of the letters of Embassadours and men worthy of credit; considering that he who writeth these things now,

1567. Reg. 10. The Lord Darly King of Scotland murdered.

1567. is no way intereſſed in the cauſe; nevertheleſſe, after all, it ſhall be lawfull for the judgement to encline to the report which ſhall ſeeme moſt probable.

In the yeere 1558. as they write, at the time of the marriage between the Dolphin of France and *Marie* Queene of Scots, *James* the Queenes baſtard brother, commonly called the Prior of Saint Andrewes (for he was ſet over the religious perſons of that Metropolitane Church) contemning that religious Title, affected ſome higher and more eminent ſtile; which when ſhe, through the adviſe of the Guiſes in France her Uncles, would not grant him, he ſtraightway in an angry mood returned into Scotland, and under a faire pretext of reforming Religion, and vindicating the common libertie, began to raiſe troubles there; and brought the matter to this paſſe, that in an aſſembly of the Confederates the Religion was altered, (the Queene all this while not once acquainted with the matter) and the French likewiſe, through the aid of the Engliſh whom he had procured to aſſiſt him, were baniſhed out of Scotland. Now when *Francis* the French King was dead, he poſted into France to his ſiſter, and renouncing whatſoever he had wrought in Scotland againſt her benefit or credit, promiſed to performe all the good offices towards her which a brother could ſhew to a ſiſter, and ſolemnly called God to witneſſe the truth of what he ſaid. Having conceived ſome hope likewiſe that ſhe, being trained up in the French delicacies, would not returne into Scotland, he dealt with the Guiſes, that ſome one of the Scottiſh Nobilitie might be appointed *Regent of Scotland*, and did, as it were with the finger, point forth himſelfe as the fitteſt man for that employment. But when as he was ſent back into Scotland with no other authoritie but a Patent or Inſtrument, whereby the Queene had given power to the Nobles of Scotland to meet and conſult about the publike good; he being caſt from his hopes, in an enraged mind returning by England, ſuggeſted to the Engliſh, that if they wiſhed well to the Religion in Scotland, the quiet of England, and Queen *Eliſabeths* ſafety, they ſhould uſe all diligence, by ſome meanes or other, to hinder the Queene of Scots paſſage into Scotland. She nevertheleſſe arrived ſafely in Scotland, paſſing by the Engliſh ſhips in a miſt, and there uſing her brother in all loving and friendly ſort, committed in a manner the chiefe government into his hands. Yet was not all this of force to allay his ambitious and aſpiring thoughts, which every day brake forth more and more, and ſhewed themſelves both in his ſpeeches and actions. For he could not containe himſelfe, but ever and anon, amongſt his owne companions, he bewailed the hard condition of the Scottiſh Nation, that ſo valorous and warlike a people, no leſſe than the Engliſh, ſhould be held under the command of a woman; and out of the doctrine of *Knox*, whom he held for a great Patriarke, he would diſpute, that rule and government was not to be tied to any ſtocke or kinred, but to vertue alone, and that the rule of women was *monſtrous*. By his Confederates likewiſe he dealt with the Queene to ſubſtitute foure of the Royall Family of the *Stuarts*, who, if ſhe died without iſſue, might ſucceed one another in the Kingdome, without reſpect had whether they were legitimate or illegitimate, hoping and being perſwaded that he ſhould be one

The Prior of St. Andrewes oppoſeth himſelf againſt the Queene of Scots.

of

of that number, ſeeing he was the former Kings ſon, though unlawfully begotten. 1567.

But the Queene wiſely weighing that ſuch a ſubſtitution was againſt the right of the Kingdome, that it would be an injurie to the right heirs, a matter of very bad example, and likely to prove pernicious to them that ſhould be ſubſtituted; that alſo it would be an obſtacle to her owne marriage, made a courteous anſwer, That in a matter of ſo great conſequence ſhe would not be over haſty, but adviſe with her Nobles concerning it. And to the end ſhe might ſhew her ſelfe yet more kind and bountifull to her brother, ſhe firſt graced him with the title of Earle of Marre, after of Murray, (becauſe the Earledome of Marre was in controverſie) and promoted him to an honourable marriage, all this while not witting that he (by bearing himſelfe for the legitimate ſon of *James* the fifth) affected the Kingdome. Whereunto that he might make the way more eaſie, he abuſed the grace and favour he had with the Queene, to oppreſſe the ancient and potent Familie of the *Gordons* Earles of Huntly, excluded from the Court *Hamilton* Duke of *Chaſteau-Herald*, (who was reputed the next heire of the Kingdome) ſhut up in priſon his ſon the Earle of Arran, packed away *Bothwell* into England; and as many as he thought might ſtand in his way to hinder his projects, he threw downe from their high ſtations. The Queene her ſelfe alſo he held in his owne power and governance, no otherwiſe than if ſhe had beene an Orphan, and he her Guardian, above all things not ſuffering her ſo much as to have a thought of marriage.

James Prior of St. Andrewes created Earle of Murray.

But ſo ſoone as he perceived that on the one hand the Emperour ſued to her for his brother, and on the other the King of Spaine for his ſon, he utterly diſſwaded her from both, pretending that the Scottiſh liberty neither could nor would endure a forraine Prince; and that whenſoever the Scepter came to that ſexe, they never tooke them husbands other than from among their owne people. But after that he ſaw how that all the Scottiſh eagerly deſired that ſhe ſhould marry, and foreſaw that by the prudent care of the Counteſſe of Lenox it was brought about that ſhe was enclined to the marriage of Darlie, he alſo commended him for a husband, hoping that the young man, being of a ſoft diſpoſition, would be at his becke. Nevertheleſſe, when he perceived that the Queene loved Darly onely, and his owne power with her to grow weaker and weaker, he repented him of his advice, and moved Queene *Eliſabeth* to hinder the marriage by all meanes poſſible.

The marriage being now conſummated, and Darlie proclaimed King, when the Queene revoked ſome grants made to him and others in her minoritie, and contrary to law, he joyned ſome others to him, and tooke up armes againſt the Princes, pretending that the new King was an enemy to the Proteſtant Religion, and had contracted wedlocke without the conſent of the Queene of England. But not willing as yet to put the matter to the hazzard of a doubtfull warre, he fled into England, and being there fruſtrated of all hope of aid, dealt by letters with *Morton*, a man of profound ſubtilty, who, as his ſecond ſelfe, when the marriage could not be broken off, yet ſhould endevour by all the cunning that could be deviſed to breake the knot of love betwixt them. And a fit occaſion

He flieth into England.

1567. occaſion indeed offered it ſelfe; for ſhe upon ſome houſhold jarres and differences that fell out between them, to repreſſe the ſwelling mind of the young man, and to preſerve whole to her ſelfe the rights of Majeſtie, placed her husbands name laſt in all publike Acts, and in the coyning of mony began to leave it quite out. *Morton*, one that knew well how to aggravate matters of offence, firſt of all cloſeth with the King by flattering ſpeeches, and perſwadeth him to put upon his owne head the Crown of the Kingdome of Scotland, whether the Queene would or not, and to free himſelfe from the tyrannie of a woman; it being the place of women to obey & of men to command. By this advice he hoped utterly to alienate from him, not the Queen alone, but the Nobles alſo and the common people. To alienate the Queen he firſt whiſpered vile matters in the Kings eare againſt *David Rizie*, and urgeth the King on to kill him. (This *David* was born in Pied-mont, by profeſſion a Muſitian, who came into Scotland with *Moret* the Embaſſadour, and for his grace, and quickneſſe of underſtanding being taken into the Queenes familie, was after made her Secretarie for the French tongue, and partaker of her moſt ſecret counſels in the Secretaries abſence.) And then to eſtrange the Queen the more from him, perſwadeth him to be preſent at the murder with Earle *Rewven* and the reſt which came to doe the exploit. Who together with them came ruſhing into the Queenes chamber at ſupper time, whiles ſhee ſate at table with the Counteſſe of Argile, with weapons by their ſides, ſet upon *David* that ſtood there at a cup-bord taſting ſome meats, that were taken away from the Queens table (as the ſervants of the Privie Chamber are wont to doe) and held a dagger to his breaſt in the preſence of the Queen, who was great with child, and ſtood trembling, in ſo much that ſhe was likely to miſcarrie; dragged him forth into an outer Chamber, and there moſt cruelly murdered him; and ſhut up the Queene into her Cloſet: *Morton* all this while ſtanding to blocke up all paſſages for reſcue.

David Rizie cruelly murdered.

This ſlaughter was acted the day before that day which was appointed for *Murray* to appeare before the Nobles, to anſwer to the enditement of Rebellion laid to his charge; who the day after appeared, when as none expected him, and in ſo great a tumult for this late accident, none was ſeene to appeare againſt him: ſo that the ſlaughter of *David* might ſeeme to be haſtned on ſet purpoſe, for the ſafetie and ſecuritie of *Murray*. The Queene notwithſtanding, through the interceſſion of her husband, received him gladly, and reſted her ſelfe wholly in his brotherly affection. But now the King, conſidering the heinouſneſſe of the late fact, and ſeeing the Queen exceeding angry, began to repent of his raſhneſſe, and to flie to her clemencie with teares and lamentations, and craving pardon for his fault, confeſſed ingenuouſly, that he had taken in hand this foule matter through the urgent perſwaſion of *Morton* and *Murray*, and from that time began to grow into ſuch a hatred and deteſtation of *Murray* (for *Morton*, and *Rewven*, and the reſt, upon the murder of *David* were fled into England with letters of commendation from *Murray* to the Earle of Bedford) that he thought of making him away. But when as by reaſon of his youthfull heat hee could not conceale his purpoſes, nor in regard of his affection to the

Queen

Queen his wife, durſt put the ſame in practice, he acquainteth her that it would be for the good of the Common-wealth, and the ſecuritie of the ſtocke of the bloud royall, that he were taken out of the way. She deteſting the matter, even with threats deterred him from ſuch intendments, perſwading him that the breach might be made up betweene them. He notwithſtanding being diſcontented to ſee a baſtard in ſo much grace and power with the Queene, through impatience communicateth the ſame counſell to ſome others; which ſo ſoone as *Murray* had notice of, to the end he might prevent it, under ſhew of duty, laid more ſecret plots of treachery againſt the young man, hereunto uſing the advice of *Morton* though abſent. 1567.

Now they thought good, before the love grew firme againe betweene the King and Queene, to take her affection wholly from him, and to draw *Bothwell* to their party, who was lately reconciled to *Murray*, and in great grace with the Queene; propoſing to him hopes of a divorce from his wife, and the marrying of the Queen ſo ſoone as ſhee was a Widow. And for the performance hereof, and to defend him againſt all men, they bound themſelves to him under hand and ſeale, perſwading themſelves, if the thing ſucceeded, at once to make away the King, marre the Queenes eſtimation with the Peeres and people, confound *Bothwell*, and bring the whole ſway into their owne hands.

Earle *Bothwell* (a wicked fellow, and blinded with ambition, and thereupon ready to adventure upon any thing) ſoone laid hold upon theſe hopes, and wickedly committed the ſlaughter, when as *Murray* ſcarce fifteene houres before betooke himſelfe to his owne home a great way off, that he might be out of the reach of all ſuſpition; and from thence, if need were, might ſend aide to the conſpiratours, and the whole ſuſpition might light upon the Queene. So ſoone as he was returned to Court, both he and his Confederates commend *Bothwell* to the Queene for a moſt fit and worthy husband, both in regard of the noble familie from whence he was deſcended, his doughty exploits againſt the Engliſh, and his approved fidelitie. They advertiſe her that ſhe living alone and ſolitarie, was not able to allay the tumults that were riſen, prevent treacherie, and undergoe the burthen of the Kingdome; therefore ſhee ſhould doe well to take one into the fellowſhip of her bed, who would be alwaies ready at hand with his advice, who both could and would oppoſe himſelfe againſt all danger. And hither they drave her, that the poore fearefull woman, aſtoniſhed with two ſuch tragicall murders as had lately happened, and calling to mind the fidelitie and conſtancie of *Bothwell* and his Mother, not knowing whom to truſt, if not her own brother, yeelded her conſent; but upon theſe conditions, that above all things reſpect were had to her young ſonne, and *Bothwell* lawfully quitted both from the bond of his former marriage, and the Kings murder likewiſe.

Bothwell commended to the Queen for an husband.

What *George* Earle of Huntley, and the Earle of Argile did forthwith publikely proteſt concerning this matter, who were the chiefe of the Nobles of Scotland, it ſhall not be amiſſe here to ſet downe out of the very writing which they ſent to Queen *Eliſabeth*.

Whereas

1567. *Whereas* Murray *and others, for the cloaking of their Rebellion against the Queene, whose authoritie they arrogate to themselves, doe openly defame the Queene to bee conscious of the murder of her Husband, wee doe make this publike protestation and attestation. In the moneth of December* 1566. *when the Queen was at Cragmillar,* Murray *and* Lidington *before us acknowledged, that* Morton, Lindsey, *and* Reuven, *for no other cause did slay* David Rizie, *than that thereby they might worke the safetie of* Murray, *who was then ready to be proscribed. Therefore that they might not seeme ingratefull, they earnestly desired that* Morton, *and the rest that were in exile for the slaughter of* David, *might be called home. But this, they said, could not be effected, unlesse the Queene by a divorce were separated from her Husband: which they undertooke to bring to passe, in case we yeelded our assents. Afterward* Murray *promised to me* Huntley, *that my ancient Patrimony should be restored to mee, and everlasting favour I should purchase with the exiled persons, if I would favour this divorce. Then they went to* Bothwell, *to get his consent likewise. Last of all, we came to the Queene, and* Lidington *in the name of all the rest, did earnestly beseech her to remit the banishment of* Morton, Lindsey, *and* Reuven, *and with great bitternesse of words they displaied the Kings faults and offences, both against the Queen her selfe and the Kingdome; and told her that it was for her behoofe, and the good of the Common-wealth, that a divorce be suddenly made, for as much as the Queene and King could not both be secure in Scotland. She made answer, that she had rather step aside for a while into France, till her husband perceived the errours and mistakes of his youth; for shee would not have any thing done which might be prejudiciall to her sonne, or dishonourable to her selfe. To this replied* Lidington: *We who are your Counsellors will see to that. But I give command (saith she) that you doe nothing which may staine my honour or my conscience. Let things be as they are, till God from heaven shew a remedy. That which you thinke will be for my good, may turne to my hurt. To whom* Lidington, *Leave the matter to us, and you shall see, nothing shall be done, but what shall be good, and allowed by authoritie of Parliament. Hereupon, since that within a few daies after the King was murdered, we through the inward testimony of our conscience doe assure our selves, that* Lidington *and* Murray *were the authors, plotters, and perswaders of the Kings murder, whosoever were the actors.* Thus they.

A protestation concerning the murder of the Lord Darly.

Now were the Confederates bent wholly upon this, to get *Bothwell* acquitted of this murder. Forthwith therefore a Parliament is called for no other cause, and proclamations sent abroad for the apprehending of such as were suspected to be accessary thereunto. And when as the Earle of Lenox, Father to the murdered King, accused *Bothwell* of the murder, and was urgent to have him cited to the Judgment Seat before the Parliament assembled, this likewise was granted, and the Earle of Lenox commanded to appeare within twenty daies. At which time, when he could heare nothing from the Queene of England, and knew he could not without perill of his life trust himselfe to such a multitude of his enemies, *Bothwell* is called to the barre, and *Morton* being his advocate, is absolved by the sentence of the Judges.

Bothwell acquitted of the murder.

This businesse thus passed over, the Confederates wrought many of the

the Nobilitie to consent to the marriage, and to set their hands to the writing, lest he, excluded from the promised matriage, should intimate them to be the contrivers of all the mischiefe. By reason of this marriage of the Queen with *Bothwell* (who was now created Duke of Orkney Ilands) all men began vehemently to suspect that the Queen was conscious to the murder; which suspition the Confederates every where increased, by their letters which they sent abroad into all parts; and in their secret meetings at Dunkeld, they conspired the deposing of the Queene, and the destruction of *Bothwell*: *Murray* notwithstanding to remove from himselfe all suspicion, intreated license of the Queen to travell into France; and, to make the matter more colourable, at his departure committed his whole estate in Scotland to the Queenes trust and *Bothwells*. Scarce was he gone out of England, but lo the same men who had absolved *Bothwell* from the guilt of the Kings murder, and by their owne hand-writing had given consent to his marriage with the Queene, tooke up Armes against him, and made as they would apprehend him: but indeed under-hand they counselled him to save himselfe by flight, the truth is, for no other end but for feare that being taken he might discover their whole treacherous proceedings; and againe, to lay hold of his flight as an argument to accuse the Queene of the murder. But her they tooke and handled most unworthily and contumeliously, and being clad in a very homely garment, thrust her into prison at Loch-levin, under the custody of *Murray's* mother, who had been the harlot of King *James* the Fifth, and most proudly insulted over the emprisoned Queene in her calamitie, boasting that her selfe was the lawfull wife of *James* the Fifth, and her Sonne his lawfull Offspring. 1567

The Queen of Scots imprisoned.

Queene *Elisabeth* having at length certaine notice hereof, and heartily detesting such bold and unbridled insolency of subjects toward their Prince, her sister and neighbour (whom at every hand she termed perfidious, ingratefull, and cruell Rebels) sent Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* into Scotland, to expostulate with the Confederates touching this usage of the Queene, and to consult by what meanes to restore her to her former libertie and authoritie, to see punishment inflicted upon the assassinates of the King, and procure the young Prince to be sent into England to be educated, not into France, that thereby his safety might the better be provided for. What followed hereupon, take (Gentle Reader) out of the letters which the Embassadour himselfe sent into England, while hee continued there, who, no doubt, was a man worthy of credit.

Queen Elisabeth expostulates the matter.

He found many in Scotland cruelly bent against the Queen, who flatly denied him admission to the Queen, and that not to him alone but to the French Embassadours likewise, Mounsieur *Le Croc*, and *Ville du Roy*. But what to doe with her, the Confederates could not hitherto agree among themselves: *Lidington* and a few more gave advice to restore her to her place of dignitie againe, upon these conditions, That the murderers of the King might be cited to answer the fact, the young Princes safetie provided for, *Bothwell* divorced, and the Religion established. Others would have her banished perpetually into England,

1567. or France, in caſe the French King or the Queene of England would undertake that ſhee ſhould by oath renounce the Kingdome, and transferre the regall authoritie to her young ſonne, and ſome certaine of the Nobles of Scotland. Others againe would have her queſtioned before the Judges, condemned, committed to perpetuall cuſtody, and her ſonne inaugurated King. Others finally, would have her at once deprived of princely authoritie, and life and all: and this *Knox* and ſome other Miniſters thundred out of the Pulpits.

Throckmorton defends the Queen of Scots cauſe.

Throckmorton on the other ſide alledged many paſſages out of the holy Scriptures, touching obedience and ſubjection to the higher powers, and ſtiffely avouched, that the Queen was ſubject to no tribunall but that in heaven; that no Judge upon earth might call her in queſtion; that there was no office or juriſdiction in Scotland, which was not derived from her authoritie, and by her revokeable at pleaſure. They againe oppoſed the peculiar right of the Kingdome of Scotland, and that in extraordinarie caſes they were to proceed beſides order, taking up *Buchanans* arguments, who in thoſe daies, by the inſtigation of *Murray*, wrote that damned dialogue, *De Jure regni apud Scotos*, wherein againſt the veritie of the Scottiſh Hiſtorie he endevoureth to prove, that the people have power both to create and to depoſe their Kings. Moreover *Throckmorton* ceaſed not to be importunate for the reſtoring of the Queene, and to gaine acceſſe to her; though hee was ever and anon anſwered by *Lidington*, that hee might not looke for admiſſion, ſince the French Embaſſadours were denied. That they might not diſpleaſe the French King to pleaſure the Queen of England, having had experience that ſhe reſpected her owne private ends only; and that not long ſince, when for her owne convenience ſhee would have the French ſent out of Scotland; and what poore countenance and entertainment ſhee had lately afforded to thoſe that lived exiled in England for the ſlaughter of *David Rizie*.

Afterward in a writing ſtuffed with words, which they exhibited to *Throckmorton* without any ſubſcription, they make proteſtation, that they had ſhut up the Queene for no other intent, but to keepe her apart from *Bothwell*, whom ſhe loved ſo deſperately, even to all their ruines; untill ſuch time as that impotent love grew colder, and her anger to them were abated: and they willed him to reſt ſatisfied with this anſwer, till ſuch time as the reſt of the Peeres met together. The Queene notwithſtanding they daily ſhut up in more ſtrait cuſtody, though ſhee all over bedewed with teares beſought them to deale more mildly with her, if not as ſhe was a Queene, yet at leaſt as ſhe was a Kings daughter, and a Princes Mother; of whom that ſhe might but once have the ſight, ſhe was an earneſt ſuppliant, but all in vaine. But not to be too particular in the injuries and abuſes ſhe ſuffered, at length they ſet upon her in faire termes, freely to give over the Kingdome, either for that ſhee was infirme and unhealthy, or pretending the toyle and troubles of Government, or (as ſome more ſubtlely adviſed) that ſhe might not bee ſo narrowly looked to, the better to make an eſcape. Theſe waies not ſucceeding, they threatned to queſtion her openly for incontinent living, for the Kings murder, and for tyrannie; namely, for violating the rights

and Lawes of the Common-wealth, in some matters which *Randon* and *D'Oysell* the French Embassadours had confirmed in the King of France his name and hers. At last through feare of death, they compelled her, unheard, to set her hand to three instruments; in the first of which she gave over the Kingdome to her young son, as that time scarce thirteen moneths old, in the second, she constituted *Murray* Vice-Roy during the minoritie of her son; and in the third, in case he refused the burthen, these Rectors were nominated, *James* Duke of Chastelh. Herald, *Gilespick* Earle of Argile, *Matthew* Earle of Lenox, *John* Earle of Athol, *James* Earle of Morton, *Alexander* Earle of Glencarne, & *John* Earle of Marre. And without further delay she intimated to the Queen of England by *Throckmorton*, that she had made these grants by compulsion, through the counsell of *Throckmorton*, telling her that a grant extorted from one in prison, *which is a just feare*, is actually voide and of none effect. But of this more hereafter. 1567.

The Queen of Scots resigneth her Crowne.

Five daies after the Queen had made this resignation, *James* the Sixth, the Queenes son, was anointed King, and crowned, *John Knox* preaching at the same time; but a protestation was then put in by the *Hamiltons*, that all this ought to be no prejudice to the Duke of Chastelh. Herald, in his right of Succession against the Family of Lenox. But Queen *Elisabeth* had forbidden *Throckmorton* to bee at the action, that she might not seeme, by the presence of her Embassadour, to approve their proceeding in the displacing of the Queen.

Fifteene daies after this transaction, *Murray* himselfe returned out of France into Scotland, and within three daies he himselfe went to the Queen, together with some other of the Confederates that accompanied him, laid many crimes to her charge, and, as he had been a religious Confessor or ghostly Father, dealt with her to returne to God by true repentance, and implore his mercy. She acknowledged her selfe sorrowfull for the faults and errors of her by-past life, confessed that some of his objections were true, others she extenuated, in others shee alledged humane frailtie for her excuse; but the greatest part she utterly denied. Him she besought to undertake the Government for her young son, and againe and againe entreated him to spare her life and reputation. This he denied to be in his power, and therefore was to be sued for unto the Nobles. Nevertheless, if shee were tender of her life and honour, these prescriptions he would have her to observe: Not to disturbe the peace and tranquillity of the Kingdome, nor desire to be at libertie; not to stirre up the Queen of England, or the King of France to molest Scotland with any warre, whether forreine or domestick; not to think any more of *Bothwells* love, or meditate revenge upon *Bothwells* adversaries.

Being now proclaimed Vice-Roy, or Regent of Scotland, he bindeth himselfe under his hand and seale, that he will not doe any thing which shall concerne warre or peace, the Kings person or his marriage, or the libertie of the Queen, without the consent of the Confederates. He gives *Throckmorton* warning by *Lidington*, not to meddle any further, in making intercession for the Queenes libertie; that he and the rest had rather run any hazzard, than suffer her to be at liberdie, and keep her

Murray made Vice-Gerent in Scotland.

1567. ſelfe ſtill to *Bothwell*, to endanger her ſon, and trouble the Commonwealth, and proſcribe them all. *Wee know* (ſaith he) *what the Engliſh are able to doe, to ſpoyle our Borders, and we doe as much to yours; and we know aſſuredly, that the French in regard of our ancient league and confederacy, will not forſake us.* Notwithſtanding hee would not admit the French Embaſſadour to the Queene, but puts him off till ſuch time as *Bothwell* ſhould be apprehended, and handleth the miſerable Princeſſe more unworthily every day than other, not according to her deſervings from him, and contrary to his promiſe paſſed to the King of France.

Soone after, *Murray* puts to death *John Hepburne*, *Dagliſh*, and others that were *Bothwels* ſervants, for having a hand in the murder of the King. But they (which hee little expected) when they were at the Gallowes ready to die, proteſted before God and his holy Angels, that *Bothwell* had told them, that *Morton* and *Murray* were the firſt authors of the murder. They freed the Queen from all ſuſpition: like as *Bothwell* himſelfe being priſoner in Denmarke, both living and dying, often proteſted with deepe aſſeverations, that the Queene was innocent. And fourteene yeeres after, *Morton* going to execution, confeſſed that *Bothwell* dealt with him to conſent to the murder of the King: which when he refuſed utterly, unleſſe the Queene under her hand-writing would allow of it, *Bothwell* made anſwer, that could not be, but the fact muſt be done and ſhe unacquainted with it.

The Queene of Scots cleared from conſent in the murder of her husband.

This raſh and ſudden depoſing of the Queene by the Confederates, and their peremptory uſage of the Embaſſadours, Queene *Eliſabeth*, and the French King began to take to heart, as a wrong to their own royall Majeſties, and began to favour the *Hamiltons*, who ſtill ſtood to the Queen: likewiſe Monſieur *Paſquier* the French Embaſſador in England, dealt with the Queene to get her reſtored by force and armes: but ſhe thought it better to prohibit the Scots from trading, both in France and England, till ſuch time as ſhee were ſet at libertie; that by this meanes the people and the Nobles might be ſet at variance, who ſeemed to have conſpired joyntly againſt the Queene: but theſe Scottiſh affaires for a while we will let paſſe.

Now that the eight yeeres were expired, and by the Treaty held at Chaſteau-Cambreſie, Callice was to be delivered up to the Engliſh, *Thomas Smith* was ſent into France, together with *William Winter* Maſter of the Ordnance, who ſounded a Trumpet before the Sea Port of Callice, and in a loud voice in the French tongue, required the Towne of Callice with the Territorie, and certaine great Ordnance to be re-delivered by vertue of the Treatie. And this was preſently regiſtred by a publike notarie, and certaine Germaine and Low Country Merchants there preſent, called to witneſſe the ſame. Then he went to the French King himſelfe, accompanied with Sir *Henry Norris* Embaſſadour in Ordinarie, and demanded it againe. The King referred the buſineſſe to his Councellours, amongſt whom the Chancellour with a grave and ſet ſpeech, thus began.

Callice demanded by the Engliſh.

By what right and title the Engliſh require Callice to be rendred, by the ſame they might as well lay claime to Paris the chiefe City of France: for

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this as well as that they had conquered heretofore, and in a juſt warre have loſt them both. It is an upſtart right which the Engliſh pretend to Callice, but the right of the French is as ancient as the Kingdome it ſelfe. Albeit the Engliſh have poſſeſſed it for the ſpace of two hundred and thirty yeeres, yet was the right in the Kings of France, no leſſe than to the Dukedomes of Aquitaine and Normandy, which notwithſtanding they had a long time detained by force and arms. That as well Callice as thoſe Dukedomes the French had not ſo much gained, as recovered by a lawfull warre. That preſcription of time which they alledge hath no place among Princes, but their right is alwayes of force; and by the law of the twelve Tables, A plea againſt an enemy never dieth. *Whatſoever* Francis *the ſecond attempted in Scotland can be no prejudice to* Charles *the ninth. What ſome private perſon attempteth in ſome caſes, is ſubject to the lawes, but it is otherwiſe in the cauſes of all Princes. For thoſe things that were attempted in Scotland, which belonged to the French but by way of dower, let the Engliſh expoſtulate with the Queene of Scotland, for they doe but conjecturally divine what were the purpoſes of the King and Queene in that matter. Now ſeeing that the Engliſh entred the Towne of New-haven in France under a colourable pretext of reſerving it for the King, did there place a ſtrong Garriſon, and make warlike proviſion, held the Towne by force, and ſupplied the Prince of Condey and his Confederates with money, therefore they had loſt their title to Callice, and that by their owne fault. It ſeemeth good to Almighty God, that Callice being recovered by the French, wars ſhould ceaſe, and enmitie be laid aſleepe betwixt them and the Engliſh, who were divided by the interflowing of the ſea; as the Poet ſingeth,*

Et penitùs toto diviſos orbe Britannos.

Furthermore, it would be more for the benefit and behoofe of the Queene of England to hold peaceable correſpondence with the French King, than to goe to warre for the recovery of Callice. That that clauſe in the late treaty concerning reſervation of rights, *had reference onely to matters of leſſe account. And to conclude, none durſt be Author to the King to perſwade the reſtitution of Callice; or if any ſuch ſhould be found, he deſerved to be curſed to the pit of hell.*

Hereunto *Smith* replied, *That he expected not the French ſhould thus rip up all profound antiquitie for their right to the Town of Callice. But now at length he perceived, that whatſoever the French either by right or wrong could get into their poſſeſſion, that they account their owne; neither matters it with them whether lawfully or unlawfully they gaine poſſeſſion, ſo they get it by armes. It ſhould ſeeme that the French, what agreement ſoever they made, and notwithſtanding their faith engaged for the reſtoring of Callice, yet had indeed no ſuch meaning; and theſe ſecret purpoſes and reſolutions of theirs muſt weigh downe all reaſons whatſoever to the contrary can be alledged. Now for that clauſe of* reſervation of rights, riſing up, and turning himſelfe to the Counſellors of France, *I appeale* (ſaith he) *to your faith and honeſty, who were there preſent, if when we urged that our right unto Callice ſhould be reſerved in expreſſe words (but you would have it left out becauſe the time was not yet come) we agreed not that it ſhould be*

1567. *tacitly reſerved under that clauſe, viz. All other petitions and demands on both ſides ſhall remaine ſafe and whole, and in like manner all exceptions and defences from that time forward ſhall be reſerved. As for* New-Haven, *the Engliſh entred it peaceably, being requeſted by the Inhabitants and Nobles of Normandie, upon proteſtation made they would keepe it for the uſe of the King of France. So that they did not attempt nor innovate any thing againſt the King of France, to the prejudice of the Treaty; and that they held it, not by any right of propriety, but by way of pledge, till juſtice were done them in the reſtitution of Callice, the right whereunto, as well for poſſeſſion as propriety, was now devolved unto the Queene, by reaſon of the attempts of the French in Scotland expreſly againſt the Treatie. As for the money ſpoken of, it was for no other reaſon given to the Prince of Condey, but for the ſatisfaction of the German ſouldiers, who did now mutine for their pay, that ſo by their meanes the Kings fields and villages might ſuffer no dammage.* Thus *Smith.*

When as *Montmorency* the Conſtable of France made many words of the great proviſion of munition, and ſuch like neceſſaries, brought into New-Haven, as if it had beene enough for to ſerve an expedition againſt the whole Countrey of Normandy: *There is no reaſon*, quoth *Smith, wherefore any man ſhould wonder at this, for as much as the Engliſh, who are a Nation dwelling by the Sea, know they can have no command upon the winds which are Lords of the Sea, and therefore in time they would make ſufficient proviſion for future neceſsities.* The French after all made grievous complaint, that the Proteſtants which fled out of France were not delivered, according to agreement, when the French Embaſſadour required them, and deferred the matter till another time; and ſo, the civill wars waxing hot in France, by little and little it vaniſhed quite. And doubtleſſe the French had no purpoſe to reſtore Callice, as may well be gathered. For ſo ſoone as they had taken it, they demoliſhed the old fortifications, and began to raiſe new, leaſed out the houſes and lands, ſome for fiftie yeeres, and others they gave away for perpetuity.

Suſſex ſent to the Emperour about a marriage with the Arch-Duke.

While theſe things were doing in France, came the Earle of *Stolberg* from *Maximilian* the Emperour into England, to treat of the marriage of the Queene with *Charles* the Arch-Duke; upon which very occaſion the Queene a little before had ſent the Earle of Suſſex to the Emperour with the enſignes of the Order of Saint *Georges* Knights, who out of love to his Countrey, joyned with emulation againſt the Earle of Leiceſter, left no ſtone unturned (as the ſaying is) that the Queene might be married to ſome forraine Prince, and ſo Leiceſter be fruſtrate of his hopes that way. And nothing was more frequent in the mouth of the Earle of Suſſex than this ſaying, that whether *Honour*, or *Power*, or *Wealth* were regarded in the Queenes match, a forraine Prince was to be preferred before the beſt Nobleman in England: In ſo much that one ſaid merrily to him, *Where thoſe three things, Honour, Might, and Wealth, are regarded in marriage treaties, the Divell and the World are at the match making.* Leiceſter notwithſtanding, who would not thus let goe his hopes, ſuborned the Lord *North*, whom the Earle of Suſſex had made choice of for a companion in his journey, to liſten what was ſaid, and obſerve what was done, and as the Earle of Suſſex ſet forward the marriage

marriage with the Arch-Duke, ſo he ſhould ſecretly hinder it, by giving intimation under hand, that the Queenes mind was moſt averſe from marriage, whatſoever ſhe pretended, and the Earle of Suſſex boaſted. And he for his owne part at home never deſiſted, but ſtill reckoned up all the inconveniences of a forraine match, which he continually ſounded in the Queenes eares, thereby to deterre her. 1567.

He propounded *that late marriage of her ſiſter* Marie *with* Philip *of Spaine, whereby ſhe was caſt into perpetuall ſorrow, and England endangered to come into Spaniſh ſervitude.* He alledged, *that the manners, mind, and diſpoſition of forreine Princes could not be ſeene into, which it were requiſite they ſhould have found experience of, who in an individuall knot were to be made one fleſh with them. That it were a moſt troubleſome and miſerable condition to be perpetually converſant with a ſtrange tongue, and ſtrange manners. That children who are borne in ſuch wedlock, bring into the world ſome ſtrange conditions. That by ſuch matches new faſhions and new cuſtomes are wont to be brought into a Common-wealth. That Women Princes by forraine matches did not enlarge their owne Dominion, but added to the Territories of ſtrangers for the moſt part; did ſubject themſelves and their ſubjects to a forraine yoke, and withall betray the ſecrets of the Kingdome to ſtrangers. That a ſtrange Prince, by reaſon of his inbred love to his owne Countrey, would not be ſo tender over the Engliſh, but preferre ſtrangers. That England had no need of the aide of forraine Princes to defend it ſelfe, but could be ſecure both at home and abroad without them. That by the addition of another Kingdome accrueth nothing but greater care, and more trouble; and as it is in humane bodies, ſo likewiſe in Kingdomes, their owne burden oftentimes ruineth them. But that which ſome alledged, that it ſhould derogate to your Princely dignitie to chuſe a husband here at home, cannot be ſpoken without notable contumely to the Engliſh Nobilitie, foraſmuch as Royall Majeſtie hath its firſt beginning from lower Nobilitie; and the Nobles are as it were the roots of the Princely and Regall ſtocke: whence it is that the Kings of England have ever beene wont to ſalute their Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earles, and Viſcounts, by the name of Couſins, in all their letters directed to them.*

Inconveniences of a forrain match.

The Earle of Suſſex the meane while, with a glorious traine and retinue, paſſing along by Antwerp, Colen, Mentz, Wormes, Spier, and Ulmes, came into Auſtria, where he lived at the Emperours charges for five whole moneths, conferring daily with him about weighty matters, and the marriage with *Charles* the Arch-Duke; and at a day appointed he inveſted him with the Enſignes of the Knights of the Garter at Evening prayer, for out of ſcruple of conſcience he refuſed to be preſent at the Sacrifice of the Maſſe. In this affaire there fell out ſundry difficulties about Religion, the maintenance of the Duke, about the Royall Title, and concerning ſucceſſion; and in theſe diſputes many things were debated to and fro. For the title, it was concluded, that *Charles* the Arch-Duke ſhould enjoy the name and title of King of England. For the matter of ſucceſſion, it was affirmed, that by the right of the Kingdome he might not ſucceed, though he ſhould ſurvive the Queene, for that were an injurie to their children: yet it was agreed upon that he ſhould have the tuition and overſight of them. And larger privi-

Articles of marriage with the Arch-Duke

1567. priviledges than theſe were not granted to King *Philip* when he married Queene *Marie*. As for maintenance, if at his owne charges he would feed the followers he brought and kept with him, the Queene ſhould ſupply all other neceſſities; and that alſo if it were required. But about the matter of Religion the ſcruple was yet behind: The Emperour and *Charles* himſelfe demanded a publike Church to be allotted, wherein Divine Service ſhould be celebrated for him and his attendants after the Roman cuſtome. But when this would not be hearkened to, the Emperour bethought himſelfe of a middle way, which was, that in ſome private place in his owne houſe he might peaceably uſe his owne cuſtomes (which was permitted to the Embaſſadours of Popiſh Princes) and that too upon this condition, the Engliſh not to be admitted, nor he nor his ſervants to oppoſe the Religion eſtabliſhed in England, or favour the oppoſers of the ſame. After this matter had beene maturely conſulted on in England (to be ſhort) the Queene made anſwer, that ſhe could not grant this neither, without wronging her owne conſcience, and prejudice to the lawes. But if it would pleaſe the Arch-Duke *Charles* to come into England, and conferre with the Queene face to face, he ſhould have no cauſe to repent him of his journey. So the Emperour with great honour diſmiſſed the Earle of Suſſex, and he turned aſide out of his way to take leave of *Charles*, who in vaine expected from the Queene a better or more pleaſing anſwer. For from that time by little and little theſe thoughts vaniſhed, which had beene foſtered by mutuall Embaſſages for ſeven whole yeeres together. Yet there continued ſo good correſpondence betweene the Princes, that the Emperour ever hindred the Popes intendments againſt Queene *Eliſabeth*. *Charles* the Arch-Duke not long after tooke in marriage *Marie* daughter to *Albert* the fifth, Duke of Bavaria, who, beſides other children, brought him two daughters that were Queenes of Spaine and Poland.

About this time there came from *John Baſil*, Emperour of Ruſſia and Muſcovia, *Stephen Twerdico*, and *Theodore Pogorella*, with a preſent of rich Furres of Otter and Miniver, and ſuch like, tendering all ſervice and obſequiouſneſſe to the Queene and the Engliſh. In the yeere of our Lord 1553. certaine London Merchants, amongſt whom the chiefe were, *Andrew Judd*, *George Barnes*, *William Gerard*, and *Anthony Huſey*, ſought out the paſſage to theſe Northren parts by the Hyperborean Sea, taking along with them *Hugh Willoughby* for their Pilot, who was then ſtarved to death with cold. The next after him was *Richard Chanceller*, who with better fortune opened the way into Ruſſia, till that time unknown, being carried into the mouth of the River *Duin*, under 64. degrees latitude of the Northren Pole, where is a Monaſterie of Saint *Nicholas*. From thence the Emperour ſent for him to Moſcua upon drags, as the manner of that Countrey is, gave him liberall entertainement, and diſmiſſed him bountifully, with promiſe of large immunities to the Engliſh if they would exerciſe trade in his Dominion; heartily rejoycing that outlandiſh merchandize could be brought thither by Sea, which till that time the Ruſſians could not have without great difficultie, and thoſe brought through the hoſtile Territories of the King of Poland. *Chanceller* upon his returne making report hereof, and withall

The Engliſh diſcover a way by ſea to Muſcovia.

withall what a great rate Engliſh clothes were at in that traſt, and how cheap hemp and flaxe were for Cables and Cordage, beſides rich furres and skins of great value here, thoſe Merchants, by vertue of a grant from Queene *Marie*, combined themſelves into a Society, which they called the Muſcovie Company; and having large priviledges granted them from the Emperour, went thither with a Navie yeerely, and returned, making a very gainefull voyage: but then it proved moſt gainfull, when for the Queenes ſake they obtained at the Emperours hands, *Anno* 1569. that none but the Engliſh of that Company ſhould traffick in the North parts of Ruſſia, as we ſhall ſhew in its due place. 1567.

With theſe Ruſſian Embaſſadors there returned into England *Anthony Jenkinſon*, who in his travells had taken curious regard and obſervation of Ruſſia, ſet forth a Geographicall deſcription of it, and was the firſt of the Engliſh that ſailed through the Caſpian Sea. To him the Emperour committed a ſecret meſſage to the Queene, which he would not communicate to his owne Embaſſadours, to wit, that he ſhould treat earneſtly with the Queene to enter a league for the ſending of Shipping, Mariners, and Munition into Ruſſia, and to bind her ſelfe by oath courteouſly to receive him, together with his wife and children, if it fortuned that by enemies from abroad, or rebells at home, he were driven out of his Countrey. Thus the Tyrant, for whom none could keepe any thing in ſafety, could not be ſecure himſelfe. And indeed he took it very ill that the Queen made him a doubtfull anſwer, and full of circumſtances: yet ceaſed he not both by Letters and Embaſſage to urge the ſame things, and ever and anon to require the ſaid *Anthony Jenkinſon* to be ſent back, fearing that in ſecrets of ſo great conſequence he had not dealt uprightly with him.

A ſecret meſſage from the Muſcovite.

In the beginning of this yeere *Nicholas Wotton* yeelded up his ſoule to God. He was Doctor of both lawes, and Dean at one time of the two Metropolitane Churches of Canterbury and Yorke, a man of renowned parentage, but much more renowned for his wiſedome both at home and abroad. For he was a Privie Counſellour unto foure Noble Princes, King *Henry* the eighth, King *Edward* the ſixth, Queene *Marie*, and Queene *Eliſabeth*: nine times was he employed in Embaſſages to the Emperour, the Kings of France and Spaine, and other Princes: thrice was he a Delegate in the concluding of peace betweene the Engliſh, French, and Scots; and choſen by King *Henry* the eighth to be one of the ſixteene Overſeers of his laſt Will and Teſtament.

This yeere likewiſe died the Lady *Eliſabeth Leiburne*, third wife to *Thomas* Duke of Norfolke, and formerly the widow of the Lord *Dacres*, and not married above a yeere before to the Duke of Norfolke, brought him no children: but to her former husband ſhe bare *George* Lord *Dacres*, who was cruſhed to pieces by a woodden vaulting horſe, whiles he was exerciſing himſelfe at that ſport, being then but a very youth; and three daughters, that were betrothed to the Dukes three ſonnes.

The death of the Durcheſſe of Norfolke.

We have formerly ſhewed how *Shan O-Neal*, ſon to *Con O-Neal*, ſurnamed *Bacco*, that is, the Lame, the greateſt Potentate of the North part of Ireland, called Ulſter, came into England, and in ſuppliant manner

1567. manner craved pardon for his rebellion. Hee returning home, valiantly defended that part of Ireland againſt the Scots and the Inhabitants of the Hebrides or Weſterne Ilands, having ſlaine their chiefe Leaders, *Mac-Conell* (whoſe ſonne in law he was) and his brother. Upon which victorie he began to waxe inſolent, and to exerciſe tyrannie over the other Nobles of Ulſter, he ſet fire on Armagh the Metropolis of all Ireland, out of hatred to the Arch-biſhop there, made ſpoile of the goods of *O-Donell*, who was the next in ranke to himſelfe in this tract, carried him away priſoner, and raviſhed his wife, depoſed *Mac-Guir* from his ancient inheritance, pillaged *Mac-Geniſſ* and others, whoſe defence when the Engliſh tooke up, hee hanged out a flag of rebellion, but preſently by the perſwaſion of Sir *Thomas Cuſack* tooke it downe againe, gave his ſonne for hoſtage, and was quiet for a ſeaſon. And, to keepe him the better within compaſſe, the Queene had determined to conferre upon him the honourable title of Earle of Tir-Oen, and Baron of Dungannon. But he being a man of an unquiet ſpirit, and ſeeing that hee could levie a thouſand horſe, and foure thouſand foot of his owne, and had already ſeven hundred followers in his owne traine; in a barbarous ſwelling humour contemned all theſe honourable titles, in compariſon of the name of *O-Neal*, tooke upon him where he lived to be King of Ulſter, exerciſed the country men in martiall diſcipline, offered the Kingdome of Ireland to the Queene of Scots, and ſo odious were the Engliſh to him, that he called a Caſtle which he built in Logh-Eaugh, by the name of Feogh-negall, that is, the hatred of the Engliſh, and hanged ſome of his followers for eating Engliſh bread; yet would hee never mention the Queen but with great honour.

Shan O-Neal riſeth in armes.

Now was Sir *Henrie Sidney*, Lord Deputy of Ireland, commanded to goe againſt him, & Sir *Edward Randolph* a brave Leader, was ſent by Sea into the North part of Ulſter with a wing of Horſemen, and ſeven hundred footmen, and landed at Dirrie, a ſmall Epiſcopall See, neere Logh-Foyl, that he might bee ready to ſet upon him behind whenſoever the Deputy aſſaulted him on the other part. *Shan* underſtanding this, in furious manner ſetteth upon Dundalk, but by the Garriſon there, was made recule quickly with a great loſſe of many of his Company; and the like ſucceſſe hee had at Whites-Caſtle. Afterward being about to make ſpoile of the County of Louth with fire and ſword, he was made to flie by a ſmall number of the Engliſh, loſing at that time alſo a great number of his ſouldiers. Thence going to Dirrie he pillageth the Country round about there, and calleth forth the Garriſon ſouldiers of the Engliſh to fight, who eaſily brake into the diſordered multitude of the Iriſh, ſlew them, and put them to flight. But it was a ſad victorie, in regard of the unfortunate chance which befell their Captaine *Edward Randolph*, who fighting valiantly in the middeſt of the enemies, loſt his life amongſt them. He was certainely one of the braveſt men of our daies, nor did ever any man better uphold his authoritie amongſt his ſouldiers, and withall gaine ſo much love at their hands. In his ſtead came *Edward* Saint *Lo*, who vexed the Rebels to good purpoſe, and wrought them much miſchiefe, untill a caſuall fire burnt up the Garriſon together with the victualls and gun-powder, wherewith a great number

He is put to flight.

number of ſouldiers periſhed. For then hee ſhipped the foot-companies, and himſelfe with the wing of Horſemen brake through the middeſt of the enemies for three daies journey, and came to the Deputy. 1567.

Now when the Deputy marched forward into Ulſter, *Shan* with his rabble hid himſelfe in the Woods and Groves; but the Deputy ever and anon ſnatched away ſome of the hindermoſt of his Armie neere Clogher, and tooke the Caſtle of Salmon, *Turlogh Lenigh*, which had forſaken *O-Neale*. But now the Deputy having ordered the Garriſons, and reſtored *O-Donel*, was faine to returne backe to compoſe ſome ſtrifes between the Earles of Ormond and Deſmond, who at this time with hoſtile intentions were met in the field. *Shan* held this a fit opportunitie, and plucking up his courage, ſpoiled the Country farre and neere, once more beſiegeth Dundalke, which ſiege he was ſoone driven to forſake with great diſgrace, and loſſe of many of his ſouldiers that were ſlaine; whereupon in a ſtrange madneſſe he fiercely ſet upon his own Companies, and moſt barbarouſly and cruelly ſlew a great number of them; inſomuch that the greateſt part forſooke him, and hee being now left almoſt naked (for beſides thoſe that left him there were foure thouſand ſlaine) finding all paſſages blocked up, and his places of refuge occupied by the Engliſh, was minded to put a halter about his necke, and to caſt himſelfe at the feet of the Deputy, craving pardon for his fault. But his Secretarie diſſwaded him, and counſelled him rather to try firſt if the Scots of the Hebrides would come to ſuccour him, who were then returned from a hot warre againſt *Clan de Boy*, from whence hee had driven them a little before, under the conduct of *Alexander Oge*, that is, the younger, and *Mac-Gilleſpick*, whoſe brothers, *Agnus* and *James Mac-Conell*, he alſo had lately killed in fight. To theſe hee ſent before their brother *Surley Boy*, whom he had a long time held priſoner with him, to compoſe the differences paſt, and worke him into their favour, and himſelfe followed with *O-Donels* wife.

They thirſting for revenge of the bloud of their brethren and kinred, whom *Shan* had killed, yet entertained him with outward courteſie; and ſtraightway in the Tent amidſt their cups, fell to wrangling about ſome diſgracefull words which *Shan* had ſpoken of their mother, ſet upon him with drawne ſwords, ſlew him and the moſt of his Companions. This bloody end had *Shan* in the middle of June, hee who had depoſed his own father from the government, bereft his baſtard brother of his life, a man of moſt polluted life for murders and adulteries, a great glutton, and ſo notorious for drunkenneſſe, that to coole his body inflamed with immoderate drinking of wine and *Aqua-vitæ*, he was oftentimes faine to bee put into the ground up to the chin. By his owne wife he left two ſonnes, *Henry* and *Shan*; but by the wife of *O-Donell* and his Concubines he had many children. His goods and lands were confiſcate by authoritie of Parliament in Ireland. *Turlogh Lenigh*, the moſt potent now of the familie of the *O-Neales*, by the Queens direction in a popular election was ſaluted *O-Neale*, a man of a quiet and mild ſpirit. Yet was *Hugh*, commonly called Lord of Dungannon, *Shans* Nephew by *Matthew* his baſtard brother, at that time a contemptible young

Shan O-Neale ſlaine.

1568. young man (who afterward proved the plague and fire-brand of the Country) taken into the Queenes favour, that ſhe might have one to oppoſe *Turlogh*, in caſe he ſhould offer to make a revolt.

Thus was peace ſettled in Ulſter: but in the meane while all was out of order in Mounſter, by reaſon of an evill emulation betweene the Earles of Ormond and Deſmond, and their jangling about poſſeſſions; in ſo much that their forces joyned neere Dromelin, and they were ſent for into England to try the matter in the Kings Bench. But the buſineſſe proving perplexed and difficult, they were ſent backe againe to the Deputy into Ireland, where the witneſſes and writings were at hand. But they having both a great number of warlike attendants, and equall for friends at Court, determined to try the controverſie by the ſword, ſetting at naught the lawes. But the Deputy with a company of armed men interpoſed his authoritie, and would not ſuffer the matter to come to handy blowes. But the Earle of Ormond, who would ſeeme to have the juſter cauſe, made the Deputy bee checked for enclining to the part of Deſmond, and he was commanded to apprehend the Earle of Deſmond, whom he laid hands upon on a ſudden at Kilmalloc, together with his Uncle, who were ſent into England, and there clapped up in Priſon.

Anno 1568. Reg. 11. The Puritans begin to ſhew themſelves.

Now there roſe up in England at one and the ſame time two contrary factions in Religion. On the one ſide, *Thomas Harding*, *Nicholas Sanders*, and *T. P.* Divines that had fled out of England, begin to exerciſe the Epiſcopall Juriſdiction upon the Queenes ſubjects, which they had derived from the Sea of Rome: and on the other ſide, *Colman*, *Burton*, *Hallingham*, *Benſon*, and others, who more zealouſly than was knowne hitherto, making profeſſion of the purer Religion, would allow of nothing but what was directly taken out of the Scriptures, and, whether out of a deſire of reformation (which pretence hath gilded many a rotten poſt) or for ſingularity ſake and innovation, they openly queſtioned the received Diſcipline of the Church of England; yea condemned the ſame, together with the Church Liturgie, and the very calling of Biſhops, as favouring too much of the Popiſh religion; proteſting in the Pulpits, that it was an impious thing, to hold any thing common with the Church of Rome, and uſing all diligence to have the Church of England reformed in every point, according to the rule of the Church of Geneva. Theſe, although the Queene commanded to bee laid by the heeles, yet is it almoſt incredible how upon a ſudden their followers encreaſed every where (knowne by the envious name of *Puritanes*) through a kind of obſtinate perverſnes of their own, ſtopping their eares againſt all advice: which might ſeeme to bee helped forward alſo by the ſlothfull connivencie of the Biſhops, and the ſecret favour likewiſe of ſome Noble men at Court, who gaped for the goods of the Church.

At that time the French, who likewiſe endevoured to reforme Religion, fearing the Holy League (as they called it) was entred into by the Papiſts againſt them, went unto the King with an humble petition, which was rejected; and then brake out the ſecond Civill warre in France: for the quieting whereof the Queene commanded *Norris* her Embaſſador

to

to bee an interceſſor to the French King: and indeed there followed straightway a feigned peace, but it was but for a cloake to conceale a world of trechery. At which time the Queen Mother of France began to ſhew her ſelfe wondrous affable and courteous towards the Embaſſadour and the other Engliſh, cloſely and by the way as it were treating of the marriage of her ſonne *Henry* Duke of Anjou with the Queen, though at that time he were hardly ſeventeen yeeres of age; but many were perſwaded that this was for no other end, but to hold off the Queene from giving aide to the Proteſtants in France, in the third Civill warre which ſhe then foreſaw. 1568.

The Engliſh Embaſſadour hardly uſed in Spaine.

But the Engliſh Embaſſadour in Spaine was moſt inhumanly dealt withall in theſe daies, who was charged to have ſpoken ſomewhat irreverently of the Pope; and thereupon was ſhut out of the Court, afterwards driven from Madrid, and thruſt into a poore Country Village, his ſervants compelled to be preſent at Maſſe, and himſelfe forbidden to uſe his owne Religion; all which was a ſingular diſgrace caſt upon the Queenes perſon, and upon Religion it ſelfe. She nevertheleſſe permitted the Spaniards Embaſſadour here to uſe his owne rites of Religion, and otherwiſe ſhewed him all manner of courteſie. This injurie offered to her Embaſſador ſhe tooke to heart as a contumely to her ſelfe: yet did the Spaniards at this time offer no leſſe affront to another of the Queenes loyall ſubjects, called Captaine *John Hawkins*. Hee with ſundry Merchandizes and ſlaves, Negroes, who were at this time commonly bought and ſold by the Spaniards, and by the Engliſh too, following their example (though I know not how honeſt and lawfull a trade this is) for traffick ſake with five ſhips came into harbour at the Port of St. *John D'Ullua* in the Bay of Mexico. The day following there came thither alſo the King of Spaines Navie Royall, whom although he could eaſily have hindred from comming into the harbour, yet upon conditions of ſecuritie for himſefe and thoſe that were with him, and becauſe hee would not ſeeme to breake the league, he ſuffered them to come in. The Spaniards being once admitted, and taking it in great diſdaine that they muſt have conditions put upon them in their owne right, tooke an opportunitie to fall foule upon the Engliſh, killed a great many men, ſeized upon three ſhips, and tooke away the greateſt part of their goods: yet gained they not this victorie without loſſe of ſome bloud of their own. Hereupon the Military and Sea-men in England began to mutter, deſired a warre againſt the Spaniards, and calling them truce-breakers, for as much as it was covenanted betweene the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, and King *Henrie* the Eighth, that free trade ſhould paſſe betweene the ſubjects of both Princes, *in all and ſingular their Kingdomes, Dominions and Hands*. But the Queene could not heare theſe complaints, being called aſide by the Scottiſh affaires.

The Queen of Scots eſcapeth out of priſon.

For about this time the captivated Queen in Scotland, by the helpe of *George Douglaſſe*, to whoſe brother ſhe was committed, made eſcape from Loch-levin to *Hamiltons* Caſtle; where upon the hearing of the teſtimonies of *Robert Melvin* & others, there was drawn a *Sentence Declaratorie* in a meeting of the Nobles, who then were aſſembled in great number, that the Grant extorted from the Queene in priſon (which is

1568. *juſtus metus*) was actually void from the beginning, and the Queene by her oath confirmed that the ſame was involuntarie and extorted. Hereupon ſo great a multitude flocked together to her, within a day or two, that ſhee had gotten an armie of ſixe thouſand warlike perſons, whom notwithſtanding when they joyned in fight, for that they went to worke tumultuouſly and unadviſedly, *Murray* eaſily vanquiſhed. The fearefull woman, amazed with this ſad ſucceſſe, thought to ſave her ſelfe by flight, journeying in one day threeſcore miles, and travelling by night likewiſe till ſhe came to the houſe of *Maxwell* Lord Heris, deſiring rather to commit her ſelfe to the Seas, and the protection of Queene *Eliſabeth*, than truſt her owne diſloyall ſubjects; yet ſhe ſent a meſſenger before to the Queen, one *John Beton*, with an Adamant ring, which ſhe had formerly received from her as a pledge of mutuall amitie, who intimated, that ſhe would come into England, and implore her aide, if her ſubjects offered to perſecute her any further. By whom the Queen returned anſwer, that ſhe ſhould expect from her in abundant manner, all loving and friendly offices. But before the Meſſenger was returned, contrary to the advice of her friends ſhe entred into a ſmall Barke, and with the Lords Heris and Fleming, and a few others, landed at Wirkinton in Cumberland, neere the mouth of the river of Derwent, the ſeventeen day of May; and the ſame day wrote letters to the Queene in French with her owne hand: the ſum whereof was thus much.

The Queen of Scots commeth into England.

Her letter to Queene Eliſabeth.

You are not ignorant (moſt excellent ſiſter) how ſome of my ſubjects, whom I advanced to the higheſt top of honour, conſpired to oppreſſe and impriſon me and my husband, and likewiſe how through your interceſsion I received them into favour, when they were by force and armes driven to forſake the Kingdome. Thoſe notwithſtanding ruſhed ſuddenly into my Chamber, in mine owne ſight being great with child tooke away my ſervant, and cruelly murdered him, and ſhut me alſo up in priſon. After that I had pardoned them againe, lo they laid to my charge a new crime, which themſelves plotted, and ſigned with their owne hands and ſeales, and were alreadyin battell array to ſurpriſe me: at which time I being confident of mine owne innocencie, and to ſave bloud-ſhed, yeelded my ſelfe into their hands. Straitway they thruſt me into priſon, removed all my ſervants (excepting onely a maid or two, a Cooke, and a Phyſitian) compelled me with threatnings and terror of death, to yeeld up my right to the Kingdome, and in an aſſembly of Parliament of their owne calling together, refuſed to heare me or my Proctors, utterly ſpoiled me of all my goods, and excluded me from conference with any perſon whatſoever. Afterwards by the helpe of God, I eſcaped out of priſon, and being aſsiſted with the flowre of the Scottiſh Nobilitie, which in great number, and with rejoycing hearts flocked to me, I admoniſhed my enemies of their duty and faith engaged, offered pardon, and made proffer that in an aſſembly of Parliament both parties ſhould be judicially heard, that ſo the Common-wealth might no longer be rent and torne with Civill broyles. Two Meſſengers I ſent to them concerning this matter; they put them both in priſon, proclaimed all thoſe Traitors which went about to aſsiſt me, and commanded them forthwith to forſake me. I requeſted that for the Lord Boids *ſafety I might have publike*

caution

caution, while he treated about the composing of these differences; but that also they absolutely denyed. I well hoped, nevertheless, that upon your mediation they might be recalled; but when I perceived I must either dye or goe to prison againe, I thought to goe to Dunbriton. They then opposed me in the way, slaying my company, and putting them to flight. I betooke my selfe to the Lord Heris, with whom I am come into your Kingdome, upon certaine hopes of your approved clemency, that you will assist me, and move others to doe the same. Wherefore I earnestly beseech you, that I may forthwith be conducted to your presence, who am now in very deepe distresses, as I shall more at large lay open, when it shall please you to have compassion on me. God grant you a long and prosperous life, and mee patience and comfort. Farewell.

1568.

Queene *Elisabeth*, sending letters by Sir *Francis Knolles* and others, comforted her, and promised aide and defence according to the equity of her cause; but denyed her accesse, for that shee was commonly held guilty of many crimes, giving command to have her brought to Carlile, as a place of better safety, if her adversaries should attempt ought against her; and sent charge to *Louder* Deputy Lievtenant of the place, and the Nobles of that tract, for her safe conduct thither. Receiving this answer, & finding accesse to the Queen was denied her, againe she maketh request by letters, and by the mediation of *Maxwell* Lord Heris, *That she might have leave both to unfold the injuries she had received, and answer the crimes objected, in her owne presence. That it was but equall, that Queene* Elisabeth *so neere to her in blood, should give audience to her a poore exiled person, and restore her to her Kingdome, against those, who being in banishment for their just deserts, yet were received againe at her request, and that to her owne destruction, unlesse in time a remedy were provided. Wherefore she entreateth her, that either she might be admitted to have conference, and assisted, or else have free leave to depart out of England, to gaine supply elsewhere, and not be held as a prisoner in the Castle at Carlile: for as much as shee came voluntarily into England, relying upon her love so often professed by letters, messages, and honourable tokens.*

Upon these letters, and the Lord Heris his words, the Queene seemed seriously to lament the afflicted estate of her princely kinswoman, who had beene by force and armes taken of her owne subjects, thrust into prison, brought in danger to lose her life, deprived of her Kingdome, and condemned unheard (which is not to be endured in the cause of a private person) and that shee fled into England to her upon certaine hope of redresse. Furthermore, this also affected her, that the distressed Queene freely made proffer of a tryall of the cause before her selfe, and undertooke to make it appeare that her adversaries were guilty of those crimes which unjustly they laid to her charge.

Queene Elisabeth pitieth the Queen of Scots.

Whatsoever pittie the Queene tooke of her (for who can sound the thoughts of Princes?) yet the Councellors of England enter into deep consultation how to dispose of her. If shee were detained in England, they feared lest with her smooth carriage shee might daily draw to her party a great number that favoured her pretended title to the Crowne of England, whose ambition would be set on fire to procure

1568. the Kingdome for her. That the outlandiſh Embaſſadours in all probabilitie would not be wanting to her with their counſells, nor the Scots themſelves in likelihood prove backward, ſeeing ſo ſweet a prey before their eyes. Beſides, it was a doubtfull and dangerous matter to truſt Keepers; and if ſhe ſhould die in England, it would be interpreted to the Queenes contumely, and ſo new troubles ariſe daily. If ſhe were ſent over into France, they were affraid leſt the Guiſes her Couſins ſhould take up her pretended title, and moleſt England againe, out of a certaine opinion that ſhe could not want favourers in England, ſome for very religion ſake, others upon her probabilitie of right, but many more who eagerly deſired an innovation. If ſhe were ſent backe into Scotland, and enſtalled againe in her Kingdome, the danger was, that they which favoured the Engliſh in Scotland might be caſt out of favour, and the French party exalted, the young Prince expoſed to danger, the Religion in Scotland changed, French and other Forrainers admitted, &c. and ſo the friendſhip betwixt England and Scotland be broken, which was very uſefull, and the ancient league betweene the Scottiſh and French renewed, which now would be more perillous than heretofore, when the houſe of Burgundie was faſt to the Engliſh, and England had now no ſure Confederates but the Scottiſh only. Hence the greateſt number were of opinion to have her detained, as one taken by right of warre, and not diſmiſſed till ſhe had made ſatisfaction for aſſuming the Title of England, and for the death of Darlie her husband, who was borne one of the Queenes ſubjects. For Darlies mother, the Counteſſe of Lenox, long before this time came to the Queene all bedewed with teares, and in her owne name and her husbands made grievous complaint, and deſired to have her called into queſtion about the death of her ſon. But Queene *Eliſabeth* gave her friendly conſolation, and *adviſed her not to charge ſo great a Prince, and her neere kinſwoman, with a crime that could not certainely be proved. The times were envious and dangerous, and envie blind, which often imputeth crimes to thoſe which are moſt innocent, &c.*

The Counteſſe of Lenox complaineth to Queene Eliſabeth.

On the other ſide, the Lord *Heris* beſeecheth the Queene that ſhe will not ſuddenly credit reports againſt a Prince before ſhe were heard, and againſt the truth it ſelfe, nor ſuffer the Parliament in Scotland to be haſtened, to the prejudice of the expulſed Queen, and the ruine of loyall ſubjects. Which thing albeit the Queene alſo urged vehemently, yet Murray the Regent, in the Kings name, ſummoned a Parliament, proſcribed ſome of thoſe which ſtood on the Queenes ſide, and fell upon their lands and dwellings. Hereat the Queene of England conceiving high diſpleaſure, ſignified by *Middlemore* to the Regent in ſharp words, that ſhe could not ſuffer ſo bad an example, that Royall Majeſtie and Authoritie ſhould be trodden under foot by factious ſubjects at their pleaſures. Howſoever they had forgotten their loyaltie and obedience toward their Prince, yet could not ſhe forget to performe all duties of love and pietie toward her kinſwoman and neighbour Queene. Wherefore let himſelfe come in perſon, or elſe depute ſome fit perſons to anſwer the complaints of the Queene of Scots againſt him and his Confederates, and render ſufficient reaſons wherefore they had deprived her; otherwiſe

Heris intercedes for the Queene of Scots.

wiſe ſhe would forthwith diſmiſſe her, and with all the forces ſhe could, ſettle her in her Kingdome. Withall ſhe adviſed him not to ſell the Queenes wearing clothes, and her jewels, although the Nobles of his party had permitted it. 1568.

Murray knowing that his power of Regencie depended upon his good correſpondence with the Queene of England, yeelded himſelfe to theſe ſummons, and (the Nobles refuſing to be employed in this ſervice) he himſelfe commeth to Yorke, the City appointed for the place of treaty in this buſineſſe, accompanied with ſeven more of his intimate friends, who ſtood Delegates for the Infant King; to wit, *James* Earle of Morton, *Adam* Biſhop of the Orkneyes, *Robert* of Dunferme, *Patrick* Lord of Lindſey, *James Mac-Gilly*, and *Henry Balnavie*: and with theſe *Lidington*, drawne on by the faire promiſes of Murray (for he durſt not leave him behind) and *George Buchanan*, of whom wo have ſpoken before. And the very ſame day came thither *Thomas Howard* Duke of Norfolke, *Thomas Ratcliffe* Earle of Suſſex, a little before made Preſident of the North part of the Kingdome, and Sir *Ralph Sadler* Knight and Privie Counſellour, the Queenes appointed Commiſſioners to heare the cauſe. For the Queene of Scots (who tooke it very heinouſly that the Queene her ſelfe would not heare the cauſe, but referre her to ſubjects, being an abſolute Princeſſe, and not tied to their proceedings) there appeared *John Leſley* Biſhop of Roſſe, *William* Lord Levingſton, *Robert* Lord Boid, *Gawen* of Kilwinnin, *John Gordon*, and *James Cocburne*.

Delegates for the King of Scots.

Queene Eliſabeths Commiſſioners appointed.

After they were met, which was upon the ſeventh day of October, and had exhibited the inſtruments on both ſides, whereby they had authoritie to treat, *Lidington* ſtanding by, and turning himſelfe to the Scots, in wondrous liberty of ſpeech, gave them this advice; *For as much as the Queene of England, by the authoritie granted to theſe Commiſsioners, ſeemeth to have no other aime but that when you have uſed all libertie againſt the fame and reputation of the Queene, the Kings mother, ſhe as an honourable Arbitratour may give ſentence; that therefore you will maturely conſider with your ſelves what danger and hatred you ſhall draw upon your ſelves, not only from thoſe Scots which are devoted to the Queene, but other Chriſtian Princes alſo, and her Allies in France, by accuſing her of crimes, and calling her reputation into queſtion publikely before the Engliſh, profeſſed enemies of the Scottiſh Nation: Conſider likewiſe what account you ſhall be able to give hereof to the King, when he ſhall grow to be of riper yeeres, and ſhall ſee what an injurie this was to the Kingdome, his Mother, and his owne perſon. Wherefore it ſeemeth requiſite to forbeare this buſineſſe wholly, unleſſe the Queene of England for her part will enter into a mutuall league of defence and offence againſt all thoſe which under this pretence ſhall goe about to moleſt us. And this advice* (ſaith he) *out of duty and in friendly manner he giveth who is Secretarie of Scotland.* They, looking one upon another, held their peace.

Lidingtons admonition to the Scots.

The Delegates of the Queene of Scots (for the firſt place in honour and courteſie was granted them) before they tooke their Oath made proteſtation, that although it pleaſed the Queene of Scots to have the cauſe debated betweene her and her diſloiall ſubjects before the Engliſh,

1568. yet ſhe, being a free Prince, and obnoxious to no earthly Potentate whatſoever, did not thereby yeeld her ſelfe ſubject to the juriſdiction and command of any perſon. The Engliſh in like manner proteſted, that they did in no wiſe admit that proteſtation in prejudice to the right which the Kings of England have anciently challenged, as *Superiour Lords of the Kingdome of Scotland.*

A declaration of the Delegates for the Queene.

The day after, the Queene of Scots Delegates declare in writing, *How* James *Earle of Morton*, John *Earle of Marre*, Alexander *Earle of Glencarne, the Lords* Humes, Lindſey, Reuven, Sempill, *&c. levied an Armie in the Queenes name, againſt the Queenes perſon, apprehended her, and handled her moſt unworthily, ſhut her into priſon at Loch-levin, brake into the Mint-houſe, tooke away the coining irons, and all the ſilver and gold ſtamped and unſtamped, and inaugurated her young ſon King, being an Infant, that* James *Earle of Murray might uſurp the whole authoritie under the title of Regent or Viceroy, and invade all the fortifications, riches, and revenues of the Kingdome. Likewiſe, how ſhe eſcaping out of priſon eleven moneths after, publikely declared, and that under Oath, that whatſoever ſhe had tranſacted in priſon, was againſt her will extorted from her by force, threatnings, and feare of death. Nevertheleſſe, for the publike tranquillity ſake, ſhe had given authoritie to the Earles of Argile,* Eglenton, *Caſsile, and Rothſay, to compound the matter with her adverſaries; who notwithſtanding ſet upon her with an armed company, as ſhe was going a by-way to Dunbritton, ſlew a great number of her loyall ſubjects, carried others away priſoners, and proſcribed others; and that for no other cauſe, but for that they endevoured to doe faithfull ſervice to their Prince. And theſe vile affronts enforced her to come into England, to crave aid of Queen* Eliſabeth, *the which ſhe had often promiſed, that ſo ſhe might recover her Countrey and ancient dignity.*

The anſwer of the Delegates for the King.

After a few dayes Murray the Viceroy, and the Delegates for the Infant King, (ſo they called themſelves) made anſwer, *That* Henry *Darly the Kings father being ſlaine,* James Hepburne *Earle of Bothwell (who was reputed the Authour of the murder) found that grace with the Queen, that with her conſent he ſurprized her, carried her away to Dunbar, and divorcing his owne wife, tooke her in marriage. Whereupon the Peeres being juſtly moved, thought nothing more concerned them than to puniſh Bothwell the Author of the murder, (foraſmuch as the murder was every where abroad imputed to a conſpiracie of many of the Nobilitie) to vindicate the Queenes libertie, annull that unlawfull marriage, and ſee to the ſafety and ſecuritie of the young King and the Kingdome. When the matter was now likely to come to handy blowes, the Queen ſent away Bothwell, thundered out menaces againſt the Nobles, breathed nothing but revenge; in ſo much that they were driven to put her in priſon, till ſuch time as Bothwell were found out and puniſhed. But ſhe being wearied with the toile of government, freely reſigned the Kingdome to her ſon, and conſtituted Murray Regent. Whereupon her ſon was duely annointed and inaugurated, and all theſe proceedings allowed and confirmed by the Nobles and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, and the Scottiſh Common-wealth began to live anew, juſtice being equally adminiſtred to all, till ſome unquiet perſons (contrary to their oathes) did craftily let the Queene looſe, and violating their*

faith

faith engaged to the King and State, tooke up armes. Upon whom though (by the blessing of Almighty God) the King gained victorie, they notwithstanding left nothing unattempted in hostile manner to trouble the Prince and Countrey. Wherefore it was expedient that the Royall Authoritie should be conserved unviolate against such tumultuous subjects. 1568.

The replication for the Queene.

Hereunto the Queene of Scots Delegates, after the former protestation againe repeated, made reply on this manner; *For as much as Murray and the Confederates alledge that they tooke up armes against the Queen, for that Bothwell, whom they intimate to have murdered the King, was in so great grace and authoritie with her, they cannot hereby wipe away the blot of perfidious subjects; forasmuch as the Queene was utterly ignorant that he had beene the Author of that hideous fact: yea on the contrary part, he was acquitted of the murder by the judgement of the Peeres, and that absolution confirmed by authoritie of Parliament, yea with the consent of those who now accuse him, and at that time perswaded the Queene to take him for her husband; as one (forsooth) more fit to hold the reines of government than any other, and by their hand-writing plighted their truth to him; nor did they ever disallow the marriage by word or deed, till such time as they had drawne the Captaine of the Castle of Edenburgh, and the Provost of the Towne to be of their side. Then indeed in a stormie night in hostile manner they set upon Bartbwick Castle (where the Queene lived) and shee escaping in the darke, straightway they levied an Armie under pretence to defend the Queene, but with displaid colours opposed her when she thought to goe to Edenburgh, and sent* Grange *before to counsell her to let goe Bothwell till he were questioned and cleered; which she to save bloudshed willingly yeelded unto. But* Grange *secretly advised Bothwell to depart and shift for himselfe, giving him his faith that none should pursue him; so that with their liking he went away, and they might easily have taken him afterward if they would. But having taken the Queene, they regarded not him, as served best for their owne ambitious purposes. They being subjects, and having vowed their faith to the Queene, and yet dealing with her in such manner as befitted not her Princely Majesty, no wonder that shee should use sharpe speeches toward them. When as shee was willing to have the matter heard before the Nobilitie, and intimated so much by Secretary* Liddington, *they would not heare of that, but in the night time privily led her away to Loch-Levin, and shut her up in prison. Whereas they say that she, being worn out with the toyle of government, of her owne accord gave over the kingdome, it is most untrue; for she was neither aged nor feeble, but able enough both in body and mind to passe through the greatest affaires. This is most certaine, that the Earle of Athol,* Tullibardine, *and* Liddington *(who were of her Councell) advised her to set her hand to that Instrument of resignation, thereby to avoid death, which otherwise was inevitable; and that this could be no hinderance to her, being held captive, nor to her heires, seeing* the Prison is a just fear; *and according to the opinion of the wisest Civill Lawyers,* Bonds in bands bind not. *Sir* Nicholas Throckmorton *in a schedule of his owne hand-writing perswaded the same, whom she also requested to give intimation to the Queene of England, that she had subscribed by compulsion, and against her will. Moreover* Lindsey, *when he presented the Instruments, denounced threatnings of death, and caused her amidst her bitter*

weeping

1568. weeping to subscribe it, not having so much as read it over. And the Captaine of the Castle of Loch-levin refused to underwrite his testification of the deed, because he saw, and undoubtedly knew that she had done it against her will. Moreover, that was a most unreasonable and miserable resignation, to part with a Kingdome and have nothing assigned whereby to live, nor libertie granted, nor yet life secured; so that whosoever shall but equally weigh these circumstances, must needs conclude, that that action could not prejudice Majesty, which also in the presence of a great number of Peeres of the Kingdome, by a Declaration made, shee renounced as soone as she was at libertie. Neither will it any whit serve their turne or hurt the Queenes cause, that they pretend they did what they did by authoritie of Parliament. For seeing that, more or lesse, a hundred Earles, Bishops, and Barons have voices in the Parliaments of Scotland, in that tumultuous assembly, there were not above foure Earles, one Bishop, an Abbat or two, and sixe Barons, and in that small number too, some of them interposed a protestation, alwaies provided that nothing were done to the injurie of the Queen or her Successors, because she was now in prison. Besides, neither the English nor French Embassadours could be admitted to know of her, if this action of hers were free or not, although that againe and againe they were importunate for admission. But above all, so farre was the Common-wealth from being administred with equall justice under the usurping Regent, that never did impietie passe with more impunitie, Churches and religious houses demolished, the most renowned families overthrowne, and the common people miserably afflicted. Wherefore their earnest request was that the Queene of England would be moved with commiseration, and take some course for the speedy redresse of the miseries of the Queen her sister and kinswoman, thus unworthily and undeservedly oppressed.

Murray refuseth to give a reason of his deposing the Queene.

Upon the hearing of these things, the Commissioners required *Murray* to produce the reasons of so much severitie used against an absolute Queene, and to make more solid proofe, for as much as those things which were alledged hitherto found not witnesses to avouch them, nor any testimonie, save a few letters that might not be trusted; for *Lidington* had privily intimated that he had many times counterfeited the Queenes hand: but hee declined any further accusation of his sister, unlesse the Queene of England by way of stipulation, would promise to undertake the protection of the infant King, and finally to forsake the Queen of Scots. But they answered, that they could not promise so much unlesse they had received fuller authoritie: whereupon one or two of the Delegates, on both sides, were sent to London, whom Queene *Elisabeth* told that shee could not yet acquit those subjects in regard of their offence, but she would mediate for them to the Queen, and heare if they had any thing further to say, whereby to excuse themselves. *Murray* who followed them at the heeles, plainely refused to accuse his sister any further, but upon that condition which he propounded at Yorke.

Now the Commissioners were called home, and their authoritie abrogated, and the Duke of Yorke for his part was heartily glad, having alwaies beene a great favourer of the Queene of Scots right in the matter of Succession; and hee thought that at this time no other

matter

matter had been intended but the branding of the Queen of Scots with perpetuall infamie, thereby to exclude her and her ſonne from the Title of Succeſſion; and hee thought himſelfe now to have eſcaped a double danger. For hee feared that if he pronounced againſt her, he ſhould utterly undoe her, and wrong his owne conſcience: and if for her, he feared he ſhould incurre the Queenes implacable diſpleaſure, and the hatred of all thoſe who either for religion, or for other cauſes were averſe from the Queen of Scots. 1568.

New Commiſſioners appointed.

But now that ſtirres were raiſed in Scotland by the friends of the expulſed Queen, and *Murray's* preſence was requiſite there; he in the preſence of the Queene, of *Bacon* Keeper of the great Seale, the Duke of Norfolke, the Earles of Arundell, Suſſex, Leiceſter, the Lord Clinton Admirall of the Seas, Sir *William Cicill*, and Sir *Ralph Sadler*, who by a new Patent were made Commiſſioners in this buſineſſe, adventured a ſecond accuſation, producing ſome conjecturall articles, certaine teſtimonies and decrees made at a meeting of the Peeres, but eſpecially certaine love letters, and verſes written with the Queenes owne hand, as he affirmed, whereby to prove her conſcious of the Kings murther, and *Buchanans* booke (entituled the *Detection*) which he gave them to read; but that found ſmall credit with the greateſt part of the Commiſſioners, who eſteemed him a partiall and mercenary Companion. The Queene likewiſe gave no great credit to the letters and verſes, there being no name to them, no ſubſcription, nor date, and there were a number of conie-catchers every where, who could ſo elegantly and neatly counterfeit the hand-writing of others, that the true ſhould not be diſcerned from the falſe; yet womaniſh emulation (which is wont exceedingly to over-ſway that weaker ſexe) ſo farre prevailed with her (though an incomparable Princeſſe) that ſhee was content ſhe had ſomewhat to ſay againſt the Queen of Scots, and ſuffered not theſe matters to be further diſcuſſed.

The Queene of Scots will not ſubmit, but upon conditions.

But when the Queen of Scots Delegates underſtood that *Murray* had ſlanderouſly accuſed her, they were ready to make anſwer. But ſhee flatly refuſed the new Commiſſioners (of whom ſhe thought one or two were partially affected towards her) unleſſe the French and Spaniſh Embaſſadours might be taken in, and her ſelfe admitted into the preſence of the Queen and them, publikely to defend her owne innocencie, and *Murray* detained and cited; for ſhee affirmed ſhe was able to prove him to have beene the Architect or chiefe plotter of the murder of her husband *Darlie*. This was held to bee a very equall demand by the Duke of Norfolke, the Earles of Arundell, Suſſex, Leiceſter, and the Lord Clinton; but the Queene waxing ſomewhat angry ſaid openly, that the Queen of Scots ſhould never want an advocate ſo long as Norfolke lived. Now the Lord *Boid* (as it was commonly reported) was projecting how to deliver her, and ſo the matter was deferred till another time: Nevertheleſſe the Queene heartily deteſted the inſolencie of the Scottiſh ſubjects in depoſing their Queene. At this time *Hamilton* the Duke of Caſtle-Herald came hither out of France, ſent over by the Guiſes to move a contention againſt *Murray*, concerning the government of Scotland in the Kings minoritie, alledging that by the ancient cuſtomes

1568. cuſtomes and priviledges of the Kingdome, himſelfe, who was next of bloud to the King, was to be preferred before a baſtard in the adminiſtration of the Common-wealth. On the contrary, *Murray* and the Kings Delegates averred, that the government of the Kingdome was not to be entruſted with the neereſt of bloud, but thoſe whom the Nobles & Parliament made choice of, as fitteſt for that function. But it were a moſt unjuſt thing to deliver the young King into his hands, who by reaſon of propinquitie of bloud gaped for the Kingdome, and out of an ambitious deſire of reigning, would ſoone forget what was right or wrong. And in the *Hamiltons* eſpecially, it was a thing to be feared, who had alwaies been at deadly variance with the Earles of Lenox the Kings Anceſtors, had wickedly ſlaine the Kings great Grandfather by the Fathers ſide, expelled out of Scotland his Grandfather *Matthew*, who wandred in need and miſerie, and this *Hamilton* himſelfe carried a deadly hatred againſt *Henry* the Kings Father, and betrayed his mother to the French King, the better to gaine the Kingdome for himſelfe. Upon the hearing whereof, the Queene told *Hamilton* that it was a moſt unjuſt matter which he required, and commanded him withall not to depart out of England, till *Murray* were returned into Scotland.

Murray propoundeth to Norfolke a marriage with the Queene of Scots.

Murray a while before his departure ſlily propounded the marriage of the Queene of Scots, to the Duke of Norfolke, and by *Melvin* ſecretly put him in hopes of the Queenes reſtitution; and withall, the more to alienate Queen *Eliſabeth* from the Queen of Scots, he diſperſed rumors, that ſhe had paſſed away to the Duke of Andin her right to the Crowne of England; and that the tranſ-action was confirmed at Rome. He ſhewed letters alſo (whether true or counterfeit I cannot ſay) which the Queene of Scots had written to ſome of her friends whom ſhe truſted; wherein ſhe accuſed the Queen, for not dealing with her according to promiſe, and boaſted of ſuccour from ſome others. This laſt clauſe indeed troubled the Queene, neither could ſhe conjecture from whence theſe new hopes ſhould ariſe, ſeeing that the Civill warres grew ſo hot in France, that an Embaſſadour was ſent hither from the King, to make requeſt that the Queene would not intermeddle with the French affaires; and the Duke *D'Alva*, who came the laſt yeer into the Low Countries to root out the Proteſtant religion there, had his hands full already.

But as it brake forth afterwards (and *Hieronimus Catena* Secretary to Cardinall *Alexandrinus* revealed the matter) one *Robert Ridolph* a Florentine, who had a long time played the merchant in London, was ſuborned by Pope *Pius* the Fifth (ſeeing he durſt not openly ſend a Nuncio) to make a ſecret commotion by meanes of the Papiſts in England againſt the Queen: which indeed he performed with a great deale of ſecrecie & ſedulity. There was a ſuſpition alſo, but a light one, againſt the Duke of Norfolk, occaſioned by reaſon of ſome cloſe conference at Yorke, betwixt him and *Lidington*, and the Biſhop of Roſſe, whom they vehemently entreated to conferre all his ſtudy and advice for the ſafety of the afflicted Queene of Scots, making proffer alſo of her marriage to him; which he with a modeſt anſwer rejected, as a thing full of danger. Notwithſtanding he promiſed not to be wanting to the Queen,

Suſpitions againſt the Duke of Norfolke.

as

as farre as might ſtand with his honour, and his allegeance to his Prince and Country. Other light and triviall ſuſpicions there were, but no certainty appeared; and the Queen of Scots was removed from Bolton (a Caſtle of the Lord *Scroopes*) where all the neighbouring people were Papiſts, to Tutbury more toward the heart of the Country, and delivered to the Cuſtody of *George* Earle of Shrewsbury. 1568.

Now Queene *Eliſabeth* began to be more carefull for Religion, for the Common-wealth, and her owne ſafety; and the rather, becauſe the Guiſes in France, and Duke *D'Alva* in the Low-Countries began to conſult about the utter extirpation of the Proteſtant Religion. For the peace concluded in France in the beginning of this yeer, was already vaniſhed into ſmoke, and proclamations publiſhed by which the exerciſe of the reformed Religion was wholly prohibited, the profeſſours of the ſame depoſed from all publike offices and miniſtrations, and the Miniſters of the Goſpel commanded within a limited time to depart the Kingdome. And now armes were every where taken up againſt them, and great cruelty uſed, notwithſtauding the Queene by her Embaſſador there, dealt earneſtly to have a ſolid and ſincere peace concluded, and ever and anon adviſed the King not to enflame the minds of men by unſeaſonable remedies, and above all to beware of thoſe who by the extirpation of faithfull ſubjects ſought to weaken the Kingdome, till it were left as a prey unto others. But all this would do no good, but the French King borrowed both men and money out of Italy, Germanie, and Spaine; wherefore the Queene, that ſhe might not be wanting to them unto whom by league ſhe was allied, who now made ſolemne proteſtation that they tooke not up armes againſt their Prince, but ſtood onely upon their owne defence, ſupplied the Proteſtants with two hundred thouſand crownes in money, and munition beſides in abundance, and with all humanitie received the French and others that fled into England, as likewiſe the Dutch men of the Low-Countries, of whom a great multitude came hither. For the Duke *D'Alva* breathing nothing now but ſlaughter and bloud there, they betooke themſelves into England as an Sanctuarie: who with the Queenes leave planted themſelves at Norwich, Colcheſter, Sandwich, Maidſtone, and Hampton, to the great Commoditie of England. For they were the firſt that brought into England the art of making Baies, and Saies, and Serges, and ſuch woven ſtuffes both Wollen and Linnen.

Civill warre in France.

Queene Eliſabeth releeveth the Proteſtants in France.

It ſhall not be amiſſe to make a briefe Declaration how the warre began in the Low-Countries, for we ſhall have frequent occaſion of mentioning the ſame in the proceſſe of the ſtorie.

At what time the King of Spain ſent forth bloody edicts and decrees in the Low-Countries concerning Religion, and would be moved by no entreaty to mitigate the ſame, but grievouſly afflicted mens conſciences by the Spaniſh inquiſition, forbade the meeting of the States of the Provinces (which till that time was the onely remedie for the compoſing of matters of difference) and would have the Common-wealth governed by Decrees from Spaine, and not by the conſultation of the Inhabitants; a ſmall number of the meaner ſort of people raiſed a tumult, and in all places in turbulent manner, caſt the images out of Churches, and brake

The beginning of the warres in the Low-Countries.

1568. brake them to peeces. And albeit that tumult were ſoone quieted, hee notwithſtanding uſing their advice, who counſelled him to impoſe a yoke of ſervitude upon a moſt free State and Nation, tooke advantage at the raſhneſſe of a few to charge the whole Nation with rebellion; and (as if they had now forfeited their libertie) ſent amongſt them *Ferdinand Alvarez* Duke *D'Alva*, a fierce man, to invade the government: who albeit he were not allied to the King in any propinquitie of bloud, yet being exalted to a Preſident ſhip amongſt them (contrary to the ordinances and cuſtomes of the Country) tooke away all authoritie from the ordinary Courts of Juſtice, erected new Conſiſtories, condemned and put to death the Peeres, not being tried by their lawfull judges, placed Garriſons of Spaniards throughout all their Cities and Villages, built up Caſtles, by force exacted the twentieth part of the fruits of the earth, and the tenth of moveables upon every alienation, and raiſed a tedious and pernicious warre amongſt them.

Money ſent into the Nethelands detained.

At that time a mighty maſſe of mony, borrowed from the Genueres and other Italian Merchants, was ſent out of Spaine into the Low-Countries, there to be imployed to intereſt, and being brought by ſhipping, the French purſued them, and *William Winter* an Engliſhman defended them; ſo that at laſt with much adoe the ſhips got ſafe into Plimmouth, Falmouth, and Hampton Ports of England. The Queene hearing of it, gave charge to the Magiſtrates in all thoſe ſeverall Port Townes, to ſhew all manner of courteſie toward the Spaniards, and to defend their ſhips againſt the French; and *Gerard de Speſe* the Spaniſh Embaſſadour in England, dealt with the Queene; who taking his word that it was his Kings own treaſure, ſent new commands to the forenamed places, to ſee the ſhips diligently guarded againſt the French, who hovered to ſurprize them. Having obtained that requeſt of her, and yet ſtill fearing the French, hee dealt further to have the money conveied through England, and afterward by Sea to Antwerp. She conſented, and promiſed a ſafe convoy, both by Sea and Land. In the meane time the French had gone neere to carry away one of the ſhips, had not the Engliſh repulſed them: wherefore it was held beſt for the ſafetie of the money to land it. And yet before it was all landed, *De Speſe* not truſting the Queen, gave intimation to Duke *D'Alva*, that the Queen had ſeized upon the mony. And whiles hee was adviſing hereabout with Duke *D'Alva*, Cardinall *Odette*, who had conveied himſelfe hither from the tumults in France, gave intelligence to the Queene, that this mony was not the King of Spaines, but belonged to certaine Merchants of Genoa; and that Duke *D'Alva* had taken it from them againſt their will, to employ to his owne uſes, and the ruine of the Proteſtants in the Low-Countries. Hereupon was great conſultation held, whether this mony ſhould be detained or not. The moſt of the Counſellors were of opinion to have it ſent away into the Low-Countries, leſt by the detaining of it, the King of Spaine a potent Prince, who was already incenſed againſt the Engliſh, might chance to be further provoked. But the Queen being certainely informed by one or two that had a proprietie in the mony (and greatly feared leſt Duke *D'Alva* ſhould lay his hands on it) that it belonged wholly to the Merchants, and not at all to the King of Spaine,

who

who onely ſuffered ſo much to be tranſported out of the Country, determined to put in ſecuritie, and borrow the ſame of the Merchants, which is an uſuall thing with Princes when goods are taken in their Ports, and the King of Spaine himſelfe had lately done the like. Withall ſhe vowed to the Spaniſh Embaſſadour, that ſhe would deliver it ſo ſoon as ſhe could certainely underſtand that it was the King of Spaines own money. Upon which very day, which was the 29. of December, *D' Alva* waxing furious and impatient, ſeized upon all the goods of the Engliſh in the Low Countries, and with an armed company tooke the men priſoners. The Queene nothing daunted herewithall, as ſpeedily commanded the Dutch Merchants here in England to be apprehended, and their ſhips and merchandize to be ſeized on, which were more in number than thoſe of the Engliſh which *D' Alva* had taken; in ſo much that he too late repented him of his enterprize, being over-forward in launcing a wound which in time might eaſily have beene healed. 1569.

The death of Roger Askam.

The thirtieth day of December this yeere (to note ſo much by the way) died *Roger Askam*, who was borne in Yorkſhire, and educated at Cambridge; one of the chiefe of our Nation for the cleere underſtanding and eloquent uſage of the Greeke and Latine tongues: he was ſometime Schoolemaſter to Queen *Elizabeth*, and the Queens Secretarie for the Latine tongue. But taking too great delight in gaming and cockfighting, he both lived and died in meane eſtate, leaving behind him ſundry monuments of wit and induſtrie. But to returne to our matter.

1569. Reg. 12.

A Proclamation touching the goods detained.

The ſixth day of January a declaration was ſet forth at London touching the goods of the Engliſh detained by Duke *D' Alva*, wherein were unfolded many things already opened, and the fault laid upon *De Spes*. He ſet forth an oppoſite writing, wherein he intimated that the former writing was not ſet out by the Queene, but in the Queenes name, by ſome that favoured not the King of Spaine, but were well-willers to the Rebells of the Netherlands. He commendeth the ancient reſpect of the Queene toward the King of Spaine, lamenteth the undeſerved alienation of the ſame, is angry that no greater credit was given to him being an Embaſſadour, and to the letters of the Duke *D' Alva*, wondreth the Queen ſhould detaine that mony, it being more expedient (as he ſaid) that ſhe ſhould ſupply the King of Spaine with money to make warre againſt Rebells, than take away from him. Laſtly, taxeth her for offering the firſt injurie, and excuſeth himſelfe and Duke *D' Alva*. And not content herewith, he diſperſeth libells, wherein he went about to wound the Queenes reputation under the name of *Amadis Gaula*. Whereupon he was checked, and committed to Keepers for a day or two: and of theſe and the like affronts ſhe made large complaint to the King of Spaine, but all in vaine.

A conſpiracie againſt Cecill.

Upon occaſion of this money detained, certaine Peeres of England, amongſt whom were the Marqueſſe of Wincheſter, the Duke of Norfolke, the Earles of Arundell, Northumberland, Pembroke, Leiceſter, and others, ſought advantage againſt *Cecill*, (as oftentimes before they had done) framing an accuſation againſt him for ſending away money to the reliefe of the Proteſtants in France, but in very deed for that they unwillingly beheld his power and grace with the Queene, ſuſpected him

1569. to favour the house of Suffolke in the matter of succession in the Kingdome, and feared lest he should hinder their projects. Whereupon they consult secretly how to get him imprisoned; *Throckmorton*, who envied him, suggesting that if he were once clapped up, they might soone find out a way to crush him. But, by whose intimation it is uncertaine, the Queene came to have timely notice hereof; and *Cecill*, through the resolute courage of the Queene, who comming betweene in the very nick of time, quelled them with a looke of Majestie, easily vanquished their purposes. Withall she quashed another project of theirs, of making a publike declaration for the undoubted right of the Queen of Scots to the Crowne of England (in case any thing happened to the Queen) against a book lately set forth to maintaine the right of the house of Suffolke.

Now came one into England from Duke *D' Alva* to require the money detained, but having no letters of credence from the King of Spain, the Queen referred him to the Councell, whom he refused at the first to repaire unto, but afterward went to them, and had audience, but departed within a moneth and nothing done.

The English Staple at Hamburgh.

The English Merchants set up a new trade to Hamburgh in Germanie; Duke *D' Alva* forbids all commerce with the English, and appointeth Searchers to see that they brought nothing into the Low Countries, nor exported nothing from thence; amongst whom was one *Storie* an Englishman, Doctour of the Civill Lawes, most diligent in his office: he had formerly consulted with one *Prestall* a Conjurer against the Queenes life, and being fled out of England, suggested to *D' Alva* some waies how to invade his Country. But he by a wile was enticed to goe aboord a ship, which was said to have brought in English commodities, and hereticall books, and the Mariners straightway setting saile, brought him into England, where he was after executed for Treason, as in due place shall be declared.

The Duke D'Alva forbids the English trade.

D' Alva not content herewith, gives command that no ships but men of warre should goe out from the Netherlands, and that they should make prize of the English whersoever they could meet with them. He procured the like also to be done in Spaine; where the English Merchants and Mariners goods were made confiscate, they themselves brought into the Inquisition, and condemned to the Gallies. And the King of Spaine gave letters to the Conde *Mont-Agund*, Governour of the Streights, not to suffer the English to export any Oile, Allum, Sugar, Spices, or such like; imagining that the English, if they were destitute of these commodities, would mutine at home: likewise by secret messengers sent to the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earle of Ormond, that the one should raise commotions in England, and the other in Ireland: but such was their fidelitie to their Prince, that they ingenuously discovered it.

Now the Inhabitants of the Sea Townes in England understanding thus much, it is wonderfull with what alacritie they set to Sea, making prize of Spanish ships ferre and neere, in so much that proclamations were sent abroad to restraine them, and forbid the buying of the prize goods from them.

The English trading in these dayes also was greatly perplexed in Russia as well as the Netherlands, and that both by unfaithfulnesse of

the exchangers, the emulation of Merchants amongſt themſelves, and the repining of the Germans and Ruſſians againſt them; theſe made complaint of the deceitfulneſſe of the wares, and the price enhaunſed: the Engliſh Merchants, which were not of the Muſcovie Company, and the Germane, crie out of a Monopolie or engroſſing of trade. For reconciling of theſe evills the Queene a yeere agoe ſent *Thomas Randolph*, who though he were nothing welcome to the Emperour, for that he treated wholly of merchandize, and nothing of the league deſired on his part (as we have formerly ſhewed) yet at his requeſt the Emperour, out of ſingular regard to the Queene and the Engliſh Nation, granted the Engliſh Company in Ruſſia freedome from Cuſtomes, and libertie to ſend abroad their wares over all his Countrey whereſoever they would, and to trafficke alſo over the Caſpian Sea, as farre as Perſia and Media, (it being not lawfull for other Merchants to goe above a thouſand miles upward beyond the Citie of Moſcua) allowed them houſes wherein to twiſt cordage and tackling, and a Territorie of five miles compaſſe with woods to make iron in, &c. 1569.

Priviledges allowed to the Engliſh.

Now they began more confidently to travell thoſe Countries, rowing and towing their merchandize in ſmall Veſſells up the River Dwin, and afterward carrying it ſeven dayes journey by land into the Countrey; built ſhips, and in a memorable adventure oftentimes ſailed the Caſpian Sea, which is full of ſhallowes, and through the vaſt Deſarts of Hircania, came at length to Teveris and Casbis chiefe Cities of Perſia, hoping in time to open a way farther. But the warres betweene the Turkes and Perſians, which now began to waxe hot, and the violence of barbarous robbers, hindered this laudable enterpriſe of the Londoners. But the Emperour ſent backe *Randolph*, beſtowing upon him goodly rewards, and along with him *Andreas Gregoriwitz*, upon Embaſſage to the Queene who was bountifully entertained by the Londoners, and honourably by the Queene.

He tendered to the Queene a certaine league written in the Ruſſian tongue, and demanded to have the ſame confirmed by the Queenes hand and ſeale, and her oath likewiſe; and withall, to ſend her Embaſſadour into Ruſſia to receive the ſame confirmed by the Emperour. The Queene conſented to the league, with a clauſe of reſervation to give aide againſt their common adverſaries, ſo farre forth as it was lawfull in regard of her leagues and covenants already made with other Princes; ſo that nothing might be attempted that were unjuſt or diſhonourable. And if he by any chance were driven to forſake his Countrey, ſhe would receive him, his wife and children, with all reſpect befitting ſo great a Prince, aſſigne him a place of aboad, grant him the free uſe of his own Religion, and power to depart at pleaſure: this ſhe ſolemnly proteſted in the word of a Chriſtian Prince, before his Embaſſadour, and the chiefe of her Councell, and confirmed the ſame with her hand and ſeale. But all this could not ſatisfie this fierce Tyrant, whoſe owne luſt was all the law he regarded; ſo that in letters at large he upbraideth the Engliſh Nation with all the kindneſſes he had ſhewed them, is angry with the Queene for not ſending an Embaſſadour along, uſeth reproachfull ſpeeches to the Merchants, threatning to take away their priviledges: how-

The Queenes anſwer to the Emperour of Ruſſia.

1569. beit, being pacified with the Queenes courteous letters ſent by *Jenkinſon*, he forbare to doe it. But he alwayes obſerved the Queene as long as he lived, honouring her as his owne ſiſter, and reſpecting the Engliſh above all men.

Murray oppreſſeth the Queenes friends.

Murray now, who by bearing Queene *Eliſabeth* and the Duke of Norfolke in hand that the Queene of Scots ſhould be reſtored, had made way for his ſafe returne into Scotland (for ſhe reſtrained certaine Scots which laid wait for his life, and commanded they ſhould not hinder him in his journey) ſo ſoone as he was come to Edenburgh aſſembleth the Nobles that were addicted to the Queene, under colour to conſult about the reſtoring of her. The firſt that came thither was *Hamilton* the Duke of Chaſteau-Herald, appointed Vicegerent of the Kingdome by the Queene, and Lord *Herus*, who were perſwaded by the Queenes letters to repaire thither; but ſhe it ſeemes was over credulous, for he being in feare himſelfe, circumvented them, and before any of the reſt came thither, caſt them in priſon; and forthwith in an open war moleſteth all her favourers.

Hereupon reports were diſperſed againſt Murray over Scotland, namely, that he had made an agreement with Queene *Eliſabeth* to yeeld up the young King to be brought up in England; that the Caſtles of Edenburgh and Sterlin ſhould be fortified with Engliſh Garriſons; that Dunbritton ſhould be ſet upon for the uſe of the Engliſh; Murray ſhould be declared the lawfull Succeſſour in the Kingdome of Scotland, if the King died without iſſue, and ſhould hold the Kingdome as Queene *Eliſabeths* Client and Beneficiarie. Theſe rumours encreaſed in ſuch manner, and with a kind of ſeeming probabilitie affected mens minds, that the Queene thought it was requiſite in honour ſhe ſhould cleere her ſelfe. Wherefore ſhe ſet forth a writing, declaring, *in the royall word of a Prince, that theſe things were moſt untrue, and deviſed by ſuch as envied the peace of both Kingdomes, and that there had beene no agreement betweene her or her Miniſters (that ſhe knew of) and Murray, ſince the time he was laſt in England. But the Earle of Lenox indeed, the young Kings Grandfather, had made requeſt, that if the King could not be out of the danger of wicked machinations in Scotland, he might be ſent into England.* Beſides, ſhe proteſted, *that ſhe eſteemed it falſe, whatſoever men talked of an agreement betweene Murray and the Earle of Hertford, that they ſhould affoord help to one another to get both the Crownes. Laſtly, the fault was not in her that the matter was not concluded betweene the Queene of Scots and her ſon, and ſhe would endevour a concluſion of it.* And certainely ſhe did endevour it through feare on the one ſide, and emulation on the other (which ſeldome dieth amongſt Princes, women eſpecially) and was the rather moved to pitie her in regard of frequent letters ſhe received, wherein the Queene of Scots made ſolemne vowes, that for their neere alliance, and the great courteſie received, ſhe would never endevour evill againſt her, nor by her good will be obliged to any other Prince for her reſtitution. In ſo much that the Queene dealt with Murray by *Wood* his Secretarie to have her reſtored to her former dignitie; if not ſo, that ſhee might enjoy the royall Title joyntly with her ſon; if not this neither, yet that ſhe might be ſuffered to live at home privately

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in libertie and ſafetie. But Murray having now gotten the ſtaffe into his owne hands, would liſten to none of theſe ſuites. 1569.

A rumour in theſe daies was rife in mens mouthes of better note, that the Duke of Norfolke ſhould have the Queene of Scots in marriage; which, as men ſtood particularly affected, was diverſly thought on: the Papiſts thought it would be advantagious to their Religion, in regard of her; others were of opinion that if ſhe were married to him, it would be for the good of the Common-wealth. This was mentioned to the Duke before at York by the Biſhop of Roſſe, & afterwards (in pretence at leaſt) moved by Murray himſelfe at Hampton Court. Certainly a great many ſeeing the Queen averſe from marriage, & conſidering what enemies England had abroad, caſt their eies & hearts upon the Queen of Scots, as the moſt rightful heire of England. For they imagined (and that wiſely) that it were a ſurer foundation of peace and tranquillitie, for her to marry the Duke of Norfolke, the moſt eminent Peere of the Kingdome, and one brought up in the Proteſtant Religion, than a forreine Prince, who in her right might trouble both Kingdomes, and claime them both as an inheritance; which all men deſired ſhould be made ſure in ſome Prince of the Engliſh bloud, if it chanced the young King ſhould die. They made a propoſition likewiſe to have him brought into England, & being the true heire of the Engliſh Crowne to be educated amongſt the Engliſh, the better to win his love to them: thus all matter of ſcruple about Succeſſion ſhould be taken away, and the Queen ſhould not need to feare the Duke or the Queene of Scots, having the young Prince in her own keeeping. Furthermore, to make ſure worke that the Duke ſhould plot nothing againſt him, but love him more dearely, the Lady *Margaret*, the Dukes onely daughter, ſhould be betrothed to him for the future. Theſe were the deliberations of the Earles of Arundell, Northumberland, Weſtmorland, Suſſex, Pembroke, South-hampton, and many other Lords, yea and of Leiceſter himſelfe (whether in truth or treacherouſly conſpiring the Dukes deſtruction, it is uncertaine:) yet all theſe judged it meet to acquaint the Queen firſt of all, and leave the matter to her liking and determination; and that ſhe might ſet downe ſuch conditions, as might be for the ſafety and ſecuritie of her own perſon, of the Kingdome, and Religon alſo.

A rumour of the Queen of Scots marriage.

Within a few daies Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* meets the Duke in the Palace at Weſtminſter, & profeſſing all duty and obſervance, intimateth to him that he underſtood that Leiceſter would deale with him about his marriage with the Queen of Scots; which (ſaith he) ſeemeth a very ſtrange thing to me, ſeeing that Leiceſter himſelfe not long ſince deſired to be married to her. Now he adviſed the Duke in friendly ſort, that if any ſuch thing went forward, hee ſhould rather will the Earle of Leiceſter himſelfe to embrace that honour, ſeeing he had formerly ſued for it; but if he were urgent, ſtill to refuſe it, becauſe the Scots had laid ſo many crimes to her charge: Notwithſtanding, ſaith *Throckmorton*; doe heartily wiſh it may be ſo, both for the good of Religion, and to the end ſhe may have none to rely upon ſave the Queene onely. Yet this counſell I give, if you doe any thing herein, let Leiceſter goe along with you, for you your ſelfe will hardly be able to procure the Queenes

Throckmortons counſell to the Duke of Norfolke.

1569. conſent. A day or two after, the Earle of Leiceſter propounded the matter to the Duke, who anſwered as *Throckmorton* had inſtructed him; and when they were come to the crimes objected againſt her, thoſe hee extenuated, and that upon the credible information of *Richard Candiſh*, who knew all paſſages, and commended him to the Duke as a uſefull inſtrument in this buſineſſe. Leiceſter preſently communicateth the matter to the Earle of Pembroke, and the Earle of Arundell. They and *Throckmorton* ſeverally write letters to the Queene of Scots, and commend the Duke of Norfolke to her for a husband. The Duke himſelfe likewiſe writeth to her, tendring his ſingular love and reſpect to her. And from that time, whatſoever letters he wrote to her, or received from her, he imparted to them; and frequent conferences they held with the Biſhop of Roſſe, how to bring this marriage to paſſe: and theſe articles, written with Leiceſters owne hand, they propounded to the Queene of Scots in the moneth of May 1568. *She ſhould attempt nothing prejudiciall to the Queene of England, or any children that ſhould be borne of her body, in the ſucceſsion of the Kingdome of England. She ſhould enter into a league of mutuall offence and defence betwixt the two Kingdomes. She ſhould eſtabliſh the Proteſtant Religion in Scotland; receive into favour the Scots which are now her adverſaries; revoke the aſsignation ſhe had made of the Kingdome of England; take a husband out of the Engliſh Nobilitie, and in particular the Duke of Norfolke, the moſt Noble of all the Engliſh Peeres.*

Hereunto if ſhe conſented, they promiſed to procure that the Queen of England ſhould give her aſſent; likewiſe ſhe ſhould forthwith be reeſtated in her Kingdome, and the ſucceſſion of England confirmed upon her.

Theſe conditions ſhe readily admitted, but that ſhe could not make anſwer touching the leagne till ſhe had adviſed with the French King. As for the aſſignment of her right to the Kingdome of England, ſhe proteſted ſhe had made none; yet if need were ſhe would ſee that whom they ſuſpected to have it ſhould renounce the ſame. But ſhe requeſted of them above all things, and in the firſt place, to procure the Queenes conſent, leſt the matter might prove to the hurt both of her ſelfe and the Duke, whereof ſhe had felt the experience before in contracting of marriage with Darlie without her allowance. They notwithſtanding meant to find out firſt of all how many of the Nobilitie ſtood affected that way; of whom the moſt yeelded their conſent in this manner, *ſo that the Queene be not againſt it:* onely they were afraid of Murray, leſt he who firſt promiſed all his furtherance ſhould be the firſt hinderer of it. Nevertheleſſe hereupon they all agreed, that *Lidington*, who was then expected, ſhould firſt breake it to the Queene. The Duke in the meane time imparted to the Lord *Lumley* whatſoever had paſſed in this buſineſſe, and had much adoe to gaine the Earle of Leiceſters conſent, that he might adviſe of it with ſome few other of his friends; yet a little after, with the Earle of Pembrokes conſent, he opened the matter to *Cecill* alſo.

A plot to deliver the Queen of Scots.

At which very time Sir *Leonard Dacres* had a thought to deliver the captive Queene out of cuſtodie: ſhee was at that time at Whinfield in Derby-

Derby-ſhire, under the keeping of the Earle of Shrewsbury. The Earle of Northumberland, who was made acquainted with this plot, intimated the ſame to the Duke; but he hindred it, fearing leſt if ſhee were at libertie ſhee might happely marrie the King of Spaine; and hee hoped within a ſhort time to gaine the Queenes conſent for himſelfe. 1569.

Straightway the rumour of this marriage came to the Queenes eares, by ſome women at Court who quickly can ſmell out love matters. Which ſo ſoone as the Duke underſtood, hee dealt earneſtly with the Earle of Leiceſter, in his owne perſon, and by the Earle of Pembroke alſo and Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*, to have the matter propounded to the Queene out of hand. He makes delaies, and puts it off, waiting for ſome better opportunitie. But *Cecill* ſeeing the Duke exceedingly perplexed, adviſeth him to goe and acquaint the Queene himſelfe, to take away all ſcruple from the Queen and himſelfe, as ſoone as might be: Leiceſter oppoſed this counſell, and promiſed to open it to the Queen as ſhe went on progreſſe. But he with faire words put him off from day to day: at length at Farnham the Queen cauſed the Duke to ſtand by while ſhe was at table, and gave him a tart admonition, *That he were beſt take heed upon what pillow he reſted his head.* Afterward at Titchfield Leiceſter was ſicke, or at leſt counterfeited: the Queene comming to ſee him, and finding that feare had cauſed his bloud and ſpirits to forſake the outer parts of his body, and retire inward, bad him be of good cheer; then he with ſighes and teares craved pardon for his fault, and unfolded to the Queene the whole ſtorie from the very beginning.

The Queen is told of the marriage.

At that time the Queen called the Duke into the Gallerie, reproved him ſharply for going about the marriage of the Queen of Scots without acquainting her: and commanded him, by vertue of his allegeance, to deſiſt. Hee made a free and hearty promiſe of obedience, and was not afraid to ſay (as if he cared not for her) that his revenues in England were not much leſſe worth than the Kingdome of Scotland at that time, it being miſerably exhauſted by warres; and that when he was in his houſe at Norwich, he thought himſelfe in a ſort not inferiour to ſome Kings. But now he began to be every day more and more dejected, and his courage abated; and perceiving by the Queenes ſpeech and countenance, that her anger encreaſed towards him, Leiceſter in a manner quite alienated, and moſt of the Nobilitie ſcarcely ſalute him, and in haſt breaking off their ſpeech, as not regarding his company; without asking leave he prepared to goe to London, but turned aſide to bid the Earle of Pembroke farewell; who comforted him, and bid him be of good cheere. And the verie ſame day the Queene ſcornefully rejected the Scottiſh Embaſſadour, entreating for the Queene of Scots libertie, wiſhing her to bee quiet, leſt ſhe ſhortly ſaw them lie like headleſſe trunkes, in whom ſhe had now ſo great confidence.

She reproveth the Duke of Norfolke.

This rumour of the marriage waxing hotter & hotter, and the French Kings Orator (more by the perſwaſion of ſome Engliſh, than Commiſſion from his maſter, as appeared afterward) growing exceeding urgent to have the Queen of Scots enlarged; new ſuſpitions were taken up at every hand, and *Cecill*, who was ever vigilant for Religion and the Commonwealth,

1569. wealth, was very diligent to ſift out the matter. Whereupon he dealt by letters with the Earle of Suſſex, Preſident of the North, the Dukes intimate friend, that if he underſtood any thing of the Dukes marriage, he ſhould certifie the Queene; what he anſwered, is uncertaine.

The Duke in the meane while terrified with a falſe rumour ſpred abroad, that a rebellion was raiſed in the North, and Leiceſter giving him intimation that he ſhould be committed to priſon, ſtepped aſide into Norfolk, till ſuch time as his friends at Court (according as they made him promiſe) had turned aſide the tempeſt which hung over his head, and he mollified the Queenes heart by his ſubmiſſive letters. But there were ſpies ſet to watch his actions, yea and his very lookes. The Court in the meane while was ſuſpiciouſly fearefull, leſt he ſhould raiſe rebellion; and (they ſay) it was concluded upon, if he did ſo, to make away the Queene of Scots preſently.

But he being conſcious to himſelfe of nothing but integritie and innocency, and fearing likewiſe leſt upon this ſuſpition the Queen of Scots ſhould be more hardly dealt withall than ſhe had deſerved, ſendeth letters to his friends in Court, intimating that through feare of being committed to priſon, hee had withdrawne himſelfe from the Court; that time and abſence might worke a remedy for thoſe malignant reports, which the Court eares are alwaies open to; and in all lowlineſſe craving pardon for his fault, hee ſtraightwaies made ready to take a journie towards the Court.

The Duke returnes to the Court.

In his returne, at S. *Albans*, *Owen* a ſervant to the Earle of Arundell, (being ſent privately by *Throckmorton* and the Lord *Lumley*, who were now in hold) counſells him in their names to take the fault wholly to himſelfe, and not lay it either upon Leiceſter or any others, leſt hee made them in ſtead of ſhewing him friendſhip, to become his enemies. There he was met by *Edward Fitz-Gerald*, brother to the Earle of Kildare, who accompanied him to Burnham three miles from Windſore, where the Queene was at that time.

Foure dayes after, the Abbat of Dunfirmling delivereth the Queen letters from Murray the Regent of Scotland, wherein hee ſignifieth that the Duke of Norfolke dealt with him at Hampton Court about the marriage of the Queene of Scots, and threatned him if hee favoured it not: That he promiſed his furtherance, that he might eſcape the plot which one *Norton* laid for his life; the Duke promiſing ſecuritie againſt him, and all others whatſoever; that afterward the Duke dealt with him by letters, & deſired him to give his conſent to the marriage. Furthermore, that the Duke had intimated by the Lord *Boide*, that he would never forſake the Queen of Scots; over and above, had uſed certaine of the ſame Queens Miniſters to perſwade the Regent, that Queen *Eliſabeth* was conſenting to the marriage, and propoſed the hopes of the Kingdome of England. Queen *Eliſabeth* alſo had notice that the Queen of Scots had told ſome of the Peeres of the Kingdome, to win them to her partie, that ſhee had ſomething in hand which might tend to the Queens own ſafetie, and the certaine ſecuritie of both Kingdomes.

He is committed.

The Duke, who held ſecret and wary commerce by letters with the Biſhop

Biſhop of Roſſe, *Throckmorton*, and Leiceſter (for they were ſent to and fro in bottles) about this time was examined touching the marriage with the Queen of Scots, and certaine ſecret conferences with the Biſhop of Roſſe; and confeſſing moſt of the objections, was committed to the Tower under the cuſtodie of Sir *Henrie Nevill* Knight: the Queen reprehended him in ſharpe manner for departing the Court without licence, and charged him that he affected an innovation. Within two daies the Biſhop of Roſſe in like manner is examined, and that Florentine whom we ſpake of before, *Robert Ridolph* (with whom the Biſhop of Roſſe and others held great familiaritie) is delivered to the cuſtodie of Sir *Francis Walſingham*; the Earle of Pembroke confined to his houſe, and examined privately: but his Age and Nobilitie obtained for him that his confeſſion was not committed to writing, it being his requeſt, becauſe he could not write himſelfe. Some of the Nobles are baniſhed the Court for being conſcious hereunto: who in all humilitie confeſſed, that they conſented with the Duke to the marriage, which notwithſtanding Murray had firſt propounded; yet ſo, that the Duke, the Queen of Scots, and themſelves would have the matter referred to the Queen before it were contracted: wherefore they requeſted pardon for their offence. In like manner the Earles of Northumberland and Weſtmorland ſubmiſſively went to the Earle of Suſſex, Preſident of the North, and beſought him to intercede for them to the Queene. Divers bookes alſo were ſet forth againſt this marriage, againſt the Queen of Scots, and that right which ſhe challenged as the next heire to the Crowne of England, with ſo great malapertneſſe and audacitie, that the Queen determined to reſtraine them by a ſevere proclamation; and connivingly ſuffered the Biſhop of Roſſe to anſwer them. Who preſently ſet forth an oppoſite writing, wherein hee maintained his Queenes honour, her right in ſucceſſion, and the lawfulneſſe of womens Regencie (for that alſo was impugned) under the name of *Morgan Philips*.

1569.

Bookes againſt the marriage of Norfolke with the Queene of Scots.

About this time there came hither *Vetellius* Marqueſſe of Ceton, from Duke *D'Alva*, with letters alſo from the King of Spaine, in pretence to compoſe the difference about the Merchants trafficke, but indeed to obſerve the event of the Rebellion now at hand, and to command the Souldiers which *D'Alva* had ſecretly promiſed from the Low-Countries; who alſo had before ſent hither *La-Mot* Governour of Dunkirke (as himſelfe confeſſed after) to ſpie out the Ports and landing places, in the habit of a Sailer. But when it appeared that this Marqueſſe was onely ſubſtituted by *D'Alva*, queſtion was made whether it were beſt to treat with him as an Embaſſadour. The Queen notwithſtanding intimated that ſhe would acknowledge him for an Embaſſador. But he could ſhew no authoritie, but onely a Commiſſion to demand the mony backe againe: wherefore the Queene, deſirous of peace, willed him to procure a larger Commiſſion, for the compoſing of the whole controverſie. And while he ſtayeth here expecting it, the report increaſeth of a Rebellion breaking forth in the North.

Hereof there was a headleſſe rumour ſpread abroad in the beginning of the laſt Autumne, but firſt it was neglected; yet encreaſed againe afterward by reaſon of ſome frequent meetings of the Earles of Northumberland

The rebellion in the North.

1569. thumberland, Weſtmorland, and others; in ſo much that the Earle of Suſſex ſent for them, and enquired of them concerning the report. They confeſſe they had heard of it, but ſtoutly denied they had any hand in it, and with many and great proteſtations vowed to ſpend their lives for the Queene, againſt any Rebells whatſoever. Hereupon they were ſent home, and that with authoritie to make enquirie of the authours of this rumour. This report nevertheleſſe grew ſo ſtrong againe, that the Queene, not willing to beleeve any thing over haſtily againſt ſo great Perſonages, ſent word to Suſſex, to command them in her name to repaire preſently to London, that all ſuſpition might be taken away. Now the Earle of Suſſex, upon what ground it is not knowne, commanded them to come to him, under pretence to conſult with them touching ſome affaires of that Province. They at firſt make vaine excuſes, and afterward refuſe flatly to goe to him. Hereupon the Queen in all the haſte ſendeth peremptorie letters, that laying aſide all excuſes they ſhould preſently appeare before her; hereby to deterre them utterly from Rebellion, or make them breake forth into it preſently, before they got their forces together, and the buſineſſe were ripened: for they waited for ſupplies both from the Scots of their confederacy, and alſo from Duke *D'Alva*, to bee landed at Hertilpoole in the Biſhoprick of Durham, as was after made manifeſt.

The behaviour of Northumberland.

The Earle of Northumberland having read the letters, conſcious to himſelfe of the matter, and an earneſt affecter of the Romiſh Religion, on the one ſide was exſperated, becauſe a rich veine of Copper found in his grounds, was, as he interpreted it, injuriouſly taken from him by the Queenes prerogative; and yet on the other ſide, ſuſtained himſelfe with hope of the Queenes clemency: but was now doubtfull what to doe, whether to goe to the Queene, or ſhift for himſelfe, or breake out into Rebellion. His ſervants and friends, ready to take the firſt occaſion to put the deſigne in execution, perceiving him thus fearefull and doubtfull, ſuddenly call upon him in a tempeſtuous night, crying out that his enemies *Oſwoll Ulſtorp*, and *Vaughan*, were at hand with men in armes ready to apprehend him; they beſeech him not to be wanting to himſelfe, his friends, and the Religion of his forefathers, aſſure him that all the Catholikes in England were already in armes, to defend the Roman Religion, and in jangling manner ring the Bells every where to get company together. He riſeth out of bed in a great feare, and gets into his Parke neere Topcliffe, and the night following to Branſpeth, to the Earle of Weſtmorlands houſe, where a great many were met that were acquainted with the enterpriſe.

The pretext of the Rebels.

For to gather the rude multitude together, upon ſome they laid command to arme themſelves out of hand to defend the Queene; they told others that all the Peeres of the Kingdome had conſpired with them to reſtore the Romiſh Religion; to others they made pretence, that they were enforced to take up armes, that the ancient Nobilitie of England might not bee troden under foot by new upſtarts, and the Country expoſed as a prey to ſtrangers.

Hereupon they breake forth into an open rebellion, and are the firſt diſturbers of the publike peace of the Kingdome, which now for eleven yeeres

yeeres had continued under the Queenes happy government, being preſſed forward by one *Nicholas Morton* a Romiſh Prieſt, who was ſent by the Pope to pronounce Queene *Eliſabeth* an Hereticke, and therefore to have utterly loſt all Dominion and Soveraigntie. And by and by they ſend forth a writing, wherein they declare, *That they had taken armes for no other end but that the Religion of their forefathers might be reſtored, wicked Counſellours removed from the Queene, the Duke and others of the loyall Nobilitie relieved, who were now in diſgrace; but againſt the Queen (forſooth) they attempted nothing, profeſſing themſelves her moſt dutifull and loving ſubjects, and that they will alwayes continue ſo.* And they ſend letters to the Papiſts all over the Kingdome, to joyne their forces. But they were ſo farre from joyning themſelves, that a great number ſent both the letters and the bearers of them to the Queene, and out of all parts of the Kingdome affoorded their aid and their purſes alſo againſt them; yea, the Duke of Norfolke himſelfe was not backward herein. 1569.

The outrage of the Rebells in the North.

The Rebells goe firſt of all to Durham, where they teare in pieces and ſpurne up and downe as many Bibles and Books of Common Prayer as they found in Churches of the Engliſh tongue. Then, ſinging Maſſe every where, they march on fairely with Enſigns, in ſome whereof were painted the five wounds of Chriſt, in others the Euchariſticall Chalice, and Sir *Richard Norton*, a noble and gray headed man, carried a Croſſe before them, till at length they came to Cliffordmore, not farre from Wetherby; and when they had beene twelve dayes in rebellion, they number their Armie, and could not reckon above ſix hundred horſe, and foure thouſand foot. Now being certainely informed that the Queen of Scots (for whoſe libertie they had chiefly taken up armes) was removed from Tutburie to Coventrie, under the conduct of the Earles of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon; that Suſſex on the one ſide of them had levied a ſtrong Armie, and Sir *George Bowes* behind them was muſtering a companie together, and had fortified Bernards Caſtle; that the Lord *Scroope* and the Earle of Cumberland had ſtrengthened Carlile, and were gathering more forces; they returned almoſt the ſame way they came, and betooke themſelves to Rabie the chiefe houſe of the Earle of Weſtmorland. Going from thence they ſtreightly beſiege Bernards Caſtle, which, not being able to hold out for lacke of proviſion, was yeelded into their hands: Sir *George Bowes* and his brother *Robert* were let goe according to the conditions of the ſurrender.

They are proclaimed Traitours.

Which very day they were proclaimed Traitours, and the Earle of Suſſex with an Armie of ſeven thouſand marcheth towards them, accompanied by *Edward* Earle of Rutland, the Lords *Hunſdon*, *Ewer*, and *Willoughby* of Parham. When they were come as farre as Akland, the Rebells in fearefull ſort betooke themſelves by flight to Hexham, and from thence through by-wayes to Naworth Caſtle. Hearing there that the Earle of Warwicke, and *Clinton* Lord Admirall, was comming on ſpeedily with twelve thouſand from the South parts of England, the two Earles with a ſmall company (the reſt knowing nothing) preſently got themſelves into Scotland hard by. The Earle of Northumberland hid himſelfe at Harclaw in a poore cottage, amongſt the *Grayhams* famous robbers,

1569. robbers, who afterwards betrayed him to Murray. Weſtmorland made a ſhift with ſome other Engliſh to get into the Low Countries, where he had a ſlender penſion from the King of Spaine, and there lived even to old age. The reſt were diſperſed, ſome fled, others hid themſelves. For terrour and example ſake there were hanged at Durham threeſcore and ſixe of the chiefe, amongſt whom *Plomtree* was executed, a noted Prieſt. At Yorke ſuffered *Symon Digbey*, *J. Fulthrop*, *Thomas Biſhop*, *Robert Peneman*; and at London a few moneths after, *Chriſtopher* and *Thomas Norton*, and ſome others elſewhere.

The Rebells proſcribed. After all, the heads of the Rebells being convicted of High Treaſon, were proſcribed, namely, *Charles* Earle of Weſtmorland, *Thomas* Earle of Northumberland, *Anne* Counteſſe of Northumberland, the daughter of *Henrie* Earle of Worceſter, *Edward Dacres* of Morton, *John Nevill* of Leverſege, *John Swinborne*, *Thomas Markenfield*, *Egremond Ratcliffe*, brother to the Earle of Suſſex, *Chriſtopher Nevill*, *Richard Norton* of Norton Coniers, *Chriſtopher Marmaduke*, and *Thomas* of the Familie of the *Nertons*, *Robert* and *Michael Tempeſt*, *George Stafford*, and forty others more or leſſe of good parentage. And their conviction and proſcription was confirmed the next Parliament. The reſt which had no lands, and fled not out of the Country, were pardoned. Thus was this flame of rebellion quickly extinguiſhed. *Vuellian* that came from Duke *D' Alva*, and was acquainted with it, as I ſaid, ſeeming before the Queene and Nobles to wonder at it, but fretting inwardly that it was ſo eaſily and ſuddenly extinguiſhed, and his journey into England fruſtrated.

A new rebellion. Out of the aſhes of this rebellion a new fire was raked at Naworth in Cumberland, neere the Picts wall, and kindled by *Leonard Dacres*, ſecond ſon to the Lord *Dacres* of Gilleſland. He took it very heinouſly that his elder brother being dead, and leaving no iſſue male which ſurvived him, ſo goodly an inheritance ſhould fall by law to his daughters, whom the Duke of Norfolke had betrothed to his owne ſons; and ſeeing himſelfe excluded by this meanes, firſt went to law, and was croſſed in his ſuit, then conſpired he with the Rebells, and ſtrived to deliver the Queen of Scots, but to no purpoſe. They breaking forth ſooner than he expected, and being proclaimed Traitours, he at the ſame time was admitted into the Court to kiſſe the Queenes hands, at which time he tendred his ſervice againſt them, and was for the very ſame purpoſe ſent home. But in his journey (as was afterward diſcovered) he adviſed with the Rebels by meſſengers going betweene, and added courage to them, promiſing great matters in the names of the outlandiſh Embaſſadours, and amongſt other things that he would levie forces in the Queenes name, wherewithall he would make away the Lord *Scroope* Governour of the Weſt border, and the Biſhop of Carlile likewiſe. But not being able to effect this, he followed the Earles that were in flight, (for he ſhewed letters of credence from the Queene for that purpoſe) ſurprized the Caſtle of Greiſtock, and other dwelling houſes of the *Dacres*, fortified the Caſtle of Naworth, and under pretence of defending his owne right, and reſiſting the Rebells, gathered together three thouſand of the robbers upon the borders, and many others who were greatly devoted to the name of the

Dacres,

Dacres, the moſt noble Familie in all that tract. 1569.

Againſt him marcheth Baron Hunſdon with the old Garriſon Souldiers of Berwicke. *Leonard* not truſting to his fortifications, goeth on to meet them, and making a three ſquare Armie, and placing the horſe round about it, expecteth Hunſdon, and joyneth fight at the river Gelt. They laid manfully about them on both ſides, and *Leonard*, though he were crooked backed, yet wanted not the valour of a ſtout enemie, and after a great number of his men were ſlaine, left the victorie to Hunſdon, though a deare one, and betooke himſelfe into Scotland. From thence a ſhort time after he wafted over into the Low Countries, and died at Lovaine in povertie and miſerie; ſo that his fathers curſe upon his deathbed for his diſobedience in the juſt judgement of God fell upon him. Hunſdon delivered up the Caſtles to be kept by the Duke of Norfolkes ſervants, and the Queene by Proclamation forgave the rebellion of the multitude.

Leonards valour.

His wretched end.

Although ſhe were thus entangled with rebellion here at home, yet was ſhe not wanting to the afflicted Proteſtants of France in their deplored eſtate. For ſhe ſtirred up the Princes of the ſame profeſſion to defend the common cauſe, ſupplied them with money, taking in pawne the Queene of Navarres Jewells, and gave leave to *Henry Champernoun* to be the Commander and Leader of a troope of a hundred horſemen, Gentlemen all, and Voluntaries, amongſt whom were *Philip Butſhede*, *Francis Barcley*, and *Walter Ralegh* a very young man, who now began to looke into the world. Theſe dealings of the Queene were not hid from the Frenclſ King, who to exhauſt the overflowing riches of the Engliſh, or at leaſt to turne them another way, had a purpoſe to move a new warre in Scotland againſt England, by relieving the Scots which held the Fort of Dunbritton for the Queene of Scots. For this expedition he had deſigned *Sebaſtian Martigue*, an expert warriour; but he being ſlaine by a ſhot in the ſiege of St. John D' Angelo, this project vaniſhed.

Queene Eliſabeth relieveth the Proteſtants in France.

Neither was Ireland free from rebellion at this time, for *Edmund* and *Peter*, brothers to *Boteler* Earle of Ormond, uſed all outrage upon the Inhabitants of Mounſter, caſt away the yoke of lawes, ſpoiled the Queenes liege people, and entred into a league with *James Fitz-Morris* of the Family of Deſmond, *Mac-Arti-More*, *Fitz-Edmund* Steward of Mokelly, and others who were joyned to the Pope and the King of Spaine, and had a purpoſe to alter Religion, and deprive the Queene of her government in Ireland. Upon which occaſion they were proclaimed Rebells, and Sir *Peter Carew* the elder had many doubtfull skirmiſhes with them. They nevertheleſſe gathered together a company of forlorne wretches, beſieged Kilkenny, and commanded the Inhabitants to deliver up the wife of Sir *Warham Saint-Leger*; but the Garriſon Souldiers ruſhing forth, made them flie: then they made miſerable havocke of the Countrey round about. *Johannes Mendoza* came covertly from the King of Spaine into England to kindle this ſedition, but the Earle of Ormond went out of England to extinguiſh the ſame, who perſwaded his brothers to ſubmit themſelves. They for all that were clapped up in priſon, but the Earle of Ormond by earneſt ſuit obtained of the Queene

Rebellion in Ireland.

1569. that they might not be called to the barre, grieving that any of his bloud ſhould bee attainted of rebellion. The remainder of the Rebells the Deputy ſent Sir *Humfrey Gilbert* to purſue, who ſoone vanquiſhed and diſperſed them.

In Ulſter alſo a commotion was raiſed through the inconſtancy of *Turlogh Lenigh*, who was one while for peace, and another while for warre as occaſion ſerved. But he was held in not ſo much by the Engliſh Garriſons, as the Ilanders in Scotland; who, at every hand left their owne leane Territories, to fall upon his fat ſoile. A great maſſe of money was ever and anon ſent out of England, to fortifie the Sea Coaſt againſt their incurſions, but to little purpoſe; through a kind of fatall infelicitie common to England and Ireland, where men thruſt themſelves and are admitted into publike offices, who in ſordid manner preferre their owne private commoditie before the publike benefit.

1570. Reg. 12. Thus was the rebellion quieted in England and Ireland. Now Murray the Regent of Scotland, dealt earneſtly with Queene *Eliſabeth* to have the Queene of Scots delivered into his hands, for which purpoſe he both offered Hoſtages, and promiſed to ſend home the Earles of Weſtmorland and Northumberland: and informed the Queene that the Biſhop of Roſſe was the author of the late rebellion: whereupon he was commited to the Biſhop of London and remained his priſoner. Afterward, that he might ſeeme to oblige the Queen to himſelfe, in the moneth of Januarie he entreth with an Armie upon the Borders Scotland, which looke toward England, to ſearch out the Engliſh Rebells; and intercepted a few, but thoſe of no note. At length he lighted upon the Earle of Northumberland, who lay skulking amongſt them, and ſent him to priſon to Loch-Levin.

Murray ſueth to have the Queene of Scots delivered into his hands.

He is ſlaine. But the very ſame moneth, when he had put an end to his labours, and thought himſelfe ſecure, at Lithquo riding along the ſtreets, was ſhot into the belly with a bullet of lead beneath the navell, and there fell downe dead. The actor was a *Hamilton*, who preſently made eſcape into France, and lived ſome yeeres after, upon every occaſion proteſting, that he acted his owne private revenge, becauſe hee could with no longer patience digeſt the daily injuries and abuſes which he ſuffered at Murray's hands. For Murray, in regard that he held on the Queens ſide, could not endure him, but proſcribed him, caſt him in priſon, & at every hand threatned him with the Gallowes, til he parted with a peece of land which came to him by his wives marriage. Whereupon ſhe fell lunaticke, and hee in a rage broke priſon and committed this ſlaughter. Being in France, ſome there who thought him one fit to performe the like feat againe, would have perſwaded him to doe as much to the Admirall *Colin*; but hee refuſed, ſaying, that hee had beene the revenger of his owne juſt griefe, whereof it repented him too, but of anothers he would never be, either for reward or entreaty.

Hereupon much talke and ſeverall cenſures followed in great Britaine touching the Regent; ſome calling to mind his mothers dreame, after that King *James* the Fifth had left her with child of him, of a Lion and a Dragon ſtriving in her wombe. The wiſer ſort, as they ſtood particularly affected, praiſed him for expelling the Popiſh religion out

of

of Scotland, preſerving the young King, equall adminſtration of juſtice, and bountie towards learned men, *Buchanan* eſpecially. Contrariwiſe others condemned him, ſaying, that he uſed religion but for a cloake, thereby to enrich himſelfe, and his clients with the ſpoiles of the Church, that he was injuriouſly ingratefull toward the Queene his ſiſter, who had ſo well deſerved of him; moſt inhumanly inſulting over her weake ſexe. And theſe out of their owne ſuſpitions and conjectures, and the uſuall ill diſpoſitions of baſtards, preſaged that he would not ſpare the ſon, who had depoſed the mother. The Queen of Scots her ſelfe was grieved that hee was taken away by ſo ſudden and violent death, before (as ſhe ſaid) he could by ſerious repentance retract, and expiate his offences againſt God, his Country, and his Prince. The Engliſh who were affected towards the Duke of Norfolke, as much as they durſt, charged him to have beene a cloſe and cunning diſſembler. 1570.

The night following the Regents death, *Thomas Carre* of Fernihurſt, and *Walter Scot*, men of greateſt valour amongſt the Scottiſh Borderers, and moſt devoted alſo to the Queene of Scots (for they had ſtood by her to the baniſhment of their perſons, the very loſſe of their goods, and overthrow of their eſtate, breathing nothing but revenge againſt the Queen;) made a breach into England together with certaine Engliſh Rebels, and with fire and ſword, waſted all the places they came at, as if they meant to threaten an utter depopulation. Whereupon *Thomas Randolph*, was ſent into Scotland to acquaint the Nobles in a publike aſſembly with the injurie received, and that if they themſelves (by reaſon Scotland was now in a tumult) could not reſtraine theſe troublers of the publike peace, ſhe would ſend ſouldiers of her owne to correct them; yet ſo that they ſhould not offer wrong to any innocent perſon. But hee could have no anſwer, by reaſon there was not a Regent yet choſen in Scotland. Then was warrant given to the Earle of Suſſex, to muſter an Armie for the defence of the Engliſh Borderers, and the repreſſing of the Adverſaries inſolencie, but was commanded to perſecute none but *Carre* and *Scot*, and thoſe who had lately broken into England to make ſpoile with the Engliſh rebells, or harboured any of them. And he might not be ſtaied, how be it the Queen of Scots great friends, the Earles of Argile, and *Huntley*, deſired truce till they had acquainted Queene *Eliſabeth* with the Scottiſh affaire: whom when they could not diſſwade from going on in this enterpriſe, firſt they uſed threatnings, and after changing their note, became earneſt ſuiters to have ſome things repealed, which two yeeres ſince were concluded in Scotland by her arbitration. Notwithſtanding the Earle of Suſſex with the Lord Hunſdon, with *Drury* Marſhall of Berwick, and a complete Armie of the Engliſh entred into Scotland in the middeſt of Aprill, and paſſing along by Tiveſdale, ſets on fire the Townes and Villages of the Scots, and the *Carres*, throwing downe to the ground Fernihurſt and Craling; fortifications of *Thomas Carre*. On the other ſide, *Henry* Lord *Scroope*, at the ſame time entreth the Weſt Border of Scotland, waſting farre and neere a long Ananden the fields of Jonſton and others, which harboured the Engliſh rebells. Three hundred Villages were fired, and about fiftie holds overturned at this time.

An incurſion of the Scots and Rebells into England.

1570 After a few daies reſpite, Suſſex with Baron Hunſdon entring Scotland againe, brought Ordnance and laid ſiege to Humes-Caſtle, which was a receptacle of Engliſh rebells; which was yeelded up, and not above one or two of the rebells taken, whom having hanged, and left a Garriſon there, he commandeth *Drurie* to aſſault Faſt-Caſtle, another fortification of the Lord Humes, and that alſo in a ſhort ſpace they forced to give up.

Aid ſent to the King of Scots. Now the Engliſh rebells, having betaken themſelves into the inner places of Scotland, joyned themſelves to others ſuch like aſſociates; and threatned fire and ſword to the Borderers in England, and them of the Kings partie in Scotland: wherupon Suſſex ſent backe *Drury* within ſeven daies after his return with twelve hundred foot and foure hundred horſe, who at Coldingham tooke Hoſtages for the Earles of *Anguſe*, *Morton*, *Marre* and *Glencarne*; and in like manner for the Lords *Reuven* and *Lindſey*, who had called forth the Engliſh upon earneſt entreaty to come and ſuccour them. Afterward the Earle of Suſſex himſelfe, accompanied with *George Carie*, *Thomas Manours*, *Robert Conſtable* (whom together with *Drury* he had lately Knighted) Sir *Hierom Bowes*, *William Knolles*, *Thomas Brickwell*, *Robert Games*, *Elrington*, *Carwill*, and other Commanders marched to Edenburgh, and joyned their forces to the Earl of Lenox now newly returned out of England, albeit they ſuſpected him a little to be addicted to the Queen of Scots, and the Duke of Norfolkes partie. They paſſe by Lithquo to Glaſco, from whence *Hamilton* the Duke of Caſtle-herald was gone; then they turne aſide to *Hamilton* Caſtle, which they well nigh battered downe with great Ordnance. Likewiſe they ſet fire on the ſtately towne of the *Hamiltons*, made ſpoile of their Lands along Cluidſdale, and returning, ſet upon the Palace of Duke *Hamilton* at Lithquo.

At this time the Nobles of Scotland (ſetting aſide the *Hamiltons*, and the reſt, which held with the Queene of Scots) being ready to aſſemble themſelves about the election of a new Regent, asked counſell of Queen *Eliſabeth* in the matter. She made anſwer, that ſhe would not interpoſe in the creation of a Regent, for that ſhee would not bee thought to worke any thing prejudiciall to the Queene of Scots, whoſe cauſe was not yet judged. Then they created *Matthew* Earle of Lenox the Kings Grandfather, firſt Regent for a time; but ſtraightway made him Regent abſolutely, Queene *Eliſabeth* not gainſaying it. For ſhe knew that hee muſt needs love the young King out of naturall affection, and bee obſervant of the Engliſh in regard of many courteſies received amongſt them.

Lenox made Regent of Scotland.

Queen *Eliſabeth* thus favouring the Kings partie in Scotland, the King of Spaine was not wanting to the empriſoned Queen, but through the care and entreaty of one of the *Hamiltons*, Rector of the Church of Dunbar, ſent out of the Low-Countries great proviſion of Armes and Munition, good ſtore of Gun-powder, and ſome money alſo to the Earle of *Huntley*, Governour for the Queene of Scots in the North parts of Scotland. In the meane time, he, the Duke of Chaſteau-Herald, and the Earle of Argile, the Queenes Leivtenants, upon common advice, and the Queene of Scots conſent, employed the Lord *Seton* to

Duke

Duke D'Alva before whom he opened his message in this manner. 1570.

Seatons Embassie to the Duke of Alva.

That he was sent from a Kingdome deprived both of publike Peace, and an excellent Prince, through the perfidiousnesse of disloyall subjects. And the sum of his Embassage consisted of these particulars. That supply might bee granted for the vindicating of the Queene from Captivitie in a strange Countrie, and the Kingdome likewise from oppression. That the Scottish Rebels might bee hindered from Commerce in the King of Spaines Dominions; and paiment made of ten thousand Crownes, formerly assigned to the Queene of Scots. That the distressed Queene, now fled for succour into the bosome of the King of Spaine, not having her thoughts fixed upon any thing, but Justice, Honour, and Pietie, *(objects well beseeming a Catholike Prince) and desired to use Duke* D'Alva *as an intercessour, whom she knew to be alwaies vigilant for putting the King of Spaines purposes into execution. They proposed to the King of Spaine, no benefit herein; for that were injurious to so great Majestie; but with most thankfull hearts, make proffer of perpetuall observance from a Royall Queene, and ready service from a Warlike Nation. His father* Charles *the Fifth, King of Spaine, and Emperour of Germanie, was famous farre and neere, for re-estating the Duke of Florence, and King* Mahumetan *in their antient Dignities. But if hee should chance restore a Christian Queene, a most constant professour of the Christian Religion, an absolute Princesse, allied by bloud and confederacie to the greatest Princes of the Christian World, the undoubted heire of two most flourishing Kingdomes: how glorious a thing would it be, and an argument of pietie not to be paralleld? That he might hereby not onely deserve well of France, Denmarke, Lorraine, the Guises, Christs Vicar generall upon Earth, and the whole Catholike Church; but also by treading in the steps of his father, in relieving and restoring Princes unjustly deprived of their Crownes, equall, yea, farre exceed the glorie and renowne of his Father. And it may seeme to stand him especially in hand, to see this pernicious example of deposing Princes vindicated, for as much as he is the greatest Monarch of Europe, and his Territories which are farre distant from him, may soone give occasion to such arrogant insolencie. Nor can there bee found out a more excellent patterne and example of Justice. For by re-estating of her, he shall oblige to him in a sure knot of friendship and confederacie, the Dowager of France, absolute Queene of Scotland, and the undoubted Heire of the Crowne of England, yea and the Scottish Nation, whose firme constancie in keeping the league of France, hath been testified to the whole world, ever since the reigne of* Charles *the Great. Hereby also (if he beare a mind like himselfe) a way may bee opened to him, for the revenging of the injuries received from the Queene of England; Who favoureth the Rebells in the Low-Countries, hath intercepted the King of Spaines coyne, handled his Embassadour in evill manner, and seized upon the goods of his subjects. And now to lie still untill Scotland have submitted it selfe to her, were but supine slothfulnesse. That woman would in time become terrible to her neighbours, having once increased her Dominion, and gotten matters peaceable at home; and that masculine spirit and sexe, and ambitious of Rule and Soveraignitie, would soone find out a way, to perplex the King of Spaine with a long and difficult warre. Wherein if shee were prevented, her owne fearefulnesse would easily restraine her; for that very*

1570. *few in Scotland will be oppoſite to the captive Queene, a great part of the Nobilitie, and all the Catholikes of both Kingdomes, favour her, all the Ports of Scotland are at her command, and for ſo ſacred a warre as this, the Pope would not ſpare the goods of the Church. Nothing therefore remaineth, but that the Catholike King will lend his forces in a cauſe ſo juſt, ſo pious, and ſo good example. From him alone, all the Catholikes of great Britaine expect comfort, or elſe a forlorne eſtate.*

D'Alva's anſwer. Duke *D'Alva* made anſwer, that they ſhould find him ready and forward to promote this cauſe to the King of Spaine, with all the might he could: hee might not prohibite the trading of the Scottiſh Rebells (it being againſt the libertie of the Netherlands) but he promiſed the mony ſhould bee paid out of hand. *Seton* now to gaine more favour with the Spaniard and *D'Alva*, in a diſguiſed habit went to the Confederate of the Dutch, and by faire ſpeeches, banquetings, and ſuch like enticements, drew the Scots which were in pay under them, to rebellion, and with great danger of life eſcaped at length to *D'Alva* againe, who promiſed to make ſupply of ten thouſand ſouldiers, and to pay them for ſixe monethes, but in vaine; for great troubles riſing in the Netherlands, he could not make good his promiſe.

The Biſhop of Roſſe, who was agent for the Queen of Scots affaires in England, and for that he had ſecretly ſtirred up the rebellion, was committed to the Biſhop of Londons cuſtodie, being now ſet at libertie, cauſed the French King to deale earneſtly with Queene *Eliſabeth*, by the miniſterie of his Orator here, and *Montlucie*, to have the Queene of Scots enlarged, who made grievous complaint, that ſhee was kept in cloſe cuſtodie, under the Earle of Huntingdon her adverſarie, & rivall, (for he, as well as ſhe, made an obſcure pretence to the right of the Kingdome of England.) The Spaniſh Embaſſador likewiſe, by the inſtigation of the Biſhop of Roſſe, urged the ſame thing very vehemently in his Maſters name. The Queen firſt reckoning up ſome peoples ſecret machinations for the delivering of the Queene of Scots (and cloſely intimating her to be acquainted with the late rebellion) made anſwer:

The Queens anſwer. *That it were inconſiderate and dangerous folly, to ſet her at libertie, who aſpireth to the Crowne of England, by ſuch ill meanes: in ſo much that ſhee was neceſſarily driven to commit her to ſtraighter keeping, to remove ſome of her ſervants, and to joyne Huntingdon (who had no right to the Succeſſion, that ſhe knew of) to the Earle of Shrewsbury, whom ſhe had appointed for her Keeper, but hee long ſince began to ſuſpect his owne ſervants, and perceived that a great many were drawne to favour the Queene of Scots: Yet the Earle of Huntingdon had now for a pretty while been removed from her. Beſides ſhe promiſeth, Not to omit any thing which may make for the reconciling of the matter betwixt the Queen of Scots, and her ſubjects: proteſting alſo not to purſue the injuries received from her. Yet ſhe hopeth the French King, the King of Spaine, and the Queen of Scots will give her leave, to provide for her owne and her ſubjects ſafetie, which nature, reaſon, and her owne honour, requireth at her hands. If any of them can find out a more ready way to avoid the danger, ſhe will gladly heare it, and willingly embrace it.*

After this conference, frequent conſultations were held at the Court, whether

whether it were beſt to ſend to the Queene of Scots home, or to deteine her in England, and which were the beſt way to procure the ſafetie of the Queen, the Kingdome, and Religion. 1570.

In the middeſt of theſe deliberations, died *William Herbert* Earle of Pembroke, who preſaged that his owne death would fall in this Climactericall yeere of his age, leaving behind him three Children, *Henrie*, *Edward*, and *Anne*, and was with a ſumptuous funerall interred in *Pauls* Church, and laied in a goodly Monument. A brave man hee was, and after a ſort framed his owne fortunes; he was in great favour with King *Henrie* the Eighth, and of his Bed-Chamber, compaſſed a faire eſtate by his prudence and providence, eſpecially after that King *Henrie* had married *Katharine Parre* who was his wives ſiſter: Under *Edward* the Sixth, in the midſt of the factions at Court, he was made Knight of the Garter, Maſter of the Horſe, Baron *Herbert* of Cardiff, and Earle of Pembroke. Under Queene *Marie*, hee was chiefe Commander of the Forces levied againſt *Wiat*, and the Engliſh Armie at Saint *Quintins*, Preſident of Wales, and twice Governour of Calice. Under Queene *Eliſabeth* he gained new honours, but for a while was in diſgrace with her, for that upon no evill intent or purpoſe, he helped forward the Duke of Norfolkes marriage with the Queene of Scots, and being dead, was like to be proſcribed, upon ſome new preſumptions ariſing, and occaſions taken. The Earle of Pembroke's death.

Pius Quintus Pope of Rome, having hitherto ſecretly combined againſt the Queen, and the laſt yeere anathematized her in a *Bull Declaratorie*, and raiſed a rebellion, cauſed the ſame now to be faſtned, in the night time, upon the Gate of the Biſhop of Londons Palace, in the Latin tongue, but in Engliſh to this effect.

The ſentence Declaratorie of our holy Lord Pope Pius Quintus, *againſt* Eliſabeth, *the pretended Queene of England, and the Heretikes her adherents.* Pius Quintus Bull.

Wherein all her ſubjects are abſolved from their Oath of Allegiance, or any other duty. And further, all that obey her accurſed with Anathema.

Pope *Pius* ſervant of the ſervants of God,

Ad futuram rei memoriam.

HE that dwelleth in the higheſt heavens, to whom was committed all power, both in heaven and in earth, delivered his one onely Catholicke and Apoſtolike Church, without which there is no ſalvation, to bee governed by one alone upon earth, to wit, Peter *Prince of the Apoſtles, and his Succeſſour the Biſhop of Rome. Him alone he ordained over all Nations, and Kingdomes, to pluck up, and to deſtroy, to ſcatter, diſperſe, plant, and build up: that he might deliver up to his Saviour, his faithfull people, ſafe and whole, knit together in the linke of charitie, and kept in by the Unity of the ſpirit. In the undergoing of which charge, we being called by the good.*

1570. goodnesse of God to sit at the helme of the Church, doe intermit no labour, endevouring with all diligence, that Unitie it selfe, and the Catholique Religion (which the author of the same for our correction and the tryall of the faith of his servants, hath suffered to be shaken with so great stormes) may be kept safe and entire. But the number of wicked persons is now growne so powerfull, that there is left no place in the world which they have not endevoured to corrupt with their wicked doctrines: the chiefe of these is Elisabeth the servant of wickednesse, pretended Queen of England, to whom as to a Sanctuarie the most vile miscreants in the world are fled for refuge. She, having invaded the Kingdome, and monstrously usurping the place of Supreme Head of the Church in all England, and the chiefe authoritie and jurisdiction of the same, brought backe againe into miserable destruction, that Kingdome which, at that time, was reduced into good order, and had embraced againe the Catholike faith. For by power and force inhibiting the exercise of true religion (which being overturned before time by Henrie the Eighth, Apostate from the same, by assistance from this See, Queene Marie of famous memorie restored) and cleaving to, and embracing wicked heresies, dissolved the royall counsell of the English Nobilitie, filled up the number with Heretikes of obscure note, oppressed the Professors of the Catholike Religion, and set up wicked Preachers and Ministers of impietie; abolished the sacrifice of the Masse, Prayers, Fasting, choice and distinction of meates, single life, and the other Catholike rites; Commanded bookes containing manifest heresie to be used throughout the Kingdome, and impious mysteries to be observed by her subjects, according to Calvins prescript: presumed to cast out of their charges, Bishops, Rectors of Churches, and other Priests of the Catholike religion, and to dispose of them to Heretikes, yea and to decide causes of the Church: forbade the Prelats, Clergie and people to acknowledge the Church of Rome for Catholike, or to obey her precepts, and Canonicall injunctions: Compelled a great sort to entertaine her malignant customes, and to abjure all authoritie of the Pope, and obedience to him; and by oath to acknowledge her the onely supreme Governesse in causes Temporall and Spirituall: inflicted punishments upon all that refused to be obedient, cast into prison the Catholike Prelats and Rectors of the Church, where a great many of them lay languishing, and at last ended their life in miserie. All which things being so perspicuous and well knowne among all Nations, confirmed also by the weighty testimonie of a great number, that there is no place left for excuse, deniall or defence: We perceiving that she daily multiplieth impieties upon impieties; and moreover the persecution of the faithfull, and the afflicted state of Religion waxing more grievous every day than other, by the meanes of the said Elisabeth, because we understand her heart is so hardned, that she hath not only contemned the admonitions and pious entreaties of Catholike Princes, but likewise hath not suffered the Nuncio's of this Sea to come over into England: are driven upon necessitie to use the weapons of justice against her, though we cannot chuse but grieve that we should be compelled to chastise one whose Ancestors have so well deserved of the Christian Common-wealth. Wherefore upholding our selves upon his authoritie, whose pleasure it was that we should be placed in this supreme throne of justice, though farre unfit for so weighty an office, by vertue of the fulnesse of our Apostolicall authority,

authority we declare the foresaid Elizabeth *an Heretique, and a favourer of Heretiques, and all her adherents, to have incurred the sentence of Anathema, and to be cut off from the unitie of the body of Christ. Her also to be deprived of her pretended right to the foresaid Kingdome, as likewise of all and whatsoever Dominion, Priviledge, and Dignitie; likewise all the Nobles, Subjects, and People of the said Kingdome, and all others which have sworne to her in any manner or fashion, to be perpetually absolved from such like Oath, as also from all debt of allegeance and duty, like as we by authoritie of these presents doe absolve them: and we doe deprive the said* Elisabeth *of the pretended right to the Kingdome, and all the other forenamed privtledges. And we command and interdict all and singular Peeres, Subjects, People, and others aforesaid, that they presume not to obey her commands, lawes, or behests. Whosoever shall doe otherwise, we anathematize them in like manner, &c. Given at Rome at Saint* Peters *in the yeere of our Lords incarnation* 1569. *the twenty fourth of Februarie, and the fifth yeere of our Popedome.* 1570.

A rebellion begun in Norfolke.

Hereupon new suspicions grew rife that some monster was breeding: and indeed a new rebellion had presently broken forth, but that it was stopped in the very beginning. Certaine Gentlemen of Nobilitie and qualitie in Norfolke, who had a purpose to free the Duke (for he was singularly beloved by all sorts of people) had plotted that when the people were met in great number at Harlstone Faire, a trumpet should be blowne to call the multitude together, under pretence of driving the Dutch out of the Countrey, who by reason of *D'Alva*'s tyrannie were in great troopes landed upon that shore. Some of these were arraigned and condemned of Treason, but (in regard of the Queenes clemency) three onely executed. The most noted of them was *John Throckmorton*, who stood mute at the barre, but at the Gallowes excused the rest, and confessed himselfe to have beene the chiefe author and perswader hereof.

Felton executed for setting up the Popes Bull.

John Felton, he who had pasted the Popes Bull upon the Bishop of Londons Palace gate, not meaning to flie for it, was apprehended and arraigned; he undauntedly confessed the fact, which notwithstanding he would not confesse to be any crime, and was rewarded with the martyrdome which it seemeth he affected; for he was hanged neere the place where he fastened the writing. Nevertheless the more modest amongst the Papists themselves secretly disallowed this Bull, for that there had no lawfull admonition gone before it; foreseeing likewise a heape of miseries by this meanes hanging over their heads, who formerly could exercise their owne Religion securely enough within their owne private houses, or else without any scruple of conscience were content to goe to Church to heare the English Service. And many of them continued firmely in all due obedience to their Prince, when they saw the neighbour Princes and Catholike Provinces did no whit the more refraine commerce with the Queene and her subjects, and the Bull it selfe contemned as a vaine noise of words onely.

The same day that *Felton* was arraigned, the Duke of Norfolke (who confessed he had slipped unawares, and seemed so penitent as if not his heart onely abhorred the marriage, but his eares also could not endure

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1570. the mentioning of it, and had engaged himſelfe in writing not to meddle from henceforth in the marriage of the Queene of Scots without the Queenes conſent) was ſent from the Tower, where the plague began now to come, home to his owne houſe, to be in free cuſtody under Sir *Henry Nevill*, to the great rejoycing of all men. And indeed *Cecill* had told the Queene that the law of *Anno* 25. of *Edward* the third could not lay hold upon him, being a good well-willer of the Dukes; whereupon he dealt earneſtly with him to contract marriage ſpeedily with ſome other for the taking away of all ſuſpicion in that behalfe, and for the publike tranquillities ſake. Yet there wanted not ſome who thought him freed on ſet purpoſe to be brought into greater danger.

The times were now full of ſuſpicions and conſpiracies. For there conſpired to free the Queene of Scots, *Thomas* and *Edward Stanley*, younger ſons of the Earle of Derbie by the daughter of *Thomas* Duke of Norfolke, *Thomas Gerard*, *Rolſton*, *Hall*, and others in Derbyſhire. But *Rolſtons* ſon revealed the conſpiracie, and the reſt were caſt into priſon, excepting *Hall* onely, who eſcaped into the Iſle of Man, and from thence by the commendation of the Biſhop of Roſſe was ſent to Dunbritton, where he was apprehended afterward when the Caſtle was aſſaulted, brought to London, and there executed. The Biſhop of Roſſe alſo himſelfe, who was lately ſet at libertie, is now againe delivered to the Biſhop of Londons cuſtodie, for holding ſecret conferences with the Earle of Southampton, one earneſtly devoted to the Romiſh Religion.

An expedition into Scotland.

The Earle of Suſſex now againe, accompanied with the Lord *Scrop*, entreth into Scotland, ſetteth on fire the Villages along the valley of Anandale, overturneth Anand and Caer-Laverock the Caſtles of the Lords *Heris* and *Maxwell*, who had made incurſions into England; and drave thoſe to ſuch a ſtraight which were for the Queene of Scots, that the Duke of Chaſteau-Herald, and the Earles of Huntley and Argile, ſent him a writing ſigned with their owne ſeales, and ſubſcribed with their owne hand writing, wherein they bound themſelves both to leave off warre, and likewiſe to forſake the Engliſh Rebells. Suſſex returning home, graced theſe perſons for their ſingular valour with the honour of Knighthood, *Edward Haſtings*, *Francis Ruſſell*, *Valentine Browne*, *William Hilton*, *Robert Stapleton*, *Henrie Curwen*, and *Simon Muſgrave*; and himſelfe alſo for his approved valour and wiſedome was afterward admitted to be of the Queenes Privie Councell.

A treatie with the Queene of Scots.

The Queenes mind being now in great ſuſpenſion and ſuſpicion by reaſon of that Bull from Rome, and the late conſpiracie in Norfolke, ſent *Cecill* and Sir *Walter Mildmay* to the Queene of Scots, who was then at Chatteſworth in Derbieſhire who (after a ſhrewd journey by reaſon the waters were forth every where a very great depth) came thither in October to conſult with her by what meanes the breach in Scotland might beſt be made up, ſhe re-eſtated in her former dignitie, and Queene *Eliſabeth* and her young ſon ſecured. She did little elſe but deplore her owne afflicted condition, complaine of the deceitfull carriage of matters by her brother the Earle of Murry, excuſe the Duke of Norfolke, and put her ſelfe wholly upon the Queenes clemency, as having no other hopes to relie upon, having underſtood that ſhe had now

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even as great power in Scotland as in England. They to make up a firm and sincere league for the benefit of both Kingdomes, laid downe these propositions of agreement. *The treatie of Edenburgh should be confirmed. She should renounce her right and title to England during Queene Elisabeths life, or any children lawfully begotten of her body. She should not renew or keepe any league with what Prince soever against England. She should not admit into Scotland any souldiers out of forreine parts. She should have no commerce by consultation with the English or Irish without the Queenes privitie. She should send backe the English Rebells and Run-awaies. She should make good the dammages offered to the English borderers. She should make legall inquirie of the murthers both of her husband Darly, and the Earle of Murray. She should send her sonne for a hostage into England. She should not contract matrimony with any English without the Queenes leave, nor with any other without the allowance of the Nobles of Scotland. The Scottish should not passe over into Ireland without licence obtained first out of England For the confirmation hereof the Queene and Delegates appointed should put to their hands and seales. Six hostages, such as the Queene would nominate, should be sent into England. If the Queen of Scots by her selfe or any other attempted any harme against Queene Elisabeth, she should ipso facto lose all the right she challenged to the Crowne of England. The Castles of Humes and Fast-Castle should be held by the English for three yeeres. Likewise some other fortification in Galloway or Cantire should be given into the hands of the English, whereby the Scottish might be hindered from molesting of Ireland. Lastly, the Nobles of Scotland should confirme these particulars by authoritie of Parliament.*

1570.

Propositions of the English to the Scots.

Hereunto she her selfe gave at the first a provident answer, but referred the fuller answer of these demands to the Bishop of Rosse her Embassadour in England, *Alexander Gordon* Bishop of Galloway the Earle of Huntleyes Uncle, and *William* Lord Levingstone, Delegates from her Vicegerents in Scotland; who afterwards admitted some of these Articles, and rejected others. They made answer, *The treatie of Edenburgh should be confirmed, the title should be renounced as long as Queene* Elisabeth *lived, that ancient league with the French must be considered of: which if they kept not, the Queene must lose her dowrie, the Scottish Nation, maintenance for a hundred horsemen in compleat armour, and a hundred foure and twenty Archers for a Guard; the Merchants, Students, and very many that were gone to their inheritances in France, and held Ecclesiasticall Livings there, should be deprived and throwne out of great pensions and immunities which they enjoy, and Scotland left destitute of friendship and supply from a most potent Nation. Which unlesse the English recompenced some other way, and that in full manner, they might in no case renounce the French league: but they would not admit of any forrain souldiers, unlesse some such rebellion brake forth, which they were not able to quiet with their owne forces at home. The Queene of Scots should have no commerce with the English subjects to the dammage of England, if the Queene of England in like manner held none with the Scottish subjects to the dammage of Scotland. If there were any English Runnagates and Rebells in Scotland, they were in the hands of the Scottish Rebells, and must be taken from them. Detriments and dammages suffered should be examined*

The Scots answer.

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1570. *by Delegates, inquirie ſhould bee made touching the murder of Darlie and Murray, according to the Lawes of Scotland. They could not give the young King for a Hoſtage, ſeeing he was in their hands, who uſed the Kings name for a pretence to their rebellion. It was a ſtrange matter, and the like ſeldome heard of; that a free Prince ſhould take preſcription from a forreine Prince, and her owne ſubjects, what husband ſhe ſhould take. The Scots ſhould not to the dammage of the Queene of England, paſſe over into Ireland without licence, if the Iriſh were bound in like manner not to paſſe over into Scotland. For ſecuritie they conſented to give Hoſtages, whomſoever the Queene of England ſhould nominate, excepting onely the Duke of Caſtle-Herald, the Earles of Huntley, Argile and Athole. Beſides, they were content the Queen of Scots ſhould be excluded from all right of the ſucceſſion of England, if ſhe attempted any thing againſt the Queene of England: ſo that the Queene of England in like manner, would be bound in the like penaltie, not to attempt any thing againſt the Queen of Scots. Touching Caſtle-Hames, and Faſt-Caſtle, they deſire they may be delivered to the Lord Humes their proper owner, and no longer be deteined by the Engliſh. To yeeld fortifications in Galloway or Cantire to forreine Princes, were nothing elſe but to give new matter of warre and variance.*

When as they could not agree upon theſe matters, and no Delegates came from the Regent of Scotland, and yet rumours ſpread abroad, that aides were expected from the Pope, the French King, and Duke *D' Alva*; and the Engliſh Rebells, Weſtmorland, the Counteſſe of Northumberland, and the reſt were conveied out of Scotland (whom the Pope furniſhed with twelve thouſand Crowns) nothing at all came of this Treaty: but that Queene *Eliſabeth* (who now ſate as an honourable Arbitreſſe at the helme of all Britaine) out of her authoritie commanded the aſſembling of the Nobles in Scotland to be prorogued, and truce to be often concluded. For the Leaders of the ſeverall factions greatly afflicted Scotland in every place.

The Biſhop of Roſſe ſent the Articles of this Treaty to the Pope, the French King, and the King of Spaine; intimating that the Queen of Scots muſt of neceſſitie conſent to them, unleſſe counſell and aſſiſtance were in due time afforded, and with many arguments he preſſed them, but all in vaine. For they were wholly taken up with other cares, and the King of Spaine was buſied in making ready for his marriage with *Anne* of Auſtria, daughter to *Maximilian* the Emperour, his owne Niece by his ſiſter, who at this time ſet ſaile from Zeland towards Spaine. And Queen *Eliſabeth* for her honourable conduct through the Britiſh Ocean, ſent Sir *Charles Howard* with the Navie-Royall, and ſome of the prime Nobilitie, thereby to teſtifie her love and reſpect to the houſe of Auſtria.

The King of Spaine marrieth Anne of Auſtria.

Now was the twelfth yeere of the reigne of Queen *Eliſabeth* happily finiſhed, in which the Papiſts giving credit to the fooliſh prediction of Wizards, expected the *golden day*, as they called it. But all true hearted Engliſh rejoyced in triumphant manner, and began to celebrate the ſeventeenth of November (which was the anniverſarie day of her reigne) with thankſgivings and Sermons in Churches, joyfull ringing of the Bells, Tiltings and Bon-fires, which they never left off while ſhe lived:

Queene Eliſabeths Coronation day ſolemnized.

and

and in teſtimonie of the love her Subjects bare her, that day is not yet forgotten. 1571.

At this time *Henrie Clifford* paied his debt to nature, the ſecond Earle of Cumberland of that name, the ſonne of *Henrie*, whom King *Henrie* the Eighth exalted to the honour of an Earle in the yeere 1525. Yet he was deſcended of an ancient and noble familie, and the honour of the ſame augmented by marriages with the heires both of the *Veſcies* and *Veponts*, who in ancient time were hereditarie Viſcounts of Weſtmorland. He by his firſt wife *Elenor*, one of the daughters of *Charles Brandon* Duke of Suffolke by *Marie* ſiſter to King *Henrie* the Eighth; had iſſue one daughter *Margaret*, who in great hopes, and with as great pompe was married to *Henrie* the Earle of Darbies ſonne, being then the ſole heire apparent of the familie. But this hope vaniſhed by his ſecond marriage with *Anne Dacres*, who brought him two ſons that by turnes ſucceeded their father in the Earldome. The death of the Earle of Cumberland.

This yeere alſo died *Nicholas Throckmorton*, of whom we have often had occaſion to ſpeake, the fourth ſonne of Sir *George Throckmorton* by *Katharine* the Lord Vaulx his daughter. A man of great experience, ſound judgement, and ſingular quicke diſpatch in the moſt weighty affaires. He performed many Embaſſages under Queene *Eliſabeth*, with great commendation, but attained no great ſtore of wealth, by reaſon he tooke part with the Earle of Leiceſter againſt *Cecill*. And being at ſupper in the Earles houſe, and feeding hard upon ſallets, there died (not without ſuſpition of poiſon) in a ſeaſonable time for himſelfe and his friends, for he was at this time in great danger both of his life and fortunes, by reaſon of his working braine, and reſtleſſe diſpoſition. And of Nicholas Throckmorton.

In Ireland, *Connogher O-Brien*, Earle of Twomund, not able to endure *Edward Fitton* Preſident of Conacht, who began to rule the Province ſomewhat ſeverely, and to hinder the Potentates of Ireland from polling and grinding the Queens ſubjects, entred into conſultation with ſome few to make a rebellion; which being at the point ready to break forth, was ſtrangly diſcovered. For the day before they meant to take up armes, *Fitton* knowing nothing at all of the matter, ſent the Earle of Twomund word in friendly and familiar manner, that on the morrow, he and a few friends with him would be his gueſts. He, being convinced by his owne conſcience, and ſurpriſed with feare, which in doubtfull matters ever ſurmizeth the worſt, imagined that his intendments were revealed, and that the Governour would come as an enemie rather than a gueſt, ſtraightway ſet ſaile into France, all men wondring what was become of him. His Confederates fearing leſt hee were gone into England to diſcover the matter, kept themſelves at quiet. Which hee having certaine notice of, began to repent him ſeriouſly, ingeniouſly confeſſed the whole buſineſſe to *Norris* the Queenes Embaſſadour in France, and by meanes of his interceſſion was reſtored againe. A rebellion in Ireland commeth to nothing.

But *Thomas Stukley* an Engliſhman, a riotous ſpend-thrift, and a notorious boaſter, having waſted his livelihood fled into Ireland, where failing of his hopes of the Stewardſhip of Wexford, firſt uſed reprochfull and contumelious ſpeeches againſt a well deſerving Queene, and being a contemptible perſon, and not of power enough to raiſe a com- Stukly flieth from Ireland.

1571. commotion, fled out of Ireland into Italie to Pope *Pius Quintus*; where it is incredible how hee insinuated himselfe with flatteries into the old mans favour, who earnestly desired Queene *Elisabeths* ruine, boasting and bragging that with three thousand Italian souldiers, he would drive the English out of Ireland, and fire the English Navie. Which he afterward wickedly undertooke, but it turned to his owne destruction, as we shall shew in the processe of the Storie.

1571. Reg. 14. The Januarie following, the Queene in royall pompe entring the Citie, went to see the Burse which Sir *Thomas Gresham* Knight and Citizen of London, had lately built for the use of the Merchants, and with sound of Trumpets, and the voice of a Herald solemnly named it the Royall Exchange.

Baron Burghley created. A few daies after (though she were alwaies verie sparing and circumspect in dispensing titles of honor) she formally invested Sir *William Cecill* in a robe of honour, and *as well for many services done to her royall Predecessours, as also for his approved circumspection, dexteritie, providence, prudence and counsell in the most weightie affaires of the Kingdome, of her meere motion and speciall favour, gave unto him and the heires male of his body for ever, the Title of Baron of Burghley, &c.*

Letters of Pius Quintus to the Queen of Scots. A little before this, *Ridolphus* the Florentine, heretofore spoken of, who had used merchandize in London now for fifteene yeeres together, conveied secretly to the Queene of Scots, letters from the Pope, wherein he promised to bend all his studies, endevours and furtherance, for the restoring of her, and the promoting of the Catholike Religion, and requesteth her to repose trust in him in all things; and that he may understand by him, who is now comming for Italie, what remedie is best to be used for the Catholike Religion, and the cure of the common calamities of great Britaine. *Ridolfus* also by his owne letters apart desireth the Queene to acquaint the Duke of Norfolke, and her other friends herewithall, and to commend him unto them for an Agent. But shee wisely deferred her answer hereunto (although the French King, *D'Alva*, and the King of Spaine had written to the same purpose) till she saw what would become of the treaty in hand.

For now there were come about the Scottish affaires in the name of the King of Scots, the Earle of Morton, *Percarne* Abbot of Dunfermling, and *James Mac-Gillie*, who when Queene *Elisabeth* required them to unfold more clearely for what causes they had deposed the Queene, and to prove the action just, they exhibited a long and tedious commentarie. Wherein with a certaine insolent libertie, and sharpnesse of words, they endevoured to prove by the ancient right of the Kingdome of Scotland, and examples old and new raked together, that the people of Scotland were above the King, and *Calvins* authoritie also, that popular Magistrates are constituted every where, for the moderation of the licentiousenesse of Princes, and that it is lawfull for them both to imprison Kings, and upon just causes to depose them. Besides, they made great boast of their lenitie and kinde usage towards the Queen of Scots, in that they had given her leave to surrogate her owne sonne in the Kingdome, and make choice of Tutors for him. But it was more out of the peoples goodnesse and mercie, than her owne desert, that

she

she was suffered to live; and much more to like purpose, as factious dispositions are wont sawcily to controule Royall Majestie. This writing the Queene could not reade without some indignation, and tacitly condemned the same as injurious to all Princes. But to the Delegates she gave this answer: She saw no just cause as yet wherefore they should handle the Queene in such manner, and therefore willed them to enter into some consultation out of hand, how to allay the dissensions in Scotland. 1571.

Demands for the deliverie of the Queen of Scots.

Hereupon in Sir *Nicholas Bacons* house Keeper of the Great Seale, propositon was made to the Bishop of Rosse, the Bishop of Galloway, and Baron Levingston Delegates for the Queene of Scots; that for the securitie of the Kingdome, and the Queene of England, and the Nobles of Scotland which held with the King, it was requisite, that before the Queene of Scots were set at libertie, the Duke of Castle-Herald, the Earles of Huntley, and Argile, the Lord *Humes*, *Herus*, and another of the Barons were delivered for Hostages, and the Castles of Dunbriton and Humes yeelded up into the hands of the English for three yeeres. They made answer; *It was not to bee doubted, but the Queene of Scots, who of her owne accord had committed her selfe to the patronage and protection of Queene* Elisabeth, *would also be ready to satisfie her in all things that might conveniently be performed. But to yeeld up so great personages, and such fortifications as were demanded, were nothing else but to leave the miserable Queene utterly destitute of faithfull friends and counsellors, and naked of all places fit for guard and defence, and so in the end to expose her as a prey to her adversaries.* Yet they offered to give two Earles, one of which should be taken out of the then-named; and two Barons for Hostages till two yeeres were expired. But for that they were tyed in another league, they could not deliver those forts, unlesse others also were given to the French in their stead. *But* (saith *Bacon*) *the whole Kingdome of Scotland, Prince, Peeres, and Castles, are not sufficient to secure the Queen and the flourishing Kingdome of England, and therefore the Queene of Scots might not be freed, whatsoever securitie the Scots proposed.*

Hereupon they gathered straightway, and spake it openly, that now at the length they plainely perceived, that the English had determined to keepe the Queen of Scots perpetually prisoner, and likewise to breake off the Treatie, seeing they rigorously exacted such securitie, as Scotland was not able to make good. Notwithstanding, the rest of the Counsellours of England protested, that they desired the Queene of Scots should bee set at libertie, alwaies provided that sufficient securitie were awarded. And for this very purpose they dealt afterwards with the Earle of Morton, and his associates concerning these things, and about sending the King into England, who plainly made answer, that they had no authoritie to advise either about receiving of the Queen into Scotland, or sending the King into England. But the Queene of Scots Delegates, rejected this as a frivolous excuse; saying, *That they surely had authoritie enough to consult about freeing of the Queene, who had beene the Authors of deposing her. Neither was it requisite they should expect commission from the Confederats, seeing they were all equall in this matter. As for the Prince, he was hardly five yeeres old, and therefore could grant no*

1571. *delegation. The Regent had committed the whole matter to Queenes* Elisabeths *good liking.*

Wherefore they requested to have them forced to a consultation, or else that the matter might bee transacted upon equall conditions without them. But the Queene seeing that nothing could be done for her owne, the King and Queene of Scots safetie, unlesse both factions consented, held it meet that the Nobles of Scotland, who were now ready to assemble, themselves should appoint some chosen persons to compound the matter.

Hereupon the Bishop of Rosse and his Collegues made open complaint, that some of the Counsellors of England had abused the Queens wisedome, and the Queene of Scots patience; had deluded forreine Princes, and drawne on the Scots with hurtfull and deceitfull hopes. And the Queene of Scots her selfe querulous and full of stomack, being weary of these delaies, calleth away the Bishop of Galloway and Baron Levingston, giveth charge to the Bishop of Rosse (whom the Queene had commanded to depart from London) to tarry there by the right of an Embassadour, which thing was somewhat suspicious: Willeth her partie in Scotland to take up Armes, and trust vaine conferences no longer.

The Queen of Scots partie oppressed.

For whiles these matters in England proceeded in this sort, they were very hardly used, a great number executed, more slaine, Dunbriton Frith taken, the strongest Castle in Scotland, & *J. Hamilton* Archbishop of St. *Andrews*, the Duke of Castle-Heralds bother, hanged upon a paire of Gallowes as an accessary to the murder of Darly, but was not arraigned according to the custome of the Countrey, and upon no other ground made away, but the intimation of a Priest, who said he had formerly heard it of one of the Kings assassinates in confession.

Now that the captive Queene was left hopelesse and full of griefe, and all her servants taken from her, excepting ten onely, and a Priest to say Masse, and no way left for the procurement of libertie, which by the instinct of nature every one loveth; she could no longer keepe that matter close, which hitherto she had concealed.

The Queen of Scots discourse to Norfolke.

Wherefore she makes secret conveiance of a large commentarie of her counsells formerly written, and some certaine love-letters to the Duke of Norfolke in a private character between them, and withall other letters to bee carried to the Pope, and the King of Spaine by *Ridolfus*, whom she commended to the Duke as a well-willer of hers, and a fit instrument for him. *Higford* one that waited upon the Duke in his Chamber, and had coppied out this Commentarie, and the letters into an ordinarie hand, was commanded to burne them, but hid the same under a Mat in the Dukes Bed-chamber, and that purposely, as it should seeme. This same *Ridolfus* once in the Dukes presence, but often by the ministerie of one *Barker*, discoursed to this effect.

Ridolphus discourse.

That he had observed how a great number in England, as well of the Nobilitie as Communaltie, desired a change of the state, and they were of three sorts; some that under Queen Maries *reigne had beene in grace and authoritie, but were now of no reckoning; some who being addicted to the Popish Religion, were greatly displeased, that they might not exercise the same at*

their

their pleaſures, and others who framing to themſelves new hopes, were not contented with their owne preſent condition. Theſe wanted nothing to ſpurre them forward to any bold attempt, but ſome eminent Leaders, ſupplies of money, and forreine aſſiſtance. Now there was not any where to be found a man in all reſpects more fit to be a Commander in ſuch a ſervice, than the Duke, whether Nobilitie of ſtocke be regarded, or eſtimation with the people. Meet it is was beſides, that he ſhould revenge the injuries received, having againſt the Lawes of the Kingdome been kept in priſon ſo long, and now to his great diſgrace, not ſummoned to the Parliament, where he ought to have a place and voice, as the cheife of the Peeres, and Earle Marſhall of England. 1571.

To perſwade this more effectually, hee exhibited to the Duke a Catalogue of the Nobilitie, who had vowed themſelves and their fortunes to the Duke, if he would take in hand this enterpriſe. *The Pope (ſo that the Catholike Religion might be promoted) would himſelfe undergo the whole charge of the warre, and had laid downe an hundred thouſand crownes the laſt yeere when the Bull was publiſhed, whereof* Ridolfus *himſelfe had diſperſed twelve thouſand amongſt the Engliſh that were fled. He promiſed that the King of Spaine who was provoked by the wrongs of the Engliſh, would ſend a ſupply of forces, to wit, foure thouſand horſe, & 6000. foot, which might conveniently be landed at Harwich a Port Towne of Eſſex (neere whereunto the Duke hath many Tenants) and that without ſuſpicion at the beginning of Summer, when the Duke of Medina was to come with a great Navie into the Low-Countries.* His promiſes.

Laſtly, he concluded, *that things might be carried with ſuch a temper, that there need be no ſuſpition as if the Duke affected the Kingdome, and the Queene of England alſo might be in ſafetie, if onely ſhe would embrace the Romiſh Religion, or tolerate it, and give way to the Queen of Scots marriage with the Duke.*

Theſe things the Duke liſtned to, as carrying with them ſome ſhew of probabilitie, but would in no wiſe ſubſcribe to the letters of truſt, as they call them, which *Ridolfus* at his departure exhibited to him. Neither would he ſo much as heare of the advice which the Biſhop of Roſſe with much cogitation had found out, and ſuggeſted to him by the ſaid *Barker*; namely, *That the Duke with a certaine number of the Nobilitie, ſhould intercept the Queen on a ſudden, and hinder the Parliament; which he ſaid might eaſily be done in regard of the fitneſſe of the time, when ſo many of the Nobles devoted to the Duke, would with all alacritie attempt this, and ſo many at another time could not meet in one place without ſuſpition. Very juſt cauſes there were for this, for as much as the Duke had wrongfully been held in priſon a great while, not admitted to the Parliament, and for that more ſevere lawes were invented againſt the Papiſts. Hereof there wanted not examples enow, for many the like ſudden aſſaults had ſucceeded happily, and not long ſince five of the Nobles in Scotland had hindred the Parliament, and gotten the Queene into their cuſtodie, and with as much facilitie (if the occaſion now offered were laid hold on) might Queen* Eliſabeth *be ſurpriſed, the marriage with the Queen of Scots made up, and the Catholike Religion promoted without any great noiſe, without forreine ſupplies.* Roſſes plot.

This advice the Duke (who by reaſon of his inward goodneſſe abhorred

1571. horred any impious fact) rejected as pernicious and dangerous. But nigh upon the ſame time *Henry Percy* profered his furtherance to the Biſhop of Roſſe for the freeing of the Queene of Scots, if *Grange* and *Carre* would be ready to receive her at the borders of Scotland, and his brother the Earle of Northumberland in Scotland might be ſet at libertie. But he being held ſuſpected by reaſon of his intimate familiaritie with Burleigh, and deferring the matter ſomewhat long, this project vaniſhed; as alſo that of *Powell* of Sandford, and *Owen* ſervant to the Earle of Arundell, who offered to undertake it, but that the Biſhop of Roſſe, thinking them men of too ſmall note, and unable to effect it, hindered them. But we will for a while omit what paſſed more ſecretly in this buſineſſe, till time bring more things to light.

A removing of the earth.

About this time there was a prodigious earthquake in the Eaſt part of Herefordſhire at a little Towne called Kinnaſton. For upon the ſeventeenth day of Februarie, at ſixe of the clocke in the Evening, the earth began to open, and a hill with a rocke under it (at firſt making a great bellowing noiſe, which was heard by neighbours a great way off) as it had riſen from ſleepe, lifted it ſelfe up a great height, and began to travell, bearing along with it the trees that grew upon it, the ſheepfolds and flockes of ſheepe abiding there at the ſame time. Some trees in the way were throwne downe and covered with earth, others when the mountaine came to them, became ſo faſt fixed to it as if they had firſt taken root there. In the place from whence it firſt moved it left a gaping diſtance forty foot broad, and foureſcore ells long: the whole field was about twenty acres. Paſſing along it overthrew a Chappell ſtanding in the way, removed an Ewe tree planted in the Church yard from the Weſt into the Eaſt. With the like force it thruſt before it highwayes, ſheepfolds, hedges, and trees; made tilled ground paſture, and againe turned paſture into tillage. All the earth which it met withall lying higher than ordinarie it rolled together, and knitting it as it were by maine force, made it into an high mountaine, like as it had beene a great heape of earth caſt up. Having walked in this ſort from Saturday in the evening till Monday noone, wearie in a manner of the journey, and labouring of its owne weight, it ſtood ſtill.

In France a little before this in great pomp and royall magnificence was the marriage ſolemnized between *Charles* the ninth King of France, and *Eliſabeth* of Auſtria daughter to *Maximilian* the Emperour; for the honourable gratulation whereof, the Queene, out of her inward affection to the Emperour, whom ſhe reverenced alwayes as he had beene her father, reſpect to the French King her Neighbour and Confederate, and for her owne reputation ſake, ſent into France *Thomas* Lord Buckhurſt, who was there entertained ſutable to the dignitie of himſelfe, and the perſon he repreſented. In his retinue was one *Guido Calvacantius* a Noble man of Florence, one of great wiſedome and experience; with whom the Queen mother of France, who her ſelfe was a Florentine alſo, a woman provident for her own and her childrens good, dealt plainly about the matter of marriage between Queen *Eliſabeth* and her ſon *Henry* Duke of Anjou, ſent Articles to the Queene by him: and the French King was very earneſt in the matter for his brother both by his Embaſſa-

A marriage propounded betwixt Queen Eliſabeth and the Duke of Anjou.

dour

dour in Ordinarie here in England, and divers others of his Miniſters, for almoſt a whole yeere together. 1571.

This marriage was the more likely to have gone forward, becauſe hope was conceived here that the Popiſh Religion had not taken ſuch deepe root as yet in the Princes mind, both becauſe he was young, and had beene educated under *Caravalette* a favourer of the Proteſtant Religion, but that by little and little it was not improbable he might be allured to embrace the ſame really. Which if it might be effected, they preſaged that great commodities might hence ariſe for the good of the reformed Religion: for the young man being of a militarie diſpoſition, might prove a good curbet of the Popiſh faction by the joint forces of the Germans and Engliſh, might lay a ſure foundation of perpetuall peace betweene France and England, and breake in pieces the attempts of the Queene of Scots, the Spaniard, the Pope, and the rebellious Iriſh; beſides, might adde to the Crowne of England the wealthy Dukedomes of Anjou, Burbon, Aveine, and in probabilitie greater matters alſo. Finally, that a more honourable match in likelihood would never be profered if this were neglected. Hope conceived of it.

After much diſpute to and fro the French propounded three Articles, concerning the Coronation of the Duke, the joint adminiſtration of the Kingdome, and the toleration of his Religion. Whereunto this anſwer was made; *That the Queen without the conſent of the Nobles of the Kingdome could not promiſe that he ſhould be crowned after the marriage, but at the ſolemnitie he ſhould be adorned with a matrimoniall Crowne (as they call it) ſo this were without prejudice to her Majeſtie, her Heires and Succeſſours: and ſhe would be no wayes wanting, but very well content that the greateſt honour which could be might be conferred upon her husband, ſo that it were done with the good liking of her people. Touching the joint government, ſhe thinketh it nothing unreaſonable to take him as a conſort and helper in the adminiſtration of her Kingdomes, whom ſhe ſhould accept for a husband. But for the toleration of Religion, ſome weighty cauſes there were wherefore ſhe could not yet yeeld her conſent.* Which were theſe: *Although an outward forme of Chriſtian Religion in divers rites and ceremonies might be tolerated amongſt the ſubjects of the ſame Kingdome, yet a different and contrarie Religion betweene a Queene, who is the head of her people, and her owne husband, might ſeeme not onely dangerous, but abſurd. She entreateth the King of France and the Queene Mother to conſider and weigh in equall ballance the danger on the Queenes part in the one Scale, and the Dukes honour in the other.* To this concluſion the matter came at the length, that if the Duke would affoord his preſence with the Queene at Divine Service after the manner of the Church of England, and not refuſe to heare and frame the Doctrine of the Church of England, he ſhould not be compelled to uſe the Engliſh rites; neither he nor his familie moleſted for uſing any other divine rites, not expreſly repugnant to the Word of God, &c. but they could not accord upon theſe and ſuch like niceties, wherefore the treaty was broken off. The Articles. The Anſwer.

Some thought that this was no ſerious treaty of the French King and his mother, but to the end that the mention of marriage with a Proteſtant Prince might ſeeme a pledge of their ſincere good meaning toward

1571. ward the Proteſtants, and hinder the ſecret treaty of marriage which they beleeved was held betweene Queene *Eliſabeth* and the King of Navarre, whom the French King wiſhed might be his ſiſters huſband. Neither did they thinke here in England that the Queene was all this while in earneſt, but that hereby the Proteſtants might find more favour with the King and the Queene Mother, the Queene of Scots hopes be daſhed, the King of Spaines and the Iriſh machinations by the Cardinall of Loraine againſt England be defeated, and the Popes thunderbolts, by the procurement of the French King, blowne away. For the Earle of Leiceſter (who knew more of the Queenes intentions than any man) at that time wrote to *Walſingham* the Queenes Embaſſadour in France, *That indeed the Queene had a certaine inclination to marriage, but it was ſomewhat cold; and ſo ſhe ſtood affected, that ſhe rather thought it was expedient ſhe ſhould marry, than had a deſire to it her ſelfe. Moreover, if the Duke in the treaty ſhould leave out that Article which concerned the toleration of Religion, yet the Queene would bind him with ſome ſuch other caution, that he would hardly make any farther mention of it afterward.*

The Queene of Scots marriage haſtened.

The French uſed not more care and diligence for the making up of this marriage, than ſome Engliſh here at home did for the haſtening of that other betweene the Queene of Scots and the Duke of Norfolke, whom with their wicked counſells and allurements they ſo brought backe, that forgetting his promiſe to the Queen, he began to think of that marriage now againe, which was found out by theſe beginnings.

How diſcovered.

Ridolphus the Florentine, who was ſent abroad to apply the affaires of the Queene of Scots, had imparted to one *Charles Bailife* a Dutchman, and a ſervant to the Queene of Scots, whatſoever he had beene treating of with Duke *D'Alva*, and delivered him a packet of letters, to her, the Spaniſh Embaſſadour, the Duke of Norfolke, the Biſhop of Roſſe, and the Lord *Lumley*: which though the Biſhop of Roſſe had charged *Bailife* to leave with the Governour of Calice to be ſent over, yet he himſelfe brought them into England. But ſo ſoone as he was landed at Dover, he was apprehended and impriſoned, and the packet ſent to the Lord *Cobham* Warden of the Cinque Ports. This the Biſhop of Roſſe was firſt made acquainted withall; and hee dealt ſo accurately and cunningly with *Cobham*, who alſo ſomewhat favoured the Queene of Scots, and knew a little of the Dukes counſells, that that packet was given to him, and another folded up, and ſome old letters encloſed and delivered to the Counſellours, and word hereof was ſent to *Bailife*. But he being ſet upon the rack, confeſſed ſome other things, and amongſt the reſt, that there came a packet of letters to the Biſhop of Roſſe his hands. This alſo came to the Biſhop of Roſſe his eares, who very warily ſent away his man *Cuthbert* preſently, and conveyed all the letters, and whatſoever might doe him any diſpleaſure, to ſome ſure friends; in ſo much that when the Earle of Suſſex, Burleigh, *Mildmay*, and *Sadlier*, came to ſearch his houſe, they could find nothing, nor get any thing out of him by their interrogatories, who ſtoutly ſtood in it that an Embaſſadour was not to give account to any but his Prince. Yet two dayes after the Biſhop of Roſſe was committed to the Biſhop of Elies houſe,

houſe, and a little after that ſent into the Iſle of Ely. Alſo *Thomas Stanley*, Sir *Thomas Gerard*, and *Rolſton* (of whom I ſpake before) were caſt into the Tower; and *Henrie Howard*, who had an aſpiring mind to the Arch-Biſhopricke of York, upon ſuſpicion was committed to the Arch-Biſhop of Canterburies keeping. 1571.

Money ſent into Scotland.

The Queene of Scots at the ſame time had ſent a certaine ſumme of money to the French Embaſſadour to be conveyed to her Confederates in Scotland. He delivered the ſame to *Barker* and *Higford*, who having acquainted the Duke with the matter, delivered it to one *Browne* a Citizen of Shrewsburie, a follower of the Duke, to be borne by *Baniſter* and *Lowder* into Scotland to the Lord *Heris*. *Browne*, a ſuſpicious fellow, finding by the weight that he had gold given him, when they had told him it was but ſilver, went and gave the ſame with the letters to the Lords of the Councell.

Here now the wiſer ſort obſerved that the Duke firſt committed Treaſon, for that he lent ſupply to *Heris* and the Scots who had beene proclaimed enemies of the State for ſpoiling the Borders. Upon this *Higford* is committed to priſon, who preſently confeſſed the whole matter concerning the money, and withall gave notice where he had hid the letters, and the ſecret characters, and that Commentarie alſo of the Queene of Scots which I mentioned before. She in that Commentarie openeth theſe things at large; *That the French approved the conference held with the Scots, but propounded the marriage of the Duke of Anjou with Queene* Eliſabeth, *for no other cauſe but to have a more colourable pretence to denie the ſupplies which they had promiſed for the re-eſtating of her. They alſo did ſecretly oppoſe the marriage with* John *of Auſtria, but favoured that rather with the Duke of Norfolke, out of hatred to the Spaniards. That Duke* D'Alva *did ſo diſallow the plot of helping the Queene of Scots into Scotland, that he thought it the next way to worke the deſtruction of the Queene her ſelfe, and the Catholike Religion in Great Britaine. For that if the Queene returne into Scotland, ſhe muſt needs undergoe either the hazzard of a ſiege, or a battell with the Rebells, who will eaſily ſurpriſe her, with the aid of the Engliſh, before forraine ſupplies can be ready. Seeing therefore ſhe cannot be ſafe in Scotland, and the civill warres waxe ſo hot in France that little helpe is to be looked for from thence, it was beſt for her to flie to the King of Spaine for help, who had propounded the matching with* John *of Auſtria. Yet ſhe ſhould refuſe that too upon faith engaged that the Duke of Norfolke ſhould reſtore the Catholike Religion in Great Britaine. Likewiſe that her ſon ſhould forthwith be conveyed out of Scotland, and ſent into Spaine. For by that meanes both he ſhould be in ſafetie, ſhould be inſtructed in the Catholike Religion from his very childhood, and withall there ſhould be taken away all pretext from the Scots, who colour their rebellion under his name. For the tranſacting of theſe matters, and the procurement of aides from abroad,* Ridolphus *was to be ſent away, who muſt have ſpeciall warning given him not to acquaint the French herewithall.*

The Queene of Scots diſcourſe.

When the Lords of the Privie Councel had taken this Commentary, the letters I ſpake of, and other letters ſent from the Pope, and *Barker* being intercepted had confeſſed all theſe particulars, Sir *Ralph Sadlier* was commanded

1571. commanded to keep watch with an armed Companie before the Dukes houſe in London. Two daies after the Duke himſelfe being examined (not knowing what his Confederates and ſervants had confeſſed, and imagining that the ſaid commentarie and letters had beene burnt long before) denied every particular which they had confeſſed. Hereupon within a day or two, he was brought backe to the Tower of London (from whence he had been ſet libertie a yeere before) by *Ralph Sadlier*, *Thomas Smith*, *Henrie Nevill*, and Doctor *Wilſon*, upon the ſeventh day of September, to the great ſorrow and diſcontent of the people. Afterward *Baniſter* who was the Dukes counſell at law: alſo the Earles of Arundell and Southampton, the Lord *Lumley*, the Lord *Cobham*, and his brother *Thomas*, *Henrie Percie*, *Lowder*, *Powell*, *Godier*, and others are committed to priſon, and all theſe upon hope of pardon confeſſed what they knew in this buſineſſe.

Norfolke brought backe againe to the Tower.

And others.

When the Councell brought forth, in the Dukes preſence, theſe mens confeſſions, letters of the Queene of Scots and the Biſhop of Roſſe, and the Commentarie it ſelfe, he was greatly afraid; but when he beheld the Commentarie and letters, which hee over-credulouſly thought had been on a light fire long before, he was amazed and brake forth into theſe words: *I am betraied and undone by mine owne ſervants, not having learned to bee diſtruſtfull, which is the very ſinew of wiſdome.* Then with all ſubmiſſion he beſought the Counſellours, to mediate for him to the Queen for pardon, promiſing not to conceale any thing of all that he knew, and ſolemnly proteſting that hee had allowed of nothing which hee thought might be a wrong to the Queen, or hurtfull to the Kingdome, yea, that with all his heart he condemned the counſells about the ſurpriſing of the Queene, the ſeizing upon the Tower of London, and the freeing of the Queene of Scots; nor ever thought of admitting any forreine ſouldiers, but onely to ſuppreſſe the Scots rebelling againſt their Queene. The ſame day being examined of above fifty ſeverall Articles more or leſſe, hee concealed nothing. Afterward the ſtorie of the whole matter was orderly declared in the Star-Chamber, at a full meeting of the Nobilitie, the Lord Maior alſo and the Aldermen of the Citie of London being preſent, and afterward to the whole Citie at the Guild-Hall by *William Fleetwood* Recorder of London.

Now ſeeing that by all the confeſſions of every partie, and of the Duke himſelfe, the Biſhop of Roſſe was laid open to have beene the contriver of the whole buſineſſe, a ſerious deliberation was held what to doe to him, for that he was an Embaſſadour. For he thinking (as that Nation of men is wont to doe) that it was lawfull for him by any meanes whatſoever to promote the affaires of his Prince, and that by the ſacred and inviolable right of Embaſſadours, he could not be called to any forreine barre to make anſwer; had long ſince ſet many turbulent matters on foot, by kindling the rebellion, and holding ſecret counſells in the night time with the Earle of Southampton and others, and now alſo with the Engliſh exiles in the Low-Countries, Duke *D'Alva*, the King of Spaine, and the Pope, about the invading of England: therefore the buſineſſe was propounded to *David Lewis*, *Valentine Dale*, *William Drury*,

A conſultation concerning an Embaſſadour.

Drury, William Aubrey, and *Henrie Jones*; men moſt skilfull in the Imperiall Law. 1571.

Queſtions concerning Embaſſadours.

First, *Whether an Embaſſadour who raiſeth rebellion againſt that Prince, to whom he is Embaſſadour, may enjoy the priviledges of an Embaſſadour, and is not ſubject to puniſhment as an enemie?*

They anſwered, That ſuch an Embaſſadour both by the law of Nations, and the Civill Law of the Romans, hath forfeited the priviledges of an Embaſſadour, and is liable to puniſhment.

Secondly, *Whether the Miniſter or Proctor of a Prince, who is depoſed by publike authoritie, and into whoſe roome another is inaugurated, may enjoy the priviledges of an Embaſſadour?*

They anſwered, That if ſuch a Prince be lawfully depoſed, his Proctor cannot challenge the priviledges of an Embaſſadour, for as much as none but abſolute Princes, and ſuch as have right of Majeſtie, can appoint Embaſſadours.

Thirdly, *Whether a Prince who is come into another Princes Kingdome, and held in cuſtodie, may have his Proctor, and if he ſhall be held for an Embaſſadour?*

They anſwered, if ſuch a Prince have not loſt his Soveraigntie, he may have a Proctor, but whether that Proctor be to be reputed an Embaſſadour or no, this dependeth upon the authoritie of his Delegation.

Fourthly, *Whether if a Prince give warning to ſuch Proctor, and to his Prince who is under cuſtodie, that this Proctor ſhall not from henceforth be accounted for an Embaſſadour, whether that Proctor may by law challenge the priviledges of an Embaſſadour?*

They anſwered, A Prince may forbid an Embaſſadour to enter into his Kingdome, and may command him to depart the Kingdome, if hee containe not himſelfe within his due limits; nevertheleſſe in the meane while he is to enjoy the priviledges of an Embaſſadour.

Upon the anſwers of theſe men learned in the Civill Law, the Biſhop of Roſſe is ſent for out of the Ile of Elie, and being ſharply reprehended, is warned by the Lords of the Counſell, that he ſhall not any longer bee eſteemed as an Embaſſadour, but be puniſhed as an ill deſerving companion. He made anſwer, *That he was the Embaſſadour of an abſolute Queen, and one unjuſtly deprived, that according to his duty he had beene carefull for his Princes libertie, and ſtudious for the good of both Kingdomes: That he came into England upon publike caution (which he there exhibited) with the plenarie authoritie of an Embaſſadour, and that the ſacred rights of Embaſſadors are in no caſe to be violated. Cecill* Lord Burleigh gravely adverteſeth him, that neither the rights of Embaſſage, nor letters of publike truſt, could ſecure thoſe Embaſſadours who plainly offend againſt Majeſtie, but that they are liable to penall actions; otherwiſe wicked Embaſſadours might freely worke againſt the lives of Princes. He on the other ſide urged that he had not violated the rights of an Embaſſadour *Via juris*, but *Via facti* (to uſe his owne words) and nippingly adviſeth them not to ſhew him harder meaſure, than was uſed toward the Engliſh Embaſſadours, *Throckmorton* in France, *Randolph* and *Tamworth* in Scotland, who had raiſed rebellions there, and were open abettors of the ſame, and yet had no greater puniſhment inflicted on them, but to

The Embaſſadors anſwer.

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1571. be gone within a ſet time. When they began to urge him with what the Engliſh had confeſſed againſt him; he lovingly requeſted them not to doe ſo, for as much as by a received cuſtome which had the ſtrength of a Law, as he ſaid; *The teſtimony of an Engliſhman againſt a Scot, or of a Scot againſt an Engliſhman is not to be admitted.* After ſome further altercation, whether this axiome have place, otherwiſe than betwixt the Borderers of both Kingdomes, and that in ſuch cauſes onely as concerne the Borders; the Biſhop is led away to the Tower, and kept cloſe priſoner, where he anſwered the ſeverall demands and allegations, upon this caution, that his anſwers might be prejudiciall to no man. He excuſed the Queen of Scots, for that ſhe being kept priſoner, and in the flower of her age, could doe no other but ſeeke out all poſſible meanes of freeing her ſelfe, ſeeing that Queene *Eliſabeth* would ſuffer none to come at her, had cut off all hopes of libertie from her, and did openly relieve her adverſaries. He excuſed the Duke, for that he had done nothing in the marriage of the Queene of Scots, but with conſent of moſt of the Queenes Counſell, and might not afterward forſake her, though he had made ſuch promiſe to the Queen under his hand-writing, for as much as there had firſt paſſed a mutuall promiſe of marriage betweene them. Laſt of all, he excuſed himſelfe alſo, that being an Embaſſadour & Miniſter, he could not in conſcience neglect his duty, nor forſake his Prince in an afflicted eſtate and condition. But he propounded the advice of ſurprifing the Queene to no other end, but to find out the Dukes mind, whether or no he ſtood inclined to ſuch an exploit. The faults of the reſt he wiſely extenuated, but would in no caſe be wrought upon to tell who thoſe Nobles were which had vowed themſelves to aſſiſt the Duke in the intercepting of the Queen. But hee confeſſed that by the Queen of Scots command, he had adviſed with the Duke, the Earle of Arundell, *Lumley*, and *Throckmorton*, by intercourſe of ſervants, and with the Viſcount *Montacute* by *Lumley*, of delivering the Caſtles in Scotland, the Hoſtages and King into the hands of the Engliſh, about renouncing of the Title, and ſending home the Engliſh Rebells.

Lenox Regent of Scotland ſlaine.

At this very ſeaſon *Matthew* Earle of Lenox Regent of Scotland, the Kings Grandfather, had ſummoned an aſſembly of the Nobles at Sterlin, in the name of the King, where (thinking nothing) by the Nobles of the adverſe partie, who in the Queens name held a meeting at Edenburgh, he was ſet upon at unawares. And having yeelded himſelfe to *David Spenſe* of Wormeſton (who was then very carefull and diligent to defend him) together with him was ſlaine by *Bell* and *Caulder*, when with great induſtrie he had adminiſtred the Kingdome for his Grandchild about fourteen moneths: while the French King on the one ſide favoured the Queenes partie, and on the other Queene *Eliſabeth* applied her ſelfe to the Kings adherents; each of them not ſo much in deſire of any victorie, as feare to be overcome. Queen *Eliſabeth* out of a certaine hope to have the young King given into her hands, the French King to get the Forts of Dunbriton and Edenburgh, who grievouſly afflicted the Scottiſh Merchants in France, and forbade them to trade in his Dominions; and very many to enjoy freedome of Commerce, were by him allured to favour the partie of the Queene of Scots. In the roome of

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the Earle of Lenox, *John Arcskin* Earle of Marre, by common consent of the Kings faction was choſen Regent of Scotland; who being plagued on the one ſide with the turbulent counſells of them of his owne partie, and on the other with the petulancie and inſultings of the adverſe faction, a man of a quiet diſpoſition, and a lover of peace, through extreame griefe departed this life, when hee had governed thirteene moneths. 1571.

The iniquitie of theſe times, and the pious affection of the Nobilitie and Commons now met at Weſtminſter, toward their Prince, did neceſſarily extort a Law, for the preventing of the treacherous endevours of ſeditious ſubjects; wherein it was provided, *If any one endevour the Queenes deſtruction, or hurt, doe move or cauſe others to ſtirre up warre againſt her: if any ſhall affirme that ſhe doth not rightfully enjoy the Kingdome, or that any other by better right ought to enjoy the ſame; or ſhall pronounce her to be an hereticke, ſchiſmatike or an infidell; ſhall uſurpe the right of the Kingdome during her life; or affirme the right to the Crowne to bee in any other, or that the Lawes and Statutes cannot bind and determine the right of the Crowne, and the ſucceſſion of the ſame; he ſhall be guiltie of Treaſon If any one during the Queenes life, by booke written or printed, ſhall expreſly affirme that any is or ought to be the Heire or Succeſſor of the Queen,* beſides the naturall off-ſpring of her body, *or ſhall to that purpoſe, publiſh, print, or diſperſe any booke or Schedules, he, and his favourers ſhall for the firſt offence ſuffer a yeeres impriſonment, and the loſſe of the one moitie of their goods: if they offend againe, they ſhall be in a* Premunire. Lawes againſt turbulent people.

This to ſome men ſeemed ſomewhat harſh, who were of opinion, that it would have beene greatly for the ſecuritie and quiet of the Kingdome, that the undoubted heire were nominated. But it is incredible what jeſts and ſport was occaſioned, or rather by curious catchers at words was taken at that clauſe, *beſides the naturall off-ſpring of her own body*; for our Lawyers indeed call thoſe children a mans naturall iſſue, which are borne without marriage; but ſuch as are legitimate, they terme the children of ones body lawfully begotten; in ſo much that in thoſe daies it was a common ſpeech, that the Earle of Leiceſter, had cauſed the Law to run in that forme of words, that in time to come he might obtrude ſome baſtard of his owne for the Queenes naturall iſſue.

It was alſo enacted, that if any perſon, either by Bulls or other inſtruments of writing authorized from the See of Rome, did reconcile any of the Queenes ſubjects; likewiſe all ſuch as were reconciled, ſhould undergoe the puniſhment due to thoſe that committed high treaſon. And whoſoever concealed ſuch reconcilers ſhould be guilty of *Miſpriſion of treaſon*. Moreover, the conviction and proſcription of the Rebells in the North is now confirmed, and their goods and poſſeſſions within the Biſhoprick of Durham, againſt *James Pilkinton*, Biſhop, who challenged *the rights of royalty* betweene the Rivers *Tiſe* and *Tine*, are adjudged to the Queen & her Succeſſours, in conſideration that ſhe with great expences, had freed the Biſhop and Biſhoprick from the Rebels; yet with this caution, that this ſhould not be any prejudice to the right of the Church of Durham for time to come. Likewiſe againſt their inſolency, who being devoted to the Pope and Romiſh Religion, did dayly in great

1571. number convey themſelves out of the Kingdome to breed commotions, not asking leave of the Queene, and to the contempt of the lawes; it was ordered, that upon paine of the forfeiture of all their goods, they ſhould returne within a ſet time, and ſubmit themſelves.

Againſt fugitives.

Againſt avaricious Churchmen.

Theſe lawes were made againſt Papiſts; on the other ſide, the avarice of Church-men was reſtrained by wholſome lawes, who as they were borne for themſelves alone, waſted the goods of the Church without regard had to their ſucceſſours, and let leaſes for a great many yeeres: alſo the inſolencie of others, who out of a deſire of innovation oppoſed themſelves againſt the Articles of the Synod in the yeer 1562. made for the taking away of ſchiſmes.

Againſt Puritans.

Againſt the Queen of Scots.

It was propounded likewiſe againſt the Queen of Scots, that if ſhee offended againe againſt the lawes of England, it might be lawfull to queſtion her, *as the wife of a Peere of the Kingdome of England:* but here the Queen interpoſed her authoritie, and would not have this enacted.

John Storie condemned.

So ſoone as the Parliament was diſſolved, in the beginning of June conſultation was held about *John Storie* Doctor of the lawes, Duke *D'Alva's* ſearcher (whom we mentioned before, how that by a wile he was gotten into England) whether he being an Engliſhman borne, and having in Brabant conſulted with a forreine Prince about the invading of his Countrie, and laid downe waies how the ſame might be invaded, were to be held guilty of High Treaſon. The moſt learned in the lawes gave their reſolution affirmatively: whereupon he is called to the Barre, and indicted of Treaſon; that hee had conſulted with one *Preſtall* a Conjurer how to worke the Queenes deſtruction; had conſpired hers and the King of Scots ruine; curſed her dayly when he ſaid grace at Table; ſhewed a way to the Secretary of Duke *D'Alva* how to invade England, to raiſe rebellion in Ireland, &c. He refuſed to ſubmit himſelfe to the Juſtice and Lawes of England, and affirmed that the Judges had no power to meddle with him, for that he belonged not to the Queene of England, but was the King of Spaines ſworne ſubject. He was condemned nevertheleſſe by the forme of *Nihil dicit* (for as much as no man can renounce the Country wherein hee was borne, nor abjure his Prince at his owne pleaſure) and finally executed after the manner of Traitors.

Variance between the Engliſh and Portugals compounded.

There were now ſome bickerings betweene the Engliſh Merchants and thoſe of Luſitania, becauſe the Engliſh ever ſince the yeere 1552. did exerciſe with the *Negro's* a gainfull trafficke for pure gold, in that Coaſt of Africa which they call Guiney; and the others, who firſt diſcovered that Coaſt, with force and armes hindred them all they could; in ſo much that ſometimes they had dangerous Sea-fights, and ſhips on both ſides were deteined.

But *Sebaſtian* King of Luſitania, who was now come to age, ſent into England *Francis Gerard* to conſult about a peace; who concluded a league with the Queene to this effect: *That there ſhould be perfect amitie and free commerce on both ſides. Neither part ſhould attempt any thing to the prejudice of the other, nor lend helpe to their Enemies, Rebells, or Traitors. The wares, moneyes, and ſhips deteined under arreſt ſhould bereſtored. And, to gratifie the King of Luſitania, Queen* Eliſabeth *ſhould forbid*

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the Englisb to set up any trade, or to saile into the Seas and to the Shores of the Conquest of Portugall. If they did otherwise, at their owne perill be it, if the Portugalls deprived them of life or goods. The Kingdomes of Portugall and Algarbe were excepted, also the Ilands of the Azores, Madera, and the Coast of Barbarie where free trading was allowed. 1572.

This yeere died *William Parre* Marquesse of Northampton, a man greatly delighted with the pleasant studies of Musick, Sonnets, and such like Courtly devices, who was first of all advanced by King *Henrie* the Eighth to the dignitie of Baron *Parre* of Kendall, and then to the marriage of *Anne Bourchier* sole Heire of the Earle of Essex, withall made Earle of Essex, the King having married his sister: and last of all by King *Edward* the Sixth, promoted to the stile and honour of Marquesse of Northampton. The death of the Marquesse of Northampton.

Under Queene *Marie* he was condemned of treason for taking up armes in the cause of the Lady *Jane Grey* suborned Queene, but was straightway pardoned, and restored to his Patrimony; and lastly by Queene *Elisabeth* to his honours likewise. He begot no children, but left for his heire *Henrie Herbert* Earle of Pembroke, his Nephew by one of his sisters.

Also this yeere *John Juell* surrendred his soule into the hands of God, being scarce fifty yeeres of age; a man of a singular wit, exquisite learning in Divinitie studies, and no lesse pietie. He was honestly borne in the County of Devonshire, a Student of good account in *Corpus Christi* Colledge in Oxford; under Queene *Marie* he lived an exile in Germanie, promoted by Queen *Elisabeth* to the Bishoprick of Salisburie; hee set forth the Apologie of the Church of England in the yeere 1562. and in a volume or two most learnedly defended the Doctrine of the Protestants against *Thomas Harding*, who revolted from the same: he wrote in English, but the same was after translated into Latine, and is extant in both languages. And of Bishop Juell.

Ireland at this time was indifferent quiet. For Sir *John Perot* President of Munster so chased *James Fitz-Moris*, who had spoiled Kilmaloc, that he was faine to hide himselfe in holes neere to Ardagh; and at length, as hereafter we shall declare, drave him to such straits, that he came in humble manner to crave pardon. *Sidney* the Lord Deputy returned now into England, and Sir *William Fitz-Williams* who had married his sister succeeded in his roome.

The beginning of the new yeere afforded a new and sad spectacle to the Londoners in Westminster Hall. For a woodden Scaffold was built in the middle of the Hall, and a Barre and seat of Justice erected, the like whereof they had not beheld for eighteene yeeres before. Hither on the sixteenth day of Januarie was brought *Thomas Howard* Duke of Norfolke, betweene Sir *Owen Hopton* Lievtenant of the Tower, and Sir *Peter Carew*, with a fatall hatchet carried before him, but the edge turned from him. 1571. Reg. 15. The Duke of Norfolk arraigned.

There sate upon the Bench *George Talbot* Earle of Shrewsburie, made high Steward of England for that day; and Peeres on both sides by whom he was to have his triall, *Reginald Grey* Earle of Kent, *Thomas Ratcliffe* Earle of Sussex, *Henrie Hastings* Earle of Huntingdon, *Francis*

1572. *Ruſſell* Earle of Bedford, *Henrie Herbert* Earle of Pembroke, *Edward Seimor* Earle of Hertford, *Ambroſe Dudley* Earle of Warwicke, *Robert Dudley* Earle of Leiceſter, *Walter D'Evereux* Viſcount of Hereford, *Edward* Lord *Clinton* Admiral, *William* Lord *Howard* of Effingham Chamberlaine, *William Cecill* Lord Burleigh, Secretarie, *Arthur* Lord *Grey* of Wilton, *James Blunt* Lord Mountjoy, *William* Lord *Sands*, *Thomas* Lord *Wentworth*, *William* Lord *Borroughs*, *Lewis* Lord *Mordant*, *John Powlet* Lord St. John of Baſing, *Robert* Lord *Rich*, *Roger* Lord *North*, *Edmund Bruge* Lord Chandois, *Olivar* Lord *St. John* of Bletneſho, *Thomas Sackvill* Lord Buckhurſt, and *William Weſt* Lord De La-Ware.

The order of the arraignment.

Silence being commanded, the inſtrument is read, whereby authority was given to the Seneſchall or Steward, afterward a white ſticke put into his hand by the Garter Herald King at Armes, which he himſelfe preſently delivered to the Gentleman Porter, who ſtood by all the while holding the ſame upright. Then the Earles and Barons are called by their names, to which every one maketh anſwer. Silence againe is bidden, the Lievtenant of the Tower is commanded to deliver his Precepts, and to bring the Duke to the Barre. By and by he is brought forth, encloſed on the one ſide with the Lievtenant of the Tower, on the other with Sir *Peter Carew*, next him ſtood he that carried the Axe, with the edge turned away. Silence being once more commanded, the Clerk for the pleas of the Crowne ſpake to the Duke in this manner, *Thomas Duke of Norfolke, late of Kenningale in the Countie of Norfolke, hold up thy hand.* He holding up his hand, the Clerke with a loud voice readeth the crimes laid to his charge: to wit, That in the eleventh yeere of the reign of the Queen, and afterward, the Duke had perfidiouſly and traiterouſly conſulted to diſplace her, and to make her away; alſo to raiſe warre, and bring in forraine forces for the invading of the Kingdome. And although he knew aſſuredly that *Marie* late Queene of Scots had aſſumed the Crowne of England, with the Title and Armes of the ſame, nevertheleſſe he dealt with her concerning marriage, and that without the Queens privitie, and had lent her a great ſumme of money, contrary to his promiſe made to the Queene under his hand writing. That he knew that the Earles of Northumberland and Weſtmorland, *Markenfield*, and others, had ſtirred up rebellion againſt the Queene, yet relieved them with money when they were fled into Scotland. That in the thirteenth yeere of the reigne of the Queene by letters he implored auxiliarie forces of *Pius* the fifth Pope of Rome, the Queenes profeſſed enemie, the King of Spaine, and Duke *D'Alva*, for the freeing of the Queene of Scots, and the reſtoring of the Popiſh Religion. Laſtly, that he lent ſupply to the Lord *Heris*, and others the Queens enemies in Scotland. Theſe indictments being read, the Clerke demanded of the Duke if he were guilty of theſe crimes or not.

He requeſted that if the law would permit it he might pleade his cauſe by counſell. *Cateline* chiefe Juſtice made anſwer, that it was not lawfull. *It is meet* (ſaith the Duke) *for me to ſubmit my ſelfe to the ſentence of the Judges, but in this cauſe there are a great many circumſtances: neither had I notice foureteene houres before hand that I was to appeare here. I had not my bookes ready, and now I ſee I muſt fight for my life without weapons.*

Yet

1572.

Yet I have heard that Humfrey Stafford *(in the reigne of* Henry *the seventh) in a cause of Treason had one assigned to plead for him. Dier* Chiefe Justice of the Common Pleas made answer, that *Stafford* had counsell assigned him concerning the right of Sanctuarie, from whence he was taken by force, but in the inditement of Treason he pleaded his owne cause. *Therefore* (saith the Duke) *I must this day plead for my life, my estate, children, and which is more than all, my honestie: as for honour, let that goe. If I be guiltlesse, and perish, God will not leave it unrevenged. Yet let me aske one thing, Whether that enumeration of crimes be to be held for true in every part, and which part I must answer to?*

Catelin said, the causes themselves being true, that manner of reckoning them up is to be held for truth. *I would faine understand* (saith the Duke) *if every one of these be crimes of Treason: for I have heard tell that in the Lord* Scroopes *cause under King* Henry *the fourth.* Here the Clerk interrupted him, crying out, *Thomas Duke of Norfolke, art thou guiltie of these crimes?* He answered, *Not guilty.* The Clerk demanded again, How wilt thou be tried? He answered, *I commend my cause to God and these Peeres. The heinousnesse of these crimes affrighteth me, but the royall favour of the Queenes Majestie refresheth me, from whom I could not expect more mercie. But I beseech you, my Lord Steward, that I may have a legall triall, and that my memorie, which indeed is but weake, may not be overcharged with such confused variety of matters. I acknowledge my selfe happy that I have you for my Peeres and Judges, and to the integritie of the greatest number of you I would willingly commit my selfe and my life. Standing upon mine owne innocency I went not about to save my selfe by flight. Yet I cannot chuse but ingenuously confesse that I have beene undutifull toward the Queene, but not in things wherein her Majestie might be injured. I desire that those smaller matters may not be mingled with the allegations of high Treason.*

Now *Barham* the Queenes Serjeant at law, the crimes, saith he, of Treason, for which you are questioned, are these: That you plotted to despoile the Queene both of her Kingdome and life also, went about to marrie the Queene of Scots, sought to bring in forraine Armies into the Kingdome, sustained Rebells, and aided the Scots the Queenes enemies. The Duke interposed here, *I intreat you* Barham, saith he, *doe not exasperate the matter in words, by objecting that marriage, and other things, which are not within the compasse of Treason.* *Barham* turning himselfe to the Peeres, urgeth them on this manner: He, saith he, that would marrie her which challengeth the Kingdome, the same person affecteth the Kingdome. But this the Duke went about when he was one of the Commissioners at Yorke in the hearing of the Queene of Scots cause: at which time he was bound by oath to weigh equally the accusations and defences on both sides. The Duke saith, *That cause hath sundry parts in it, which are without the reach of Treason.* The Lord high Steward willed the Duke not to goe from the matter in hand by needlesse digressions: who upon *Barhams* clamorousnesse confessed that the Queene of Scots sometimes indeed challenged the Crowne of England, but had desisted long since from the claime. *Barham* on the other side would shew that she desisted not, because she had not yet renounced the right which she

The Articles of the Dukes accusation.

1572. pretended; and in grievous manner accuſeth the Duke for inſtructing the Scottiſh Delegates what to anſwer: and this he averred out of the Biſhop of Roſſe his owne confeſſion. The Duke confeſſeth that *Lidington* motioned the marriage, but he refuſed the ſame, and gave them no inſtructions at all; and requeſted that the Biſhop of Roſſe might be brought forth.

Many things more did *Barham* alledge and proſecute concerning the marriage, which we have unfolded at large in the foregoing ſtorie, to prove that the Duke aſpired to the Kingdome, often repeating this demand, What other thing could the Duke propoſe to himſelfe, when as againſt the Queenes knowledge hee determined to marry the Queene of Scots, a woman without an eſtate, without a Kingdome, (her ſon being now confirmed in the Kingdome of Scotland) than by her meanes to enjoy the Crowne of England, and conſequently to deſpoile the Queene both of her life and Kingdome? *Theſe things,* ſaith the Duke, *are ſomewhat farre fetched, to prove me to have intended the depoſing and deſtruction of the Queene.* To come neerer to the matter, ſaith *Barham*, it is well knowne that you entred into conſultation about the ſurprizing of the Tower of London, ſo that it muſt needs be you thought at that time to worke the downefall of the Queene; for a Kingdome cannot endure a Companion. The Duke denieth not that one *Hopton* indeed had ſuggeſted ſuch like counſell to him, but he rejected it. Wherefore then, ſaith *Barham*, did you adviſe with the Earle of Pembroke about the ſame matter, who diſſwaded it?

Barham proceeded, and was urgent that when the Queene demanded the young Infant of Scotland, certaine Caſtles, and the Engliſh Rebells out of Scotland to be delivered up into her hands, the Duke warned the Scots underhand not to conſent hereunto. He accuſeth him farther, that he went about to free the Queene of Scots out of priſon, and that after he had ſolemnly under his hand-writing promiſed not to meddle or make with her. *Candiſh* is now brought forth as a witneſſe, that the Duke was confidently bent upon the marriage, and demanded of him, whether, if Queene *Eliſabeth* died, he could draw his Uncle to be of his ſide. This the Duke denied utterly, and rejected his teſtimony as a needie fellow, and a ſuborned witneſſe. Moreover, it was proved that the Duke ſent one of his ſervants to the Earles of Northumberland and Weſtmorland, to give them warning not to raiſe a rebellion, for it was a matter would prove very dangerous. Likewiſe the Queene of Scots letters to the Duke were produced, wherein ſhe bewailed the accident, that the Earle of Northumberland was taken before that he had ſo much as taken up Armes for a rebellion. For this rumour was brought to her, whether on ſet purpoſe, or not, I cannot tell.

Hereunto the Duke made anſwer, *That by theſe reaſons it could not ſo much as be probably collected that he was bent upon the Queenes ruine; and nothing hitherto produced was of any moment againſt him, ſave only the Biſhop of Roſſe his teſtimonie; and yet that alſo, ſeeing he was a forreiner, out of the authoritie of* Bracton, *moſt expert in the lawes, was not to bee admitted. That he never had repoſed ſo much truſt in the Earles of Northumberland and Weſtmorland, that he would commit his life to them. That his owne*

A forreiners teſtimonie not to be admitted.

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innocencie was ſo ſure a defence to him, that he never once thought of flying. 1572.

Gerard the Queenes Attorney ſaith, That the Duke went about the marriage of the Queene of Scots, purpoſely to the Queenes deſtruction, is more than manifeſt. It appeareth likewiſe that he deliberated about invading the Kingdome, by the letters ſent to the Pope, the King of Spaine, and *D'Alva*. What dealings hee had with *Ridolfus*, was now manifeſted by the private Characters hidden under the Tiles, and the letters (which he commanded to be burnt) found under the Mat in his Chamber. That all this could eaſily be proved out of their examinations, who were neither affrighted by the rack, nor yet convinced of Treaſon.

Hereunto the Duke replied: *Of thoſe conſultations with the Pope and King of Spaine I was neither the Author nor favourer; yea I ever diſallowed them. They that have committed the fault let them ſtand to it, and let them not put it upon me to excuſe themſelves.*

Gerard further accuſeth the Duke, that he treated with *Ridolfus* about landing of ten thouſand ſouldiers out of Flanders at Harwich in Eſſex, and this out of *Barkers* examination: alſo that letters were written by *Ridolfus* to the King of Spaine and Duke *D'Alva*, whereunto although the Duke ſubſcribed not, yet by the advice of the Biſhop of Roſſe hee ſent *Barker* to the King of Spaines Embaſſadour, to aſſure him that they were his owne letters:

My memory (ſaith the Duke) *faileth me, and cannot at once comprehend ſo intricate varietie of matters. You Lawyers have your notes, but I muſt anſwer* ex tempore. *This verily is improbable, that I ſhould deale with the Pope, having been alwaies averſe from the Romiſh Religion: and I had rather be torne with horſes, than forſake the Religion which I profeſſe. The very ſcituation of Harwich will eaſily remove that accuſation. For who ſeeth not how difficult a matter it were to lead an armie through that part of the Country which is all encloſed, and for the ſtreitneſſe of the waies would prove extreamly cumberſome? If I had intended a warre againſt my Prince, certainly I would have furniſhed my ſelfe with armes: but for theſe whole ten yeeres I have gotten no more than eight iron breaſt-plates, and not a whit of Gun-powder. I would never have truſted* Barker *with letters of that moment, but* Baniſter *rather, whom I made more account of than of many* Barkers.

Now were produced the letters of the Biſhop of Roſſe, which he writ being in priſon to the Queene of Scots, but they were intercepted, whereby *Gerard* confirmed what before he alledged. The Duke deſired to ſee them, for he ſeemed to feare they were counterfeited. But the Steward of England ſaid to him, doubt not, my Lord, the letters were written with the Biſhops owne hand. Another ſcrowle alſo was brought forth written with oker, from the Duke to a ſervant of his, charging him to burne a packet of letters in a certaine place which lay hid, and to lay the fault upon the Biſhop of Roſſe, who by the priviledge of an Embaſſadour would eaſily ſhift it off. *Now* (ſaith he) *being certified that a great number had accuſed me, I returned an anſwer in that ſcrowle, and when I perceived that every thing was curiouſly diſcuſſed, I gave order to burn that packet, to free ſome from danger.*

Bromley the Queenes Sollicitor exhibiteth the letters of *Ridolfus*, wherein hee ſignified that Duke *D'Alva* approved the advice; alſo the

1572. the Popes letters to the Duke, bearing date the fourth of May. Then *Wilbraham* made an elegant ſpeech, of the undoubtedneſſe of the teſtimonies of the Biſhop of Roſſe and the Dukes owne ſervants. Whereunto the Duke replied: *Truly it belongeth not to my faculitie to refuſe ſo finely a compoſed ſpeech: Yet he, as great an Orator as he is, hath omitted notwithſtanding, what great power feare hath upon man, which oftentimes removeth a firmely diſpoſed mind from its owne place and ſtation:* and commendeth againe *Bractons* authoritie, againſt the teſtimonie of Strangers, and urgeth the ſame. *Catelin* the Lord chiefe Juſtice anſwereth: in ſuch caſes as this the teſtimonies of Strangers were of force, and it was in the power of the Peeres whether they would give credit to them or otherwiſe.

The matter was now come thus farre, it was proved that the Duke had relieved the baniſhed Rebells, which appeared by the letters of the Counteſſe of Northumberland, in which ſhee gave the Duke thankes for ſupplying her and her husband with monies. And that which was objected in the laſt place, concerning the relieving of the Scots the Queenes enemies, was proved by the Dukes letters to *Baniſter*, *Baniſters* confeſſion, and the money delivered to *Browne* of Shrewsbury. Here the Duke demanded of the Judges, *Whether the ſubjects of another Prince who is Confederate and in league with the Queene, are to be accounted the Queenes enemies.* *Catelin* anſwered, they were; and that the Queene of England might wage warre with any Duke of France, and yet hold firme peace with the French King.

Now that it grew towards night, the Lord High Steward demanded of the Duke, if he had ought more to ſay for himſelfe? He anſwered, *I relie upon the equitie of the Lawes.* The Steward commanded the Lievtenant of the Tower to take aſide the Duke; and ſilence being bidden, turned himſelfe to the Peeres and ſaid: *Ye have heard how that* Thomas *Duke of Norfolke, being indicted of High Treaſon, and not confeſsing himſelfe guilty, hath ſubmitted his cauſe to God and you. Wherefore it is your part to conſider between your ſelves, whether he is to be pronounced guilty or not, and in conſcience and honour to give up a verdict.* Withall he willed them to withdraw themſelves and conſult together.

The Duke of Norfolke pronounced guilty.

After a while they returne to their ſeates. Then the Steward beginning at the lowermoſt, demanded, ſaying: *My Lord* De-la-ware, *is* Thomas *Duke of Norfolke guiltie of theſe crimes of high treaſon, for the which he is called into queſtion?* He riſing up and laying his hand upon his breaſt, anſwered, *Guilty.* In like manner ſaid they all, being asked in order.

Then the Duke is brought to the Barre againe, to whom the Steward addreſſeth in this manner: Thomas *Duke of Norfolke, thou being called to the Barre and arraigned for ſundry crimes of high treaſon, didſt ſubmit thy ſelfe to God and theſe Peeres, who all of them have pronounced thee guilty; haſt thou any thing to ſay, wherefore ſentence ſhould not be pronounced?* The Duke anſwered, *The will of God be done, who will judge betweene me and falſe accuſers.*

All perſons now ſtricken with ſilence, the edge of the hatchet is turned toward him. By and by *Barham* in the Queenes name required the Steward

Steward to pronounce the ſentence, which hee with teares in his eyes delivered according to the forme in this manner: *For as much as thou* Thomas *Duke of Norfolke being indicted of high treaſon, didſt deny thy ſelfe guilty, and ſubmit thy ſelfe to the judgement of theſe Peeres who have declared thee to bee guilty: Thy Bench adjudgeth thee to be brought bacbe to the Tower, from thence being laid upon a Hurdle, to be drawne through the midſt of the Citie to the Gallowes, there to be hanged, and taken down halfe dead, unbowelled, and thy head being taken off, to be cut out into foure parts: Thy head and quarters to be diſpoſed of as it ſhall ſeeme good unto the Queene: And God have mercy upon thy ſoule.* 1572.

The Duke hearing this ſentence, with a bold courage ſaith: *Sentence is pronounced againſt me as a Traytor, I truſt in God and the Queene, and I hope that when I am excluded your company, I ſhall enjoy better in heaven. I will prepare my ſelfe to undergoe death. This one thing I requeſt, that the Queene will ſhew her ſelfe mercifull toward my children and ſervants, and ſee my debts paid.*

A few daies after *Barnes*, and *Mather* were executed, who had conſpired with one *Herle* to make away certaine of the Councellors, and to free the Duke. But *Herle* revealed the buſineſſe preſently; to whom *Barnes* (when hee ſaw his accuſer brought forth) ſmilingly ſaid: Herle, *thou wert but one houre before me; elſe I had beene in thy place for the accuſer, and thou to be hanged in my roome.* This conſpiracy and divers others for freeing of priſoners were the cauſe that a Parliament was aſſembled. At which time the Queene created *Walter Devereux* Earle of Eſſex, being before but Viſcount Hereford, becauſe he was deſcended by the great Grand-mother from the *Bourchiers*; and made the Lord *Clinton*, who had large revenues in Lincolnſhire, Earle of Lincolne. And called forth *John Powlet* of Baſing, the Marqueſſe of Winchеſters ſonne, *Henry Compton*, *Henrie Cheney*, and *Henrie Norris*, for Barons by Summons. Barnes and Mather executed.

At which time the Parliament enacted, *That they were guiltie of felony, who ſhould ſeize upon any of the Queenes fortifications, burne or demoliſh them. And of treaſon if they held the ſame by force againſt the Queen, or whoſoever ſet fire on ſhips, or ſtopped up Havens. Alſo, if any man ſhall goe about to free any perſon whatſoever impriſoned by the Queens expreſſe commandement, for treaſon, or ſuſpition of treaſon, and not yet arraigned, he ſhall loſe all his goods for his life time, and bee impriſoned during the Queenes pleaſure. If the ſaid perſon have beene arraigned, the reſcuer ſhall forfeit his life, if condemned, he ſhall be guilty of rebellion.*

This ſeveritie of Lawes, as it ſeemed neceſſarie for the preſent times, ſo it was held fit that it ſhould be but temporarie, during the Queenes life. But frequent machinations of this nature were ſet on foot, for the haſtning of the Dukes end, which notwithſtanding was defetred foure moneths. And ſooner the Lower Houſe of Parliament, the Courtiers neere the Queene, and certaine importune Preachers could not prevaile to overcome the Queenes inclination to mercie, though they ceaſed not to lay downe the great danger of deferring the ſame.

But upon the ſecond day of June, at eight of the clocke in the morning, the Duke was brought to the Scaffold upon the Tower Hill, now built

up

1572. up againe, and when as he was gotten up to it, and *Alexander Nowell* Deane of *Pauls*, who was there to adminiſter comfort to him at his departure, had requeſted the multitude to be ſilent, thus he began. *It is no ſtrange thing for men to end their life in this place, although ſince the Queenes reigne began I am the firſt, and God grant I may be the laſt.* (The people cryed *Amen.*) *I acknowledge that the Peeres adjudged me worthy of death, neither is it my purpoſe to excuſe my ſelfe. In matters of great moment I ingenuouſly confeſſe that I dealt with the Queene of Scots, not acquainting my Queene, which I ought not to have done, whereupon I was caſt into priſon. But being afterward ſet at libertie, when I had humbly ſubmitted my ſelfe, and paſſed my faith that I would have nothing further to doe with her; yet I confeſſe I did otherwiſe, and this indeed troubleth my conſcience. But at the Lords Table (as it is commonly reported) I neither promiſed nor yet ſware it. Once I had a meeting with* Ridolfus, *but that not to plot the Queenes ruine; for a great ſort know that money reckonings paſſed betweene him and me upon ſealed writings. I found him to be one that envied the tranquillitie of England, and ready to invent any miſchiefe. I ſaw two letters from the Pope, to which I gave no aſſent, nor yet to the Rebellion of the North. I was no Papiſt ſince the time I had any taſte of Religion; but alwaies deteſting the Popiſh Doctrine, I embraced the true Religion of Jeſus Chriſt, and relyed wholly in the bloud of Chriſt my Redeemer and Saviour. Yet I cannot deny but I had many ſervants and familiar friends that were addicted to Poperie. If herein I offended againſt God, the Church, or Proteſtants, I deſire God and them to forgive me.* Then after a Pſalme or two repeated, he ſaid in an audible voice, *Into thy hands Lord I commend my Spirit.* Straightway embracing Sir *Henry Ley*, he whiſpered him in the eare, the like he did to Deane *Nowell*; who turning him to the people, the Duke (ſaith he) entreateth you to pray to God for him with one accord, and withall to keepe ſilence, that his minde be not troubled. The Executioner craving pardon of him, he granted it, and when hee reached him a handkerchiefe to cover his eyes, he refuſed it, ſaying, *I am not afraid of death.* And falling upon his knees, and his mind fixed upon God, he lay downe proſtrate, and the Deane with him earneſtly praying. Straightway laying forth his necke on the blocke, his head was preſently ſtricken off at a blow, and the dolefull ſpectacle ſhewed to the people; who ſighed and wept at the ſight thereof.

The Duke of Norfolke beheaded.

Judgements of him.

It is incredible how greatly the multitude affected him, whoſe love hee had gained by his ſingular bounty and affabilitie, and the ſame not unworthy of ſo great a Prince. The wiſer ſort were diverſly affected; ſome were terrified with the greatneſſe of the danger, which they perceived to bee imminent from him and his faction, ſo long as he was alive; others moved with pity towards a man of ſo great Nobilitie, a ſweet naturall diſpoſition, a well made body, and manly countenance, whom if from the very beginning of his life, the ſubtle underminings of envious perſons, and vaine hopes under the ſhew of the publike good, had not turned aſide, he might have been both a defence and an ornament to his Country. They called to remembrance likewiſe his fathers unhappy fate, who was a man renowned both for learning and militarie underſtanding, and in the ſame place was beheaded 25. yeeres before,

before, for ſlight cauſes, to wit, for quartering the armes of *Edward* the Confeſſor with his owne, which notwithſtanding wee read that the *Mowbrayes* Dukes of Norfolke, from whom hee was deſcended, did beare by the permiſſion of *Richard* the Second. 1572.

An expoſtulation with the the Queen of Scots.

Hardly were ten daies expired from the time of the Dukes death, when *William* Lord *De-la-ware*, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, *Thomas Wilſon* Doctor of the Lawes, and *Thomas Bromley* the Queens Sollicitor, were ſent to the Queen of Scots lying in teares and lamentation, to expoſtulate with her, that ſhe had uſurped the Title & Armes of the Kingdome of England, & had not renounced the ſame according to the agreement of the Treatie of Edenburgh; for the more full power of invading the ſame, had endevoured the marriage of the Duke of Norfolk, not acquainting the Queen; and for the accompliſhing of the ſame by force of armes, had by her Miniſters uſed all the meanes ſhe could to free him out of Priſon; had raiſed the rebellion in the North, had relieved the vanquiſhed Rebells both in Scotland & the Low-Countries; by *Ridolfus* an Italian had implored forrein aides from the Pope, the King of Spain, & others; had conſpired with certaine of the Engliſh, who were to free her out of priſon, and declare her Queene of England; had received letters from the Pope, wherein he promiſed to cheriſh her as a Hen doth her Chickens, and to account them for true ſons of the Church which tooke her part: Laſtly, that ſhe had procured the Popes Bull againſt the Queen, and ſuffered her ſelfe to be publikely named the Queen of England in forrein Countries.

Her anſwer.

To theſe allegations ſhe (firſt proteſting her ſelfe to be a free Queen, and ſubject to no creature) anſwered with a bold ſpirit, and countenance full of majeſtie, *That ſhe had not uſurped the Title and Armes of the Kingdome of England, but the King of France and her Husband impoſed the ſame on her, whiles ſhe was young and under the command of a husband; therefore ſhee was not to be blamed for the ſame: and that from the time of her husbands death, ſhe neither had uſed the ſame, nor would aſſume them during the Queenes life or her lawfull iſſue. She thought not upon the marriage with the Duke of Norfolke for any hurt to the Queene, but was perſwaded that it was for the good of the Common-wealth: but ſhe had not indeed diſclaimed the ſame, for that ſhe had plighted her troth for wedlocke. For the Conjugall love which ſhe owed to the Duke, ſhe adviſed him to eſcape out of priſon and danger, if he could. She raiſed not the rebellion, nor was acquainted with the ſame, but was alwaies moſt ready to diſcover any evill incendments againſt the Queene, if ſhe would vouchſafe to give her perſonall audience. She never relieved the Engliſh rebells, only ſhe commended the Counteſſe of Northumberland by letters to Duke* D'Alva. Ridolfus, *whom ſhe knew to be in good correſpondence with the Pope, ſhe uſed in many buſineſſes, but had received no letters from him. She had ſtirred none up to deliver her. She gave a willing eare to thoſe that lent their helpe therein, and upon that ground ſent letters to* Rolſton *and* Hall *in a private character. That ſhe had often received letters from the Pope full of pious affection and conſolation, but none wherein there were ſuch like formes of ſpeech. She had not procured the Bull, only ſhe had ſeene a printed coppy of it, and threw it into the fire when ſhe had read it. If any in forreine parts write or name her otherwiſe than they ought, it is their own fault, let them ſee to that. She never*

1572. *never had requeſted aide of the Pope or King of Spaine to oppoſe the Queen of England, onely ſhe implored helpe of them to be re-eſtated in her owne Kingdome, and that with the Queenes privitie. But if there be any queſtion moved concerning thoſe letters, or of her going about to finiſh the marriage with force and armes, ſhe requeſted that (ſeeing ſhe was borne of the Engliſh blood royall) ſhe might make her perſonall anſwer at the next Parliament.*

Seditions in Scotland.

Scotland in this meane while was miſerably vexed with civill diſſentions, whiles on the one ſide they which ſtood for the Queene were upheld by the favour of the French, and on the other, the Kings partie relied upon the helpe of the Engliſh, and with angry minds and cruell weapons they fell together by the eares. Yet both the Engliſh and French made great pretence of a deſire they had to compoſe the difference, ſending their Embaſſadours for that purpoſe. The French, not finding a way in their judgement more commodious, propoſed this; that certaine good & indifferent men ſhould be ſelected, who ſhould for a time governe the Kingdome of Scotland, and that neither in the Kings nor yet the Queens name. For they would not acknowledge the King of Scots for a lawful King, ſeeing that he had no right to the Kingdome but from his mother, and his mother they thought was not rightly depoſed by her ſubjects; that ſhee therefore was juſtly to bee acknowledged Queene, and the ancient league between her and the French King to be obſerved. The Engliſh on the other ſide, with weighty reaſons contended that ſuch a kind of government were a meere Anarchy and confuſion, that the Common-wealth could not be ruled by many Commanders; in the choice of ſuch kind of adminiſtrators, the Scots (who had ever beene under the command of a Monarch) would never be able to agree. That the Nobles and Commons in Parliament had deprived the Queene, had rightly conſtituted and inaugurated the King; and that that ancient league was not betwixt perſons contracted, but betweene the Kingdomes of France & Scotland; yea the moſt Chriſtian King by vertue of the league was tied to defend the King. For it was provided in expreſſe words, that the Kings of France, if at any time there ſhould fall out a controverſie concerning the Succeſſion in the Kingdome of Scotland, ſhould defend him to whom the Nobles of Scotland ſhould adjudge the Kingdome. But about the cauſes of depriving the Queen, the Scots who had done it were to be conſulted with.

The French King favoured the Queen of Scots.

The French King notwithſtanding openly favoured the Queen of Scots party, and deale earneſtly with Queen *Eliſabeth* to have her ſet at libertie, leſt that (as his Embaſſadours ingenuouſly profeſſed) he ſhould ſeeme to neglect her who had beene the Kings brothers wife, and was now Dowager of France, to violate the ancient league between the French and the Scots, to diſ-regard the familie of the Guiſes, which was now very potent in France, or to allow a moſt pernicious example of depriving Princes. And which was the chiefeſt reaſon of all, leſt ſhe being forſaken by the French in her calamitie, might cleave to the Spaniard, and ſo at length the moſt potent Kingdomes of England, Scotland and Ireland, by her be joyned in a League of amitie and confederacy to Spaine, to the great diſ-advantage of France.

Here-

Hereunto the Queen answered very readily: *Let the French King see to that, in what esteeme hee shall hold the Queen of Scots, albeit she were Queene, and be now Dowager of France: nevertheless, she held private consultation with the King of Spaine, to hinder the marriage with the Duke of Anjoy. Let him consider whether he breake not that ancient League, if he defend not the young King. Let him consider what great respect France oweth to the familie of the Guises, by whose counsells both France is engaged in a deadly war, Scotland alienated from the French, and the Queen of Scots brought into these streights. Indeed the example of depriving Princes is pernitious, and to be condemned beneath the pit of hell, but for this let the Scots answer. I truely for my part doe unwillingly rip up that which I heartily disallow: but I know not whether the French heretofore disallowed it, when King* Pipin *and* Hugh Capet *despoyled of their hereditarie Kingdomes, the one* Childerick, *the other* Charles *Duke of Lorraine, translating the Scepter into new families; and that* Philip *the* Good *the Burgundian, when he took away the Kingdomes of Holland and Hannonia from* Jaquetta; *or the Danes, when they expelled* Christian *the Second and his daughters from the Kingdome; or the Spaniards, when they deprived and imprisoned the Queene* Uraca. *It is no new matter that the mothers should be excluded, and their sonnes admitted in their roomes to the government. Thus* Henry *the Second King of England,* Alphonsus *the son of* Uraca, *King of Castile, and* Charles *the Fifth of latter memorie, King of Spaine and Sicilie; all these were installed in the Kingdomes while their mothers lived. Also of Queens that have been put in prison all Histories make frequent mention, and France in abundant manner can witnesse, which saw the wives of three successive Kings,* Lewis Hutten, Philip *the Long, and* Charles *the Faire, imprisoned at least, not to say any thing worse. I, to speake truth, doe detaine the Queen of Scots in an honest custodie, for the safetie of England, and my owne securitie; and have learned the same of the French too, who shut up* Childeric *in a Monasterie,* Charles *of Lorraine in a Dungeon, and* Lewis Sforcia *Duke of Millaine in an iron Cage, to procure their own ends the better thereby.* More matters of that nature she reckoned up out of the Spanish Historie (as indeed she was very conversant in the Histories of all Nations.) In conclusion, she wished *that the French King, as he ought by the League to doe, would defend the young King, who was lawfully inaugurated. For this would be more for the French renown, than the unhappy expeditions in the cause of the famous* Joane *of Naples.*

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But now when it was found out, that the Queene of Scots at the verie same time did set on foot a secret Confederacy with the King of Spaine, using the service of the Lord *Seton* hereunto; who landing in Essex, in the disguised habit of a Mariner, had through England returned into Scotland; and promised from Duke *D'Alva* auxiliarie supplies to the Scots which held on the Queens partie; both she was hereupon kept in straiter custodie, & the zeale of the French toward her by little and little waxed cold. *D'Alva* indeed omitted no opportunitie secretly to vent his concealed hatred against the Queene, and she was no lesse vigilant to repell his malice, and marre his projects. Therefore in the beginning of this yeere, when hee by the Spanish Embassadour here in England, made complaint that the Rebells of the Netherlands got munition out

The French King and the Queen of Englands affection growes cold toward the Queen of Scots.

1572. of England, and were every where received into the Ports: ſhe ſtraightway by a ſevere Proclamation commanded all the Dutch to depart out of England, who could any waies be ſuſpected of Rebellion, and their ſhips ready fraught to be kept in the haven. But this (though the Queen by her League with the Spaniards were bound to doe it) turned little to *D'Alva's* benefit. For the Count *Vander-Marke*, and other Dutch, either terrified by this edict, or ſecretly forwarned of it, driven as it were with deſpaire, got themſelves out of England, ſurpriſed the Brill firſt, then Flushing, and drew other townes to revolt, now that they were at the point to yeeld up their Caſtles, and in a ſhort time excluded *D'Alva* in a manner from the Sea. Hence it was that they having gotten command of the Sea, held out againſt the Spaniard, and made him worke with a long warre, to the ſingular diſgrace of *D'Alva*, who (as military men cenſured) had careleſly neglected the Sea-Coaſts of the Netherlands for foure yeeres together.

The Dutch commanded out of England.

Now after a famous muſter of the Londoners, who in a goodly ſhew preſented themſelves before the Queen at Greenwich, the militarie men who ſate idle at home began to flock out of England into the Netherlands; ſome indeed to Duke *D'Alva*, but the greateſt number by farre to the Prince of Orange, who for the defence of religion and libertie oppoſed himſelfe to Duke *D'Alva*. The firſt of them was *Thomas Morgan*, who brought three hundred Engliſh to Flushing; the report of whoſe comming was thought to hold backe *D'Alva*, when he was even now ready to make an onſet for the recoverie of Flushing. Afterward, by the procurement of *Thomas Morgan* there landed there nine Companies more under the conduct of *Humfry Gilbert*, who with the French his aſſociates firſt ſet upon the Scluſe and Bruges, and afterward aſſaulted Tergoos in Suithbevelandt. But their Ladders being to ſhort, the French and Engliſh not agreeing, and *Mondragon* comming to relieve the beſieged Townes, they were faine (not without ſome loſſe) to retire to Flushing, which both the one and the other thought craftily to have ſeized upon for themſelves, but being divided amongſt themſelves by the ſubtle working of the Prince of Orange, they could not compaſſe it.

Morgan and others carrie Forces into the Low-Countries, to aide the Dutch.

At this time a pleaſant calme happened to the Proteſtants in France, and the minde of *Charles* the French King, as he pretended, was wholly bent upon the Low-Country warre, as the onely remedy for the Civill broiles: whereupon under the colour to teſtifie his mercifull inclination toward the Proteſtants (whom notwithſtanding he had ſecretly deſtined to deſtruction) hee offered to enter into a League with the Princes of Germanie and the Queene of England. Now the Queene on the one ſide fearing that home-bred troubles might ariſe, & the treacherous projects of *D'Alva* moleſt her; and on the other, the French King fearing the King of Spaine and the Proteſtants; this League was concluded betweene them by their Delegates on both ſides at Blois in the moneth of Aprill, and theſe were the Articles of the ſaid Peace.

The Articles between Queen Eliſabeth, the French King and others.

The Articles in this League ſhall be no departure from the former treaties between the foreſaid Princes and their Predeceſſors, otherwiſe than they are found contrarie to this preſent League. This League ſhall be between the ſaid Princes, a confederacie, tie, and union againſt all perſons of what ranke

ſoever

ſoever they be, who under any pretext, or for what cauſe ſoever, none excepted, ſhall invade or endevour to invade their Territories which they now hold in poſſeſſion. This League ſhall remaine firme, not onely betweene the ſaid Princes whiles they live, but likewiſe betweene their Succeſſours, if the Succeſſour ſignifie to the Survivor within a yeere by letters or Embaſſage that hee accepteth and liketh of the ſame conditions: otherwiſe it is to be underſtood, that the Survivor is freed from all obſervation of this League. This League ſhall bee availeable againſt all whatſoever, though allied by affinitie, or any other way to either King or Prince, and againſt all Leagues already contracted, or hereafter to be contracted. The Queene of England, upon requirie by letters under the hand and ſeale of the King of France requiring aide, ſhall be tied to ſend into France within two moneths ſixe thouſand footmen in armour, or five hundred Horſemen, whether he ſhall chuſe, who ſhall bee under his pay from the time of their arrivall in France. For warre and defence by Sea the Queene of England ſhall ſend eight ſhips of ſufficient burthen, wherein ſhe ſhall put twelve hundred ſouldiers with all neceſſarie proviſion. The Mariners and Souldiers onely ſhall be Engliſh: he ſhall give them their pay, and furniſh them with all neceſſaries, and provide victualling from the time they begin to ſerve him; but they ſhall be under the command of the Admirall of France. The Queene of England ſhall victuall her ſhips for two moneths, for which the King of France ſhall pay within two moneths after. The French King upon the receipt of letters under the Queene of Englands hand and ſeale that ſhe is warred againſt, ſhall be bound within two moneths to ſend into England or Ireland ſixe thouſand foot, or elſe five hundred horſemen in complete armour, if ſhe deſire them rather than the other, ſtrongly horſed, and armed after the manner of the French; who ſhall be under her pay from the time they come into her Dominions. For a Sea fight he ſhall make ready eight ſhips with 1200. Souldiers after the ſame manner as is ſaid before. They ſhall ſerve as long as the invaded Prince ſhall be pleaſed to keepe them. Either is bound to ſell to the other being invaded armes and all other neceſſaries. They ſhall innovate nothing in Scotland, but defend it againſt ſtrangers, not ſuffer any ſtrangers to enter there, nor cheriſh any Scottiſh factions; but it ſhall be lawfull for the Queene of England to purſue thoſe with armes, which ſhall harbour or entertaine the Engliſh Rebells who are now in Scotland reſiding. This League ſhall have that meaning onely, which the force and proprietie of the words carrieth along with it. Both Princes ſhall confirme theſe ſeverall Articles by their Letters Patents, and deliver the ſame really and effectually to the Embaſſadours on both ſides within three moneths. 1572.

For the ratification of this League by the French King, *Edward Clinton* Earle of Lincolne and Admirall of England was ſent into France, with a great troope of Noble Gentlemen; amongſt whom were the Lords *Dacres*, *Rich*, *Talbot*, *Sands*, and others. The French King in like manner ſent the Duke *Montmorancie*, and *Paul Foix* into England with a goodly traine, that the Queene in the preſence of them, and the Embaſſadour in ordinarie might ſweare to the League; which ſhe confirmed at Weſtminſter, the 17. day of May. The day after, the Queene created *Montmorancie* Knight of the Garter. The confirmation of the former Articles.

Montmorancie whiles he tarried in England made a little interceſſion

1572. in his Kings name, that what favour could be without danger, might be ſhewed to the Queene of Scots; that Armes might be laid downe in Scotland, and an agreement made by a Parliament there. But if a Parliament could not be conveniently aſſembled, that then certaine men might be choſen from amongſt the Scots on both ſides, and meet together at London with the Delegates of the French King and the Queene of England. But his anſwer was given him, that greater favour had been ſhewed to the Queene of Scots than ſhe had deſerved, and more ſhould be ſhewed her for the French Kings ſake, although the Parliament aſſembled were of opinion the Queene could be in no ſecuritie unleſſe ſome ſeveritie were uſed towards her. The Queene had earneſtly dealt for agreement and ceſſation of Armes, and with that intent had lately ſent *Drurie* the Marſhall of Barwicke into Scotland with Monſieur *Croc* the French Embaſſadour: but they could by no meanes draw *Grange* and them that held the Caſtle of Edenburgh to any conditions of peace (who were led along with a vaine expectation of ſupplies from France) though the Earle of Huntly, and young *Hamilton* for the Duke his father, had bound themſelves under their hand-writing to the Queen to imbrace and keepe peace.

Memorancy ſoliciteth the marriage with Anjoy.

Then *Memorancy* made much adoe againe about the marriage with Duke Anjoy, but being hopeleſſe to make concluſion thereof, becauſe the diverſitie of religion ſtood in the way, he returned into France; for then was great proviſion making ready for the marriage betweene *Henrie* King of Navarre, and *Margaret* the French Kings ſiſter. To this ſolemnitie with notable diſſimulation was the Queene of Navarre, and the chiefeſt of all the Proteſtants allured, being borne in hand that there ſhould bee a renovation of love, and a perpetuall peace eſtabliſhed. The Earle of Leiceſter likewiſe and the Lord Burleigh were invited out of England, under colour of honour; and out of Germanie the ſonnes of the Prince Elector Palatine, that they might indeed bee entrapped, and they, and together with them the Proteſtant Religion at one blow, if not cut off, yet receive a deadly wound. For the marriage being celebrated, the expected tranquillitie was quickly blowne away with a bloody tempeſt, by that Maſſacre at Paris, and the horrible ſlaughter of the Proteſtants, which wicked and helbred impietie committed every where throughout all the Cities of France. Yet a ſhew of equitie, yea, of piety was laid upon it, and the wicked fraud coloured afterwards by edicts and declarations, as though (forſooth) the Proteſtants had plotted a wicked conſpiracie againſt the King, the Queene mother, the brethren, the King of Navarre, and the Princes of the bloud royall. For to keepe the thing in memorie, coine was preſently ſtamped, upon the one ſide whereof with the Kings picture was this inſcription, *Vertus in Rebelles*; on the other, *Pietas excitavit Juſtitiam.*

The Maſſacre at Paris.

A little before the Queene mother of France, who egregiouſly diſſembled a great good will toward the Proteſtants, a curious enquirer into future events, having beene inſtructed by the Aſtrologers, who made her beleeve that by the calculation of her ſonnes nativities they were every one of them borne to a Kingdome, gave order to *Mota-Fenel* the French Embaſſadour in England, to propound the marriage of the youngeſt

youngeſt ſon *Francis* Duke of Alenſon to Queene *Eliſabeth*, that (if it were poſſible) ſhe might gaine him the Title of a King, or at leaſt hold the Queens hands from lending aſſiſtance to the Proteſtants in France: which he propounded accordingly to the Queene at Kenelworth, two daies before the Maſſacre at Paris. But Queen *Eliſabeth*, by reaſon of the diſparitie of age, and diverſitie of religion, modeſtly excuſed her ſelfe. For he was hardly ſeventeen yeers old, & ſhe was now paſt thirty eight: yet ſhe promiſed to conſider of it; and Alenſon did not leave of the ſuite. 1572.

The ſame moneth *Thomas Percie* Earle of Northumberland, who firſt rebelled, and afterward fled into Scotland (as hath beene declared) was for a ſum of money delivered by the Earle of Morton, of whom Northumberland had well deſerved when he was an exile here in England (but who hath beene found faithfull to men in adverſitie?) to the Lord Hunſdon Governour of Barwick, and a while after was beheaded at Yorke. The Earle of Northumberland beheaded.

As the fatall hatchet tooke this yeere away two Nobles, the Duke of Norfolke and Earle of Northumberland in the flower of their age; ſo by a quiet death were two more of the chiefe Nobilitie tranſlated in extreme old age, which were *William Paulet* Lord high Treaſurer of England, Marqueſſe of Winchester, Earle of Wiltſhire, and Baron St. *John* of Baſing, when he had fulfilled ninety and ſeven yeeres; and could reckon 103. that came out of his loynes (in whoſe roome Sir *William Cecill* Lord Burleigh was made Treaſurer:) and *Edward* Earle of Derby, Lord *Stanley* and *Strange* of Knocking, with whom the glory of hoſpitalitie and good houſe keeping was in a manner laid aſleep. The death of the Marqueſſe of Winchester. And Cecill made Treaſurer.

There departed likewiſe out of this life Sir *William Peters* Knight, Privie Counſeller and Secretary to King *Henrie* the Eight, *Edward* the Sixth, Queen *Marie*, and Queen *Eliſabeth*, and Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, having performed many Embaſſages with great commendation, deſcended from an honeſt ſtocke at Exceter in Devonſhire, and when through prudence and providence hee had gathered a faire eſtate. In Queene *Maries* daies he liberally endowed Exceter Collegde in Oxford, where he had his education.

The Queen likewiſe, who hitherto had beene in moſt perfect health (for ſo temperate ſhe was, that ſhe did never eate but when hunger provoked her, and taſted not any ſweet wine) began to be ſomewhat ſickly. But ſhe recovered againe before the report of it went abroad, and fearing her ſelfe, in her royall vigilancie and carefulneſſe commanded Porteſmouth to be newly fortified, the Navie royall to be augmented with new ſhips, ſouldiers to bee levied thoughout every Countie at certaine ſeaſons, and the youth to be exerciſed in feates of armes, even when all things were in firme peace round about her. Alſo ſhe thankfully repaied the money which ſhe had borrowed of her ſubjects. Hereby ſhe gained great good will at her peoples hands, as alſo by ſetting forth two wholſome Proclamations, in the one whereof ſhe commanded the ancient Lawes to be put in practice, againſt the Nobles who carried a greater traine with them than they ought. For by that meanes many that were admitted to bee their retainers, both exempted themſelves from the publike ſervices of the Common-wealth, cheriſhed factions,

1572. and many waies offended the lawes; alwaies bearing themſelves upon their power and authoritie to whom they were reteiners. By the other Proclamation ſhe reſtrained a ſort of wicked extortioners (Concealers they call them) revoking their authority and compelling them to make reſtitution. For theſe were ordained to ſpie out if any of the Crowne land were concealed by private perſons, and upon this pretence uſed all manner of outrage, ſacrilegiouſly ſeizing upon the lands of Pariſh-Churches and Almes-houſes, piouſly endowed by the Queenes Anceſtors, upon the very Bells likewiſe and Leads of Churches; but although theſe abuſes were thus reſtrained, ever and anon they brake forth againe.

Rebellions in Ireland.

In Ireland at this time ſome troubles aroſe, through the ſevere government of *Edward Fitton* Preſident of Connaught; for the ſonnes of the Earle of *Clan-Ricard*, whom he had by ſeverall wives, having a deſire to live as they liſted, could not endure the ſame, but raiſed a rebellion, and paſſing over the river Shannon exerciſed all manner of inſolency in ſpoyling Weſt-Meath, and afflicting the inhabitants. Their father, who was deſcended of the Engliſh familie called *De Burgo* or *Borroughs*, a man full of reverend gray haires, and of a quiet diſpoſition, went to the Deputy, purged himſelfe, and inſtructed the Counſellors of Ireland by what meanes to reſtraine his diſordered ſonnes. But the Queene for the publike tranquillitie ſake, thought good by little and little to remove *Fitton* out of Connaught, and made him Treaſurer of Ireland, and ere long the Earles ſonnes being chaſed by the Garriſon ſouldiers, came to the Deputy, and in humble manner ſubmitted themſelves.

In Leinſter alſo the *O-Mores*, a ſeditious Nation of men, raiſed tumults, and were preſently declared Rebells; but by the perſwaſion of the Earle of Kildare were reduced into good order. At which time *Thomas Smith* Secretary to the Queene, a prudent and learned man, who was moved with a kind of compaſſion to ſee Ireland lie ſo long neglected, obtained leave of the Queene to bring a Colonie to Ardes, a demy Iland in the Eaſt part of Ulſter, to teach the barbarous people humanitie, under the conduct of his baſtard ſonne, which was all the children he had. Hee hoped the place might eaſily be defended, if a Garriſon were placed in the narrow ſtraight where Ulſter is joyned to the reſt of the Iland. Hee allotted to every footman an hundred and twenty acres, to every horſeman two hundred forty acres, which number anſwereth five hundred Engliſh acres; for each of which acres they ſhould pay a penny a yeere. But this enterpriſe (the more the pity) wanted happy ſucceſſe. For his ſonne *Thomas* leading on his Colonie, by the perfidiouſneſſe of *Neale-Brian* was intercepted and ſlaine. Now *Malbey*, who was Governour of Lecal hard by, imagining it to be no injuſtice to inflict any death upon a treacherous and perfidious villaine, killed this *Neale* out of hand, and left him to be devoured of Wolves.

A Colonie tranſported into Ireland.

It will ſure be worth the while to note that by the way, which no Hiſtorians of our times have omitted; that in the moneth of November a new Starre, or rather a Meteor was ſeene in *Cathedra Caſſiopea*, exceeding *Jupiter* in brightneſſe, and in the ſame place was carried with the diurne motion of the heavens for ſixteene whole moneths. But after

eight

eight moneths it was perceived to grow leſſe and leſſe. *Theodore Beza* wittily accommodated the ſame to the Starre which went before the wiſe men at the birth of our Saviour, and to the murther of the Innocents under *Herod*; and warned *Charles* the ninth, King of France, who confeſſed himſelfe to have beene the author of the bloudy Maſſacre in Paris, to be afraid, by this verſe: 1573.

Tu vero Herodes ſanguinolente time.

And this was no vaine propheſie; for within five moneths that this Starre diſappeared, he lay ſicke of a bloudy iſſue, and ſent forth his laſt breath amidſt long and grievous torments.

The Spaniſh affaires now going on very turbulently in the Netherlands, Fluſhing loſt, the Townes of Holland revolting, and the Spaniſh Navie (with which the Duke of Medina was commanded to ſuccour the Papiſts of England) vanquiſhed by the Zelanders; Duke *D'Alva* now againſt his will began to ſhew more kindneſſe toward the Engliſh. Whereupon in the moneth of January, the trade (which in the ſame month *Anno* 1568. was forbidden) began to be now allowed againe betweene the Dutch and Engliſh for two yeeres; and the Articles agreed upon at Briſtow in the moneth of June were confirmed by the King of Spaine. Amongſt them was this clauſe; *Although for a time the mutuall correſpondence, and more neere friendſhip were ſomewhat obſcured, yet it ſhould in no caſe be interpreted that it was diſſolved or broken off. But if the matter bee not compoſed by the Delegates within the ſet time, the ſaid entercourſe ſhall ceaſe when the two yeeres are expired.* And indeed the tumults increaſing in the Low-Countries, it ceaſed by little and little within the two yeeres, and a new intercourſe of trade began with the Confederate States.

1573 Reg. 16. The Spaniſh Fleet overthrowne.

Traffick with the Netherlands reſtored.

Queene *Eliſabeth* now (which was greatly for her honour) abundantly ſatisfied the Engliſh Merchants out of the goods which were deteined belonging to the Dutch, and reſtored the reſt to *D'Alva*; and made a full tranſ-action with the Merchants of Genua for the money intercepted, which had miniſtred the firſt ground of contention: but *D'Alva* made not reſtitution of a doit to the Dutch out of the goods of the Engliſh. But that which was more for her renowne, and more acceptable to her ſubjects, ſhee freed England at this time of the debts which her father and brother had runne into in forreine parts, and were increaſed by the yeerly intereſt: and the Obligations of the Citie of London, which had beene ſo often renewed, were now given in, to the great rejoycing of the Citizens.

But a great deale of toyle was procured about this time, both to the Queene, and the Eccleſiaſticall ſtate, by ſome of the Clergie waxing over-fervent in their zeale, who now breathed nothing but Evangelicall puritie; and not onely by their preachings, both private and publike, cried down the Eccleſiaſticall forme of government (as a thing polluted with Roman dregges) ſetting forth bookes likewiſe entituled, *The Admonition to the Parliament*, and *The Defence of the Admonition*; but alſo refuſed to reſort to the Divine Service publikely in uſe, framing to themſelves and uſing other rites. Inſomuch that the Queen diſallowing them,

1573. them, as men of unquiet minds, deſirous of innovation, and ready to plucke up by the roots wholſome ordinances, for the preventing of this ſchime or breach in the Church, commanded every where the ſeveritie of the Law touching the uniformitie of Common prayer to be put in execution; and thoſe bookes upon paine of impriſonment to be delivered into the hands of the Biſhops, or of ſome of the Queenes Councell, although *John Whitgift*, who was afterward Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury, had ſet forth a ſolid confutation of the ſame.

Alſo the Engliſh Rebells that were fled away ſet forth a ſlanderous booke, entituled, *A Treatiſe concerning Treaſon*, wherein they accuſed *Bacon* Keeper of the Great Seale, and *Cecill* L. Burleigh, Lord Treaſurer, as plotters of Treaſon againſt their Countrie, thereby to make them odious with their Prince and the people, who by their wiſedome and induſtrie, had either prevented or quelled their wicked deſignes. But the Queene was farre enough from giving credit to thoſe accuſations, inſomuch that by a publike declaration ſhe averred the ſame to be improbable, falſe aſperſions, and meere calumnies; and for no other purpoſe invented malitiouſly by the profeſſed enemies of true Religion and their Countrie, but by their ſubtle underminings to leave the Kingdome deſtitute (if it were poſſible) of faithfull and truſty Counſellours. Wherefore ſhe gave command that no perſon whatſoever ſhould give credit to thoſe falſe writings, but neglect them and caſt them into the fire; who ſo did otherwiſe ſhould undergoe the puniſhment due to the favourers and abetters of ſedition. Theſe bookes notwithſtanding (through the fault of an inbred humane curioſitie) were read becauſe prohibited, untill at length they were quite contemned.

The laſt yeere, in the moneth of November a daughter was borne to *Charles* the French King, to whom he requeſted the Queen to be Godmother, the more firmely to containe her within the bond of amitie, as alſo to cut off from the Proteſtants in France all hope of aide out of England. For this purpoſe, as alſo to borrow money of the Queene, he ſent into England *Albert* Count of Rhetz, an eloquent Courtier. He in a ſet ſpeech endevoured to perſwade the Queen that the Maſſacre of Paris (which others ſtiled horrible impietie, but he termed a juſt remedie) did not breake forth in hatred of the Proteſtant Religion, but to daſh a conſpiracie ſet on foot by the Admirall *Colin* and others; but that the King would inviolably obſerve the edict concerning Religion. He requeſted her not to have her eares open to the reports of men querulous and fearefull without cauſe, but carefully to keepe the late League concluded, and exhort them to ſhew themſelves dutifull toward their King, whom they ſhould find bountifull and mercifull. She promiſed to be mindfull of the League, and that therein nothing ſhould be wanting on her part which might beſeeme a loving Confederate. As for the money which the King deſired to borrow, ſhe excuſeth her ſelfe. And indeed he mentioned not the borrowing of money otherwiſe than on ſet purpoſe, aſſuring himſelfe that ſhee would not ſupply the Proteſtants when ſhe had denied their King: She indeed tooke occaſion thereat to deny them, being not unmindfull how unfaithfully they had dealt in the matter of money ſince the firſt Civill warre. Aſſuredly Count Rhetz

Monſieur de Condic's Embaſſie.

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in this Embaſſage won his chiefe purpoſe, for from henceforth the Proteſtants for a while began to find leſſe favour and helpe at her hands than formerly. 1573.

A little after *William* Somerſet Earle of Worceſter is ſent into France with a Font of Maſſie Gold, to ſtand the Queens Deputie at the Chriſtening of the French Kings Daughter. When the free booting Proteſtants of the French and Dutch underſtood ſo much (ſuſpecting him to bee a favourer of the Romiſh Religion) they failed but little of intercepting him in his paſſage over Sea. And indeed they pillaged one or two of the ſhips that went in his company, and ſlew ſome of the Pilots. Whereupon the Queen was mightily offended, and ſent forth *William Holſtock* Controuler of the Navie royall, with ſome few ſhips of warre; who either taking or putting to flight the Pirats, and freeing ſome ſhips out of their hands, ſcowred the Seas. But a great many of them having made themſelves ready to aſſiſt the Earle of Montgomerie in releeving Rochell (at that time beſieged) and he comming ſomewhat late, and with a ſmall fleet likewiſe, it came to paſſe that nothing to any purpoſe was done. Hereupon the Proteſtants of the French that were fled into England being ſomewhat moved, fell upon certaine French men ſtrangers, in hatred of the contrarie Religion, handled them roughly, yea, aſſaulted them with weapons, and amongſt ſome others, the ſervants of Count *Flerie*, who was come ſecretly into England from Duke Alenſon about the marriage; and one of them of better note accuſed the Count *Flerie* to the Queenes Counſellors, that he was ſuborned to make away Montgomerie. The Earle of Worceſter ſent into France.

On the other ſide, the French Embaſſadour made complaint to the Queene, that the Earle of Montgomerie contrary to the League, had undertaken to ſaile to Rochell with Engliſh ſupplies; and that the Engliſh Merchants had releeved the beſieged Rochellers with victualls. Whom ſhe anſwered, that ſhe would faithfully obſerve the promiſe made in the League; that thoſe auxiliarie Forces were Pirates and Renegates, had ſet to Sea without her allowance, had ſet up counterfeit Flagges, and ſhe could wiſh they might be puniſhed. Moreover, that thoſe Merchants having been hardly uſed at Burdeaux, ſailed to Rochell without licence; that that ſort of men run up and downe every where for their owne gaine: withall, ſhee deſired that ſome more convenient Port in France might be aſſigned in ſteed of Rochell for their trafficke. The French Embaſſadour complaineth of ſuccours ſent into France. The Queen excuſeth her ſelfe.

The French King was well pleaſed with theſe anſwers, that the Queen of England was minded to obſerve the League ſo ſtrictly, and alienated from the Proteſtants of France, in ſo much that now they expected no releife from her. Hereupon the French King and the Queene mother began to affect her more and more, and Duke Alenſon wrote ſundry love letters to her from the Forts at Rochell; and all this yeere the marriage was eagerly ſollicited, the King of France and his mother interceding and urging it by *Mota-Fenell* the Embaſſadour in ordinary, and *Chaſteau-Neuf* the Delegate for that very purpoſe. Sure it is, that feare of a double inconvenience in the want of children cauſed the Queen to be ſeriouſly inclined toward marriage: on the one ſide contempt at home, and on the other ſtratagems from abroad; againſt which ſhe her ſelfe

was

1573. was perſwaded, and had often ſaid as much unto others, that a husband and children would bee a firme protection. On the other ſide, ſome Courtiers for their owne private advantage alledged: *That Religion and juſtice were the ſureſt bulwarkes of a Kingdome againſt all projects whatſoever. And there was no reaſon wherefore ſhe ſhould feare contempt from her owne ſubjects, whoſe eſtates and hopes reſted upon her alone*; and much more to like purpoſe, as Courtiers are often wont to worke their owne deſignes. And when ſhee would often uſe that ſpeech, *That moſt people neglected the ſetting Sunne*, thoſe gaping flatterers ceaſed not ſtill to inculcate; *Who will neglect the wholſome raies of the Sun in his ſtrength, to behold the confuſed ſparkling of a great many ſmall Stars ariſing at once* (ſo they named the Competitors:)

The Queen Mother ſues to have Alenſon come into England.

In the midſt of theſe deliberations, the Queene Mother of France was wondrous importunate that her ſon Alenſon might have a free paſſage into England, to ſee the Queen; who being wearied with continuall letters and meſſages, yeelded her conſent, but upon condition, that he ſhould not take it for any prejudice or diſgrace to him, if he returned without the accompliſhment of his deſire. But as ſoone as Queen *Eliſabeth* had notice that his brother *Henrie* was elected King of Poland, and that the King of France was very ſick, ſhe gave intimation to Alenſon by *Edward Horſey* Governour of the Ile of Wight, that he ſhould not make too much haſt into England, adding theſe reaſons: *That by reaſon of the maſſacre committed upon the Proteſtants in France at the marriage ſolemnities, in deteſtation of their Religion, when hee firſt went about the marriage, a ſuſpition aroſe in England that the ſame was like to prove fatall: and the rather, becauſe that Alenſon himſelfe taking his journey preſently to the ſiege of Rochell, in a hoſtile affection towards the Proteſtants, and letters from thence dated had written, that then he would come to ſee the Queene, when hee had ſeene Rochell vanquiſhed. So that his indignation againſt the Proteſtant Religion, as it ſhould ſeeme, was greater than his love to the Queene. And thereupon a great number in England ſuſpected, that he meant to come thither with his ſword dipped in their bloud which were profeſſors of the ſame Religion with the Engliſh.* Wherefore ſhe perſwadeth him friendly and lovingly, *to procure a peace by ſome meanes or other in France, and firſt declare by ſome notable argument his good will towards the Proteſtants, thereby to be the more welcome gueſt and Suitor in England.*

A peace was afterward concluded in France, and in certaine places the Proteſtants owne Religion permitted them; and then againe the French King and the Queene Mother uſed all their endevour to have the marriage effected (for they wiſhed that Alenſon, who was of a crooked perverſe diſpoſition and prone to raiſe tumults, might be removed out of France) and withall they requeſted of Queen *Eliſabeth*, that if the Duke of Anjou tooke his voiage into Poland by Sea, he might have publike caution to ſaile through the Britiſh Ocean. The which ſhe not onely conſented unto with all alacritie, but alſo made proffer of a Fleet to conduct him thither. In the meane while Alenſon fell ſicke of the Meaſels, the which his Mother intimated to Queen *Eliſabeth* by Count Rhetz, by reaſon of his infirmitie excuſing him for not comming into England.

Caution given for the Duke of Anjou's ſafe paſſage.

England. The Count found the Queene at Canterbury, who gave him royall entertainment there. At that time *Matthew Parker* Arch-Bishop of Canterburie, in the spacious Palace of the Arch-Bishops which he had repaired and beautified, solemnized the Queenes birth day (being the seventh of September) and invited the Queene, the Conte, and *Mota-Fenelon*, together with a multitude of Noble Personages, the like whereof was there when the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, and King *Henrie* the Eighth feasted in the same Palace in the yeer 1519. 1573.

In Scotland *James Douglasse* Earle of Morton, by the procurement of Queen *Elisabeth* chiefly, was made Regent of Scotland in the roome of the Earle of Marre; who when his authoritie in a Parliamentarie Assembly was established, enacted profitable Lawes for the defence of Religion against Papists and Heretickes, in the name of the King. But he confirmed the protection and keeping of the King, to *Alexander Areskin* the Earle of Mar (to whom the custody of the Kings in their tender yeers belongeth by speciall priviledge, & was himselfe in his Minoritie) upon these conditions. No Papists nor factious persons should bee admitted to his presence; an Earle should come with two servants attending him, a Baron with one, all other single, and every one unarmed. Douglasse made Regent of Scotland.

The French King in the meane time sent his Embassadour Mounsieur *Viriac*, and left no device unattempted to supplant the authoritie of the Regent (while it was yet not confirmed) and corrupt the Earles of Athol and Huntly with large promises to oppose him. Queene *Elisabeth* was as diligent on the other side, & gave the Scots notice by *Henry Killigrew*, that the wicked Massacre of Paris was committed through the combination of the Pope, the French King, and the King of Spaine, to the utter destruction of the Protestants, and extirpation of their Religion. Wherefore she advised them to take heed of being so corrupted with the French rewards, or through faction dis-joyned, as to give way to have forrein forces brought in; but valiantly to oppose themselves with one consent to defend the Religion, which was the onely tie between the Scots and English: and either to looke very heedfully to the King, or else send him into England, to prevent their machinations for the getting of him into France. Notwithstanding all this, some of the Peeres that were addicted to the Queen of Scots did utterly abandon the Kings and the Regents authoritie, untill Queen *Elisabeth* interposing her selfe by the ministerie of *Killigrew*, drew *James Hamilton* the Duke of Castle-Heralt, and *George Gordon* Earle of Huntly, the most eminent of that faction, to very indifferent conditions. Namely, that they should acknowledge the Religion established in Scotland, submit themselves to the King and the government of *Morton*, and his Successors in the government, and abjure the authoritie of all others: that whosoever attempted any thing against the Religion, the King, or Regent, should by act of Parliament be held for Traitors: that the sentences passed against the *Hamiltons* and *Gordons* should be revoked, excepting those of the slaughter of Murray and the Earle of Lenox, which should be left to the arbitrement of Queene *Elisabeth*, (now she was of opinion to have that matter referred to the King, and deferred till he came of age) and that all and singular crimes committed from the 15. day of June, in the Queen Elisabeths care of Religion.

yeere

1573. yeere 1567. the murder of the Earle of Lenox onely excepted, ſhould be remitted to all that craved pardon for the ſame. Yet it was held meet for the ſecuritie both of the King and Regent of Scotland (leſt the one might happely be murdered, and the other carried away into France) that the Queen (which alſo ſhe did) ſhould engage her ſelfe by a publike inſtrument, that neither the *Hamiltons*, nor any other, ſhould be called into queſtion or deprived of their goods for the murder of the former Regents, without her conſent. Which likewiſe was enacted at a meeting of the Parliament for the ſettling of publike quiet in theſe turbulent times. Neverthleſſe, *William Kercald* Lord Grange (whom Murray when he was Regent made governour of the Caſtle of Edenburgh) the Lord *Humes*, *Lidington*, the Biſhop of Dunkeld, and others, who thought this no ſquare dealing toward the Queene of Scots, would by no meanes admit of theſe conditions; but with much refractarineſs deſpiſing the authoritie of the King and the Regent, held that Caſtle and fortified it in the Queenes name, having *Lidington* for their Counſellour, truſting to the naturall ſtrength of the place, their proviſion for warre (for all the munition of the Kings is kept there) and Duke *D'Alva's* and the French Kings promiſes, who had ſent them ſome ſupplies of money (the greateſt part whereof was intercepted at Black-neſſe) and had ſent more but that the long ſiege at Rochell hindred him. Now when as theſe perſons could not be drawne to accept conditions of peace, neither by the Regents promiſes, nor Queen *Eliſabeths* perſwaſions, nor yet by threatnings, but ſtill would defend the Caſtle againſt the Regent, and day by day moleſted the Citie of Edenburgh, which is the ſeat of Juſtice, with their aſſaults and out-rages, & ſent for ſupplies from France, Queene *Eliſabeth* (who could in no caſe endure the French in Scotland) ſuffered her ſelfe at length to be entreated by the Regent, and promiſed to ſend forces, gunnes, and munition, for the aſſaulting of the Caſtle of Edenburgh, upon theſe conditions.

Upon what conditions the Engliſh aſſiſt the Scots.

The Regent ſhall make no tranſaction with the beſieged perſons, but the Commanders of the Engliſh ſhall bee acquainted; nor hee in like manner without adviſing firſt with the Regent, and Counſellors of Scotland. If the Fort happen to come into the hands of the Engliſh, the ſame ſhall within ten daies be delivered up to the King, with all the Munition, Utenſils, Regiſters, and Records of the King dome; the reſt ſhall bee booty for the Engliſh. The Engliſh ſhall fortifie no place in Scotland, but by the conſent of the Regent and Nobles. The Regent ſhall aſſiſt the Engliſh with all the helpe and proviſion of victuals that he can. The beſieged perſons, if the Caſtle be taken, ſhall be reſerved to be dealt withall according to the lawes, but they ſhall firſt adviſe with the Queene. If any of the Engliſh happen to be ſlaine, their wives and children ſhall have penſions allowed them for two yeeres, out of the goods of the Rebells. If any be wounded, they alſo ſhall have penſions till they be cured. The Engliſh Ordinance, if any be loſt, the gun-powder, and bullets ſpent ſhall be made good, either out of the Kings munition, or the goods of the Rebells. And ten Hoſtages ſhall be ſent into England, to be ſecuritie for the returne of the men and munition, unleſſe by the common hazard of warre they chance to miſcarry.

Upon theſe conditions firſt agreed, on *William Drurie* Marſhall of the Gariſon

Garriſon at Berwick, with ſome great Ordnance, and fifteene hundred ſouldiers (amongſt whom were ſome noble Voluntaries, *George Carie, Henrie Carie, Thomas Cecill, Henrie Lee, William Knolles, Sutton, Cotton, Kelway, William Killegrew*, and others) entred into Scotland, having ſome Scottiſh aids joyned to them, and beſieged the Caſtle, having once and againe demanded it to be given up in the Kings name, but all in vaine. In the firſt place, from five mounts of earth which they had raiſed, they thunder continually upon the Caſtle for foure dayes together, and eſpecially upon Saint *Davids* Tower, which fell downe within a few dayes. Afterward, having made impreſſion, they tooke the Fort called Spurre, and ſome at the ſame inſtant aſſaulting the Caſtle on the other ſide were driven backe with ſome ſlaughter. The day after the beſieged perſons gave a token for parlie with *Drurie*. Then deſcended from the Caſtle *Kircald* himſelfe, and *Robert Melvin*, being let downe by a rope; but firſt they tooke *Henrie Lee*, and *Fleck* a Scot, into the Caſtle for pledges. Their demands were, that they might freely enjoy their life and goods; that the Lord *Humes* and *Lidington* might goe aſide into England, in regard of the private grudge which ſome did beare towards them; that *Kircald* might remaine in Scotland, but if otherwiſe, that he might have good leave to depart. But this might not be permitted, but onely that the ſouldiers ſhould have leave to goe away with their baggage, but diſarmed. Whereupon within two dayes, in regard of the paucitie of the Garriſon ſouldiers, who alſo diſagreed amongſt themſelves, were ſore wounded, ſpent with labour and watching, and without hope of reliefe; likewiſe for want of water, for one of the Wells was choaked up with the rubbiſh of the ruines beaten down, & the other lay within command of the great Ordnance, they yeelded themſelves and all they had to the Queen of England and *Drurie*, when they had bin beſieged 33. dayes: who upon the receipt of letters from England delivered up the Caſtle to the Regent for the Kings uſe, with all the perſons that yeelded themſelves. Amongſt whom *Kircald* and *James* his brother, *Moſman* and *Coke* Goldſmiths, who had counterfeited coine in the Caſtle, were hanged, although to redeeme *Granges* life a hundred of the Familie of the *Kircalds* offered themſelves to be in perpetuall ſervice to the Regent, an annuall penſion of three thouſand Markes, and twenty thouſand pounds of Scottiſh money in preſent; and to put in caution that from that time he ſhould continue in duty and homage to the King. *Humes* and the reſt, who were diſperſed in ſeverall Caſtles, were ſpared through Queene *Eliſabeths* mercifull interceſſion; *Lidington* was ſent to Leith, where he died, and was ſuſpected to have beene poiſoned; a man of the greateſt underſtanding in the Scottiſh nation, and of a fine wit, but ſomewhat variable; for which *George Buchanan* in a certaine writing, entituled *The Cameleon*, girded him, and in bitter manner taunted him as a turncoat, and an enemie to the Kings Grandmother, his Mother, Murray, the King himſelfe, and his Countrey. From henceforth began Scotland to take breath after long civill warres, and as well the Captains of both parties, as the ſouldiers, betooke themſelves into Sweveland, France, and the Low Countries, where they valorouſly behaved themſelves, and won great commendation.

1573.

A parley about yeelding up the Caſtle.

Humes and others ſpared by Queene Elizabeths meanes.

1573. And now to the end that England alſo might be the more free from inbred ſeditions, *John Leſley* Biſhop of Roſſe, who had done his Queene faithfull ſervice, but to the downefall of a great many, and the danger of many more, was now ſet at libertie, and commanded to depart out of England: at which time he betooke himſelfe into France, being affraid of the Earle of Southampton, whom by intimation of ſome private paſſages he had well nigh brought in danger of his life, and of *Henry Howard* alſo the Duke of Norfolkes brother; for the appeaſing of whoſe anger he wrote an Apologie for himſelfe. When he was but newly departed, his letter-carrier *H. Cockin* was apprehended, and by his notice *Morgan* detected, who being ready and deſirous to ſet ſome project on foot for the Queene of Scots, quickly got himſelfe out of the way. *Arſlo* the Papiſts chiefe Phyſician, *Good* Doctour of Phyſicke, and *Francis Bertie*, for holding ſecret commerce with her by letter were for certaine moneths held in priſon; and for the ſame matter *Henrie Goodier* and *Richard Lowder* were ſuſpected.

The Biſhop of Roſſe expelled out of England.

The Biſhop of Roſſe in the meane while intermitted no office of a moſt faithfull ſubject toward the Queene of Scots, ſolliciting her cauſe with the Emperour, the Pope, the French King, and the Germane Princes which were of the Popiſh Religion; and all of theſe led him on with hopes, but performed nothing. But herein he complained, that it fell out very inconveniently that Duke *D'Alva*, in whom he had greateſt confidence, was now upon his departure out of the Low Countries, under a colour to recover his health. But indeed he went on, thinking to get victorie onely by crueltie, and had conquered a great part of Holland; whereupon the King of Spaine called him home, being perſwaded by Cardinall *Granvellan*, and *Roderic Gomerius de Sylva*, that his power and name began to grow greater than his Princes, and that by ſuch violent courſes as he uſed the Dutch were driven to revolt, yea to deſperation: although ſome bloudie minded Courtiers in Spaine thought that no fitter man could be choſen out for that government, none more likely to reduce the Netherlands into the forme of a Province. Who being men of a cruell diſpoſition, ſeemed greatly to pitie the King, if he thought the Prince of Orange and the States Confederates, who were reſolutely bent to retaine their libertie, well moned, and firmely ſituated, would be brought to obedience by gentle uſage. *D'Alva's* Succeſſour was *Lodovicus Zuinga*, a man of great Nobilitie in Spaine, and of a more peaceable diſpoſition than the other, who was deſirous by all good offices to win Queene *Eliſabeth* to him, and minding his owne affaires onely, would not intermeddle with the Scottiſh or Engliſh matters.

Duke D'Alva called home out of the Netherlands.

A mad and ſtrange opinion was taken up about this time by *Peter Burchet*, that it was lawfull to kill them that oppoſed the truth of the Goſpell. And ſo farre had this erroneous conceit carried the man, that he publikely aſſaulted Captaine *Hawkins* that famous Seaman, and wounded him with a dagger, taking him for *Hatton* who at that time was in great favour with the Queene, and of her Privie Councell, whom he had beene informed was a great adverſarie to the broachers of novelties. The Queene, beſides her uſuall and wonted manner, grew ſo angry

hereat,

hereat, that she commanded to exercise martiall law upon him presently; till the more prudent of her Counsellours advised her, that this course was not to be taken but in the field, and in turbulent times, but at home and in time of peace they must proceed legally. Whereupon being called to the barre, he affirmed, that what he did was agreeable to the Scriptures, and therefore lawfull; and being in danger of being condemned of Heresie, promised to renounce his opinion, but shuffled, and would not. Then being sent to the Tower, he tooke a brand out of the fire, and strooke it into the braines of one of his Keepers, and killed him; for which fact he was condemned of murder, his right hand cut off and nailed to the gallowes, he struggling and holding his peace, and then was hanged. 1573.

The death of the Lord Howard.

The beginning of this yeere died *William* Lord *Howard* of Effingham, Lord Keeper of the Privie Seale, sonne of that warlike *Thomas Howard* Duke of Norfolke by his second wife *Agnes Tilney*. This *William* was a man of approved fidelitie, and an undaunted courage, who being first of all Governour of Callice, was made a Baron by Queene *Marie*, and Lord High Admirall of England; to whom he was Chamberlaine, as also to Queene *Elisabeth*, till such time that being broken with age he yeelded that place to the Earle of Sussex a few moneths before his death, being then made Keeper of the Privie Seale, which is the fourth degree of honour in England. His son *Charles* succeeded him in the dignitie of his Baronry, who was after made Chamberlaine to the Queene, and in like manner High Admirall of England.

And of the Earle of Kent.

Also a while after died *Reginald Grey* Earle of Kent, whom the Queen a yeere before of a private man made Earle of Kent, when as that title from the death of *Richard Grey* Earle of Kent, who wasted his patrimonie, and was elder brother to this mans Grandfather, had laine asleep for fiftie yeeres together: but his brother *Henry* now succeeded him in this honour.

The death of John Caius, a great benefactour to Cambridge.

Neither is *John Caius* to be forgotten, the famous Physician, borne at Norwich, and educated at Cambridge and Padua, who yeelded up the Ghost about this time, having with great labour and industrie adorned the facultie which he professed, and conferred his whole estate to the advancement of learning, adding a new Colledge to the old Hall of Gonvill at Cambridge, and twenty three Students more to be there maintained to the worlds end; whereupon they grew into one body, by the name of *Gonvill* and *Caius* Colledge, where he lieth entombed with this inscription, *FUI CAIUS.*

In Ireland the Families of the *O-Conors* and *O-Mores* being weary of peace, gathered together a company of disorderly persons, went up and downe in turbulent manner, and spoiled Athlon at the River of Shannon, setting it on fire when they had done. And they had a meaning to joyne their forces with the Rebells of Mounster, but were disappointed by the vigilancie of Sir *John Perot* President of Mounster, who so sore vexed *James Fitz-Morris*, and *Fitz-Edmund* Steward of Imokellie, Rebells, with daily onsets, slew a great number, and prevailed against Castle-Maine, and the French Garrison, that he drave him to come and humbly crave pardon for his offence in the Church of Kilmalock. And

1573. at the ſame time the Earle of Deſmond, with *John* his brother, who were the Authors of that rebellion, were brought backe from England into Ireland by Sir *Edward Fitton*, and caſt into priſon at Dublin; but broke priſon ſoone after and eſcaped.

An expedition of the Earle of Eſſex into Ireland.

In Ulſter *Brian Mac-Phelim*, who had uſurped a great part of the region of Clandeboie, ſet on fire the Towne of Knock-fergus, and others in that tract began to rebell. Againſt theſe *Walter D'Evereux* (whom the Queene had lately created Earle of Eſſex) deſireth leave to ſet forth, and that by the advice of thoſe who had a great mind to have him farre out of the way, and under a ſhew of honour to caſt him headlong into danger. And this he was not ignorant of. But he being a ſtirring man, and from his very youth addicted to martiall feats, held on his purpoſe, and tranſacted the matter with the Queene, that upon certaine cautions: the one halfe of Clandeboie, if he chaſed away the Rebells, he might have to him and his ſouldiers: for the defence whereof he would at his owne charges maintaine 200. horſe, and 300. foot; and to make proviſion for the warre he borrowed of the Queene upon his lands in Eſſex ten thouſand pounds ſterling. Sir *William Fitz-Williams* Deputy of Ireland, fearing that the glory of ſo great an Earle would ſomewhat eclipſe his light, uſeth meanes to the Queene that he might not be ſent over, for that purpoſe feigning to himſelfe I know not what rebellion of all Ulſter to be comming on. Eſſex notwithſtanding is ſent, and to the end the honour and authoritie of the Deputie might be conſerved, he is bidden to take a Patent of the Deputy, whereby to be made Governour of Ulſter; which at length he obtained, though it were late firſt, and with a great deale of importunitie.

At Knockfergus, having beene toſſed in a ſore tempeſt at Sea, he landed at the latter end of Auguſt, with the Lords *Darcie* and *Rich*, Sir *Henry Knolles* and his foure brothers, *Michael* and *John Caries*, *Henry*, *William*, and *John Norriſes*, and a company of raw ſouldiers. Before he landed *Brian Mac-Phelim* had driven all his heards away into the inner parts of the Countrey, to wit, his whole wealth (for beſides ſheep and hogs he could reckon of his owne ſtocke thirty thouſand head of cattell) and when the Earle was landed, he welcommeth him, tendring all manner of ſervice and dutifulneſſe: and in like manner *Mac-Gileſpic*, *Mac-Guile*, *Hugh* Lord of Dungannon, and the reſt of the neighbour Potentates. He promiſeth to forgive *Mac-Phelim* his fault of rebellion, and endevoureth to bind him to him with courteſie. But he falleth away preſently, and conveyeth himſelfe and his followers to *Turlogh Leinigh*: hereupon roſe frequent skirmiſhes againſt the Engliſh. The Lord *Rich* being called away upon his private neceſſary affaires, returned into England within a moneth; Sir *Henry Knolles* alſo, in regard of his ill health, and others every day, pretending new occaſions, by little and little withdrew themſelves out of that barbarous region. The Earle of Eſſex maketh grievous complaint to the Queene and his friends, that the more noble ſort of his fellow ſouldiers fainted, that the expedition was taken in hand too late, that the victualls was not brought time enough, and was ſpoiled, that the common ſouldiers were levied without skilfull advice, and a great number of them loſt, that *Mac-Phelim* was revolted, that he could

Many of his company returne into England.

could not sustaine the charge of the warre, and that the Deputy had not yet sent the Patent; so that he could exercise no authoritie over the neighbour inhabitants. Wherefore he beseecheth the Queen to undertake the businesse in her own name and authoritie; he notwithstanding would be content to repay the one halfe of the expences. 1574.

Afterward he requesteth the Earle of Sussex, Leicester, and Burleigh to intercede for him to the Queene, to make paiment of wages to one hundred horsemen, and sixe hundred foot, and to grant him the demy Iland of May. And when as the Queene had a resolution to call him home, and some tumults began to breake forth in Mounster, Leicester and others prevailed that he might not be sent for backe. And the Deputy gave command, that whiles he himselfe set forth against the Earle of Desmond, who had broken prison, Essex should approch to the borders of Ulster. Which although it troubled him a little, being now wholly busied in strengthening the Forts of Clandeboy, yet he yeelded obedience; yea and moreover, went into Mounster with the Earle of Kildare, and perswaded Desmond to be peaceable, who shortly after submitted himselfe.

The Earle of Essex having now at length received his Patent, undertooke a long journey against *Turlogh Leinigh*, and *O-Donell* joyned himselfe to him. But when as *Con O-Donell* would not serve under him, he tooke from him the Castle of Liffer, and granted the same to *Hugh O-Donell*. *Turlogh* all this while protracted the time with many circumstances, and frequent conference, till the Earle of Essex upon necessitie was to returne. Who as hee had now even broken himselfe with labour and carefulnesse all the summer; so the winter growing on, he beginneth more deeply to cast with himselfe, by what meanes Ulster, which had lien so long neglected, and was barbarous, might be reduced to humanitie and civill life. And having maturely advised hereupon, he gave this verdict, that if three townes were built at the Queens charge, and ten forts by the common contribution of his owne and his fellowes in this expedition, in convenient places which he had marked forth, there would come in a yeerely revenue of seven thousand pounds sterling, and after two yeeres there would not be need of the Queenes Garrison. The Earle of Essex receiveth his Patent.

Now that he was wholly intent and sollicitous for the publike good, he was like on a sudden to have been surprized by the Irish. For *Brian Mac-Phelim*, who had of late treacherously slaine *Moore* an English Captaine, had conspired with *Turlogh* and the Scottish Ilanders to be his destruction. Now as soone as he had notice hereof, he thought it not the best way to expect them, but to set upon them rather: the which he did so couragiously, that he slew two hundred of the Irish, tooke *Brian*, *Rorie Oge* his owne brother by the Mother, and the wife of *Brian* also. With these affaires a whole yeere passed away in Ireland, and little good was reaped by any body; but much losse the Earle of Essex for his part sustained; and not he alone, but one *Chaterton* also an English Gentleman, who with ill successe tooke upon him to bring some English Colonies into Fues, and the neighbour Territorie of O-Hanlan. His care and trouble in the Irish affaires.

The next yeere in January, *Francis* Duke of Alenson, brother to the

1574. Reg. 17.

1574 King of France, by letters wholly compoſed of love and courteſie, and by meanes of *Maveiſier* the French Embaſſadour, with more vehemencie than before importuneth the Queen, that he might have leave and publike caution to come into England, and in perſon ſalute her, whom in abſence he ceaſed not to win to him by all the courteous offices he could. She at length yeelded to his eager ſuite, and granted leave to him to come hither any time before the twentieth of May; promiſing liberally withall, that no office of humanitie or courteſie ſhould be wanting, which could be expected from a moſt loving Prince. Aſſuredly ſhe began now to conceive a more ardent affection towards him than ever, after ſhe perceived that he was really bent againſt the Guiſes her ſworne enemies. But before this anſwer was brought him, *Valentine Dale* Doctor of the Civill Law, the Queenes Embaſſadour in France, intimated that Alenſon and Navarre were ſuſpected to go about to trouble the ſtate, and make innovation. For the Queen Mother, a woman of a vaſt mind, began to ſuſpect that he plotted with *Montmorancie*, and Navarre, and others, to barre her from the government in caſe the King ſhould die; and the Guiſes encreaſed the ſuſpition, ſuggeſting, that Alenſon held intimate friendſhip with Admirall *Colin*, the chiefe Leader of the Proteſtants in France. Alenſon being examined concerning this matter, amongſt other things confeſſed freely, that hee had now for a good while deſired to have the Queene of England in marriage, and ſuppoſing that friendſhip and good correſpondence with *Colin* might be uſefull to him to that end, had thereupon at certaine times had conference with him thereabout, and concerning the Low-Countrie warre. Nevertheleſſe, he and Navarre were committed to Keepers. But *Thomas Wilkes*, *Dales* Secretarie, got cunningly to them both, and in the Queenes name made promiſe to them, that ſhe ſhould omit no opportunitie of comforting them and procuring their enlargement; which this ſubtle old woman ſoone ſmelt out, and chaſed this *Wilkes* in ſuch ſort that he was faine to get into England, and ſo perſecuted him with her querulous letters, that he was ſent backe into France to crave pardon for his faule. Navarre not unmindfull of this conſolation, when about five and twentie yeeres after being King of France hee ſaw him in Normandie, knighted him. Hereupon the Queen ſent *Thomas Randolph* into France to the Queen Mother, that, if it were poſſible, he might gaine reconciliation for Alenſon her ſon, and the King of Navarre. But before he was landed in France, *Charles* the French King died, whoſe funerall rites were ſolemnly performed at S. *Pauls* Church in London.

Alenſon ſueth to ſee the Queene.

She granteth it.

The death of Charles the ninth.

So ſoone as *Henrie* the Third King of France was come from Poland into his new dignitie, *Roger* Lord North was ſent into France to congratulate the new Kings returne, and his happy inauguration into the Kingdome, to condole the calamitie of France thus rent with civill broiles, to procure Alenſons grace and enlargement, to mitigate the hatred conceived againſt *Montmorancie* and *Coſſe*, and finally to move him to take pity of *Charlotte* of Bourbon, the Duke of Monpenſiers daughter, who had withdrawne her ſelfe into Germanie by reaſon of her religion. But he could worke nothing, for France now ſeemed to be led by fate,

and

and driven by furie to this fad inteſtine warre. Nevertheleſſe, the King and the Queene Mother ſent their joynt letters into England by Mounſieur *Garde*, ſolliciting the buſineſſe of marriage between Alenſon and the Queene. For hee now conceiving great indignation that hee was thus held priſoner, and conferring advice with the politike faction in France, they had a great deſire to packe him away into England, to divert the young mans mind from warre and faction. 1574.

All this while notwithſtanding, they did all they could by undermining trickes and devices in Scotland to get the young King ſent into France, and deprive *Morton* the Regent of his authoritie; ſending for this purpoſe into Scotland ſome Scots that were attendants in the French Court. And this alſo the Queene of Scots was very deſirous of, being perſwaded that if her ſonne were ſafely gotten into France, ſhe and the Catholikes in England ſhould bee more mildly dealt withall. For hereupon ſhe thought it would fall out that the Engliſh faction in Scotland, which hitherto bore themſelves upon the Kings authoritie, would fall quite to the ground, and the Engliſh in regard of him would bee daily more afraid both of France and Scotland as he grew older. And the French themſelves no leſſe earneſtly deſired the ſame, being a little afraid, the Regent of Scotland being ſo devoted to the Engliſh, would breake that ancient League betwixt the French and Scots. Yet for all this, when he deſired that a League of mutuall defence and offence againſt all ſtrangers might be entred between England and Scotland, hee was not hearkened to; it may be for that withall he required an annuall penſion to be aſſigned him, and ſome other Scots, out of England. But an eaſie eare was given to them, who faſtned a ſuſpition upon the Queen of Scots, though a ſleight one, bringing alſo within the compaſſe of the ſame the Counteſſe of Shrewsburie, and the Earle himſelfe; as if they, without the Queens conſent, had made the match betwixt *Charles* Uncle to the King of Scots (who had lately the Earldome of Lenox confirmed to him by Parliament) and *Eliſabeth Candiſh* the Counteſſe of Shrewsburies daughter by a former husband: upon which ground both their Mothers, and ſome others, alſo were held in priſon for a little ſpace, and all the blame was caſt upon the Queene of Scots.

Plots to get the King of Scots into France.

Divers ſuſpitions now ariſing whereunto this marriage ſhould tend, *Henrie* Earle of Huntingdon, Preſident of the Councell in the North, is authorized with new and ſecret inſtructions for this purpoſe. This place of government from ſmall beginnings is now become ſo eminent as it is at this day, whereof let the Reader thus farre underſtand the Originall. When as in the reigne of King *Henrie* the Eight, after that the rebellion of the Northerne parts about the ſubverſion of Abbaies was quieted, the Duke of Norfolke tarried in theſe quarters, and many complaints of injuries done were tendered unto him; he himſelfe compoſed ſome of them, and under his ſeale commended others to men of wiſedome and diſcretion to be made whole. The King underſtanding thus much, ſent downe a peculiar ſeale to be uſed in theſe caſes, and calling home the Duke, committed the ſame to *Tonſtall* Biſhop of Durham, and conſtituted *Aſſiſtants* with authoritie *to heare and determine* the complaints of the poore. He was then the firſt that was called *Preſident*, and

The originall of the Councell in the North.

1575. and from that time the authoritie of his Succeſſors was of credit.

At this time great exceſſe in apparell grew rife in the Kingdome, and the home-made Countrie Cloth began by a great number to be ſo diſdained, that men and women by new faſhions betraied the pride and deformitie of their inward diſpoſition, ruffling in ſilkes and ſtuffes, either woven or embrodered with gold and ſilver. The Queene now obſerved that by meanes of this exceſſe a great maſſe of money was laid out upon forrein exotike merchandize, to the great dammage of the Kingdome; and much money alſo conveyed out of the Land, and other inconveniences likewiſe occaſioned hereby: for many noble Perſonages laviſhed away their Patrimonies in this kind, and others to appeare Gentlemen impoveriſhed themſelves, that they were in a manner compelled to raiſe tumults for the compaſſing of new ſupplies, having thus prodigally waſted their owne eſtates. Now although ſhe might have executed the Lawes made by King *Henrie* the Eighth and Queen *Marie* againſt theſe abuſes, and by this meanes brought great ſummes of money into her Coffers; yet ſhe choſe rather to ſet on foot her royall command for the ſuppreſſing of theſe enormities: wherefore ſhe made Proclamation, that within fourteene daies every one ſhould returne and reſume the cuſtomarie habit of the Kingdome, upon paine of undergoing the extremeſt ſeveritie of the Lawes: and this reformation ſhe began in her owne Court. Nevertheleſſe, this Proclamation and the Lawes themſelves (the abuſe growing ſo univerſall) were faine by little & little to yeeld to the iniquitie of the times; and withall, inordinate feaſting and ſtately building crept in. For the moſt of the houſes and Lordſhips of noble perſonages, and the dwellings alſo of private perſons began now to riſe to a greater height and magnificence than had been known in England in any age; to the great ornament indeed of the Kingdome, but the decay and bane of good houſe keeping.

Exceſſe in apparell reſtrained.

The Engliſh, who at this time ſerved in Holland under *Cheſter* and *Gainsford*, ſoone wanted ſucceſſe, others were to ſeeke for lack of valour and experience. For they that were in Garriſon at Valkenburgh forſooke their ſtation, and afterward yeelded to the enemie. Yet were they ſpared, and ſuffered to come off with their lives, for feare the Queene might hinder the Spaniſh Navie from paſſing along through the Channell to the Low-Countries, and deny them proviſion. Others at the Sluce, when after a ſharpe skirmiſh they had valiantly forced the Spaniards to give back, were upon a ſudden ſurprized by the enemies which ſwamme over the River, and driven from their Garriſon, having loſt two hundred men, and three Colours.

The Engliſh defeated in Holland.

This yeere was ſeene a vaſte mighty Whale, caſt upon the Iland of Tanet, twenty elles long, and thirteen foot broad from the belly to the backe bone, and eleven foot betweene the eyes; the River of Thames ebbed and flowed twice within an houre, and the Heaven alſo ſeemed to be on fire in the moneth of November.

1575 Reg. 18. *Henrie* the Third King of France, being now returned from Poland, & inaugurated at Rheimes, was exceeding carefull to have the League of Bloies confirmed, which in the yeer 1572. was concluded between his brother *Charles* & Queen *Eliſabeth*, the ſame he confirmed with his own ſub-

ſubſcription, and delivered it to *Dale* the Queenes Orator: the which ſhe in like manner ratified at St. *James* neere Weſtminſter. But a little after he demanded by letters, whether *that mutuall defence againſt all perſons* mentioned in the League, comprehended the cauſe of Religion alſo. Whereunto ſhe expreſſly anſwering, that it did comprehend it; and that ſhe would be ready with mutuall defence againſt all perſons, yea, in the matter of Religion it ſelfe, if ſhe were required thereunto; he began preſently to buckle himſelfe to make warre againſt the Proteſtants, and Alenſon being drawne to the adverſe partie there was no ſpeech of the marriage for a long time. Queen *Eliſabeth* notwithſtanding in favour of Alenſon ſupplied *Caſimire* with a great ſum of money, for the bringing of Germaine horſemen into France, againſt the diſturbers of the publike tranquillitie. 1575.

While ſhe was thus intent upon the French affaires, ſome Netherlandiſh matters came betweene. *Lodowick Zuinga* who ſucceeded Duke *D'Alva*, was wholly bent to recover the command of the Seas, if it were poſſible, which *D'Alva*, not without notable over ſight in ſo great a Captaine, had neglected; by which meanes the Low-Countrie warre grew ſo long and tedious. But not being ſufficiently provided of a Navie (for the Spaniſh ſhips, which for that end a little before were brought to Flanders by the helpe of the Engliſh, were torne and loſt in a tempeſt) he ſent *Baiſchot* into England, that with the Queens good leave he might take up ſhips and Mariners againſt the Hollanders and Zealanders; which notwithſtanding hee could not obtaine. For the Queen would not expoſe her ſhips and Mariners to danger in a ſtrangers quarrell, and gave publike intimation, that none ſhould make ready any ſhips for the Seas without her leave firſt procured; and that no Sea-faring men ſhould preſume to ſerve in forrein parts under other Princes: whereupon *Baiſchot* made further petition, that the Queene would not take it in evill part, if the baniſhed perſons of the Engliſh in the Low-Countries ſerved the King of Spaine in a Sea fight againſt the Hollanders, and that they might have free acceſſe to the Ports of England to buy proviſion for ready mony. But ſhe could not approve of it, that the Engliſh rebells (ſo ſhe called them) ſhould ſerve under the King of Spain; yea, ſhe hoped that *Zuinga* would not favour them, at leſtwiſe ſhe requeſted him not to doe it, eſpecially *Thomas Copley*; for him the Spaniard at this time had a purpoſe to grace with the Titles of *great Maſter of the Rivers Moſe, Lord of Gatten and Roughtey*, and ſend him to Sea to make prize of the Engliſh and Dutch. But for her to open her Ports to Rebells and her ſworne enemies (ſhe ſaid) were extreme madneſſe. *Baiſchot* bethinking himſelfe how to get more plauſible conditions of the Queen, required in the King of Spaines name, that the Dutch who were rebells againſt the King of Spain might be put out of England. This alſo ſhe refuſed, alledging that thoſe whom he termed Rebells were meane and miſerable creatures, and of no note ſuch as had ſet no enterprize on foot, but through the terrour of warre had fled into England, being ſtripped both of their Countries and Patrimony; and to deliver up theſe into the tormrers hands, were an action void of humanitie, and againſt the the lawes of hoſpitalitie. Withall ſhe willed him to remember how in-

conveniently

Aide required by Sea againſt the Hollanders.

The Queen refuſeth to ſend back the Dutch.

1575. conveniently it fell out for the King of Spaine, that at Duke *D'Alva's* requeſt ſhe commanded the Dutch to depart out of England in the yeere 1572. Nevertheleſſe, becauſe ſhe would not be thought to violate the old Burgundian League (which the King of Spaine notwithſtanding refuſed to confirme with her) ſhe commanded by open Proclamation, that the ſhips of the Dutch which were made ready ſhould not goe forth of the haven; nor yet the Dutch who had taken up armes againſt the King of Spaine enter into the Ports of England; expreſly and by name the Prince of Orange, and they of his family, the Counts Culenberg, Berghan, March, and fiftie others the prime of that faction. And this ſhe did the more willingly, becauſe that *Zuinga* upon the interceſſion of *Wilſon* the Engliſh Embaſſador, had removed the Earle of Weſtmorland, & other Engliſh out of the Dominions of the King of Spain, & diſolved the Engliſh Seminarie at Doway; inſteed whereof the Guiſes, through the procurement of Pope *Gregorie* the thirteenth, ſet up another at Rhemes.

The Prince of Orange craves protection of the French King.

The Prince of Orange perceiving himſelfe too weake for the King of Spaine, and expecting little helpe out of England, began to conſult with thoſe about him to whoſe protection hee were beſt to betake himſelfe. And the Queene perceiving that he caſt his heart and his eyes upon the French King, ſent to him *Daniel Rogers* out of hand, to diſſwade that entendment. Which when ſhe could not effect (for he had formerly dealt with the Admiral *Colin*, and the French King about this matter) ſhe addreſſeth *Henrie Cobham* the Lord *Cobhams* brother with inſtructions to the King of Spaine, to intimate to him how prejudiciall to him it would prove in all likelihood, if Holland and Zealand revolted from him to the French King; and to perſwade him withall the forcible arguments hee could invent, to exchange war for peace; which he ſeemed to agree unto: and ſhee intimated her mind herein to *Zuinga* alſo by *Robert Cobert*. In like manner ſhee ceaſed not to doe all ſhee could to remove the Prince of Orange from his reſolution, uſing the miniſterie of Sir *Henrie Haſtings*; but by reaſon of the croſſe endevour of *Villars* a French Churchman he could bring nothing to paſſe: for this fellow, who came into England in a threed-bare coat and poore eſtate, and after grew rich by a ſtipend conferred upon him for reading a Divinitie Lecture, fearing leſt the Prince of Orange ſhould looke backe upon the Engliſh, amongſt other things affirmed (the which he alſo ſet forth in writing) that Queene *Eliſabeth* had not a man in her Kingdome, beſides the Earle of Suſſex, to whoſe valour and truſt ſhe durſt commit an Armie; and that he alſo was no great well-willer to the Proteſtant Religion. He inculcated alſo what he had heard of *Colin*, that if the Engliſh ſet footing once in the Low-Countries, they would take up againe their old enmitie againſt the French.

Notwithſtanding all this, the civill warres amongſt the French at home cut off all hopes of aide out of France from the Prince of Orange and the Dutch Confederats. Whereupon they enter into a new deliberation whoſe aide and protection to flie unto. The Princes of Germanie they knew regarded not the King of Spain, but were not all of one mind, parted from money very hardly, and did not every way accord with the Dutch in their Religion; and that the Emperour being the King of

Spaines

Spaines Kinſman would lay obſtacles in their way. They ſaw the French ſo entangled in a civill warre, that they could ſee no end of it; beſides, they called to mind that old grudges were between the French and Dutch; that thoſe of Brabant, Flanders, and the adjoyning places, would reſiſt the French all they could; that their command was no leſſe harſh than the King of Spaines Tyrannie, and that the Ports of France were not ſo opportune for the Dutchmens trafficke. But the Engliſh, living as it were under the ſame Paralell, were of the ſame diſpoſition as themſelves in a manner, embraced the ſame Religion in all points, the language not quite contrarie, the Countrie a neere neighbour, well provided of havens, convenient for Navigation, and rich in Merchandize; the Queene very potent both at Sea and land, gentle and courteous, and one that would conſerve their immunities; that her Rule and Government would be temperate, not polling or burdenſome with exactions. 1575.

Hereupon they ſent into England *Philip Marnixie* of St. Aldegond, *Janus Dona*, *William Newell*, *Paul Buy*, and Doctor *Melſen*; who in an honourable Embaſſage, and an eloquent Oration proffer the Countries of Holland and Zeland to bee poſſeſſed or protected by the Queen, for as much as ſhe was deſcended from the Princes of Holland by *Philip* wife to *Edward* the Third, daughter of *William* of Bavaria Count of Hainonia and Holland, by whoſe other ſiſter the hereditarie right of thoſe Provinces came to the King of Spaine. She giveth good eare to this, but takes time to anſwer; and firſt, ſhe ſeriouſly conſidereth with her ſelfe the cauſe it ſelfe which they had taken in hand againſt their Lord and Maſter, the enmitie of the King of Spaine, the French Kings emulation, the mighty expences and doubtfull events of a warre; and withall, how offenſive the ſtrangeneſſe of this example might be abroad in the world. Then ſhe doubted whether ſhe her ſelfe had any right by the Bavarian line to the Provinces of Holland and Zeland, and whether it were lawfull to enter into a League of protection with the ſubjects of another Prince; whether they alſo could doe the ſame without the Emperours conſent, who was the ſupreme Lord. At laſt, having maturely adviſed upon the matter, ſhe made anſwer (after ſhe had given thankes for the Prince of Oranges and the reſts good will) that nothing in the world was of greater importance to her than to maintaine her own honour; and that as yet ſhee conceived not how with ſafety of her honour and an upright conſcience ſhe could receive theſe Provinces offered to her protection, much leſſe aſſume them into her poſſeſſion. But ſhe would deale earneſtly with the King of Spaine, that a well conditioned peace might be concluded. The Netherlands offered to Queen Eliſabeth.

In thoſe daies came *John Perenot* of Champigny, brother to the Cardinall *Granvellan*, from *Zuniga* to the Queene, modeſtly to remember her of keeping the ancient League betweene England and Burgundie, and to entreat her not to interpoſe her ſelfe in the Netherlandiſh affaires. She, although the King of Spaine refuſed to confirme that League, yet promiſed for her owne part to obſerve it; yet that ſhe would have regard to her owne honour and ſafetie, if the ancient forme of the Burgundian League were altered, and forren ſouldiers daily brought in ſo great number into a neighbour Province to her damnage. Queen Eliſabeth ſollicited not to protect the Hollanders.

Before

1575. Before that *Champignie* was returned home, *Zuinga* died in the Low-Countries, and a ſtrange diſordered face of things appeared there preſently: the ſouldiers running up & down every where with fire & ſword, and the States of Brabant, Flanders, &c. taking upon them the ancient adminiſtration and authoritie in the Common-wealth; which the King of Spaine himſelfe alſo was faine to confirme to them, till ſuch time as *John* of Auſtria were come, whom he determined to make Governour there. To them the Queen employeth on Embaſſage *William Daviſon*, to exhort them in diligent manner to be peaceable, being very carefull that the Spaniard ſhould ſuffer no detriment, and as much as lay in her to keepe the Low-Countrie Provinces for him free from ſpoyle or injurie. But the Spaniſh ſouldiers were ſo outrageous, that nothing could be done.

A tumult betweene the Engliſh and the Scots.

In England all was calme and quiet for all this yeere, ſave that in the middle of the borders toward Scotland, there chanced to fall out a conflict betweene the borderers in July, upon this occaſion. Sir *John Forſter* Governour of the middle border, and of Berwicke alſo at this time, condeſcended beneath his owne dignitie to a conference at Redſquire Hill, with *J. Carmichell* Keeper of Liddeſdale in Scotland. They both were accompanied, beſides certaine noble perſons, with an armed company of Robbers and miſchievous perſons out of each border, who were at old deadly feud one with another. They according to their manner ſending their horſes every where neere hand to fodder, encompaſſed the Governour and the Keeper: whom when they heard grow to ſharpe words about delivering up of the Robbers, and they who knew no right or Law but what was in armes, being every one guiltie and afraid to bee delivered up, tooke occaſion to quarrell for a ſpurre ſtollen away, fell into a tumultuous skirmiſh, and every one flew upon his enemie whom he hated more than the reſt; or elſe ſeized upon the horſes for booty. Whether a Scot or an Engliſhman began, it is uncertaine. At the firſt onſet the Engliſh got the better, and tooke *Carmichell*: but when they thought themſelves ſecure and ſought after the prey, there came Scottiſh aide from Jedburgh, whereby *Carmichell* eſcaped, the Engliſh were put to flight, Sir *George Heron* Keeper of Tindall Rhedeſdale, and others were ſlaine. Sir *John Forſter* himſelfe the Governour, *Francis Ruſſell* ſonne to the Earle of Bedford, and *Forſters* ſon in Law, *Cuthbert Colinwood*, *James Ogle*, *Henrie Fenwicke*, and divers others were taken and led away into Scotland as far as Dalkeith, where the Regent remained; who entertained them with all manner of courteſie. But hee deteined them a while, fearing that if they were preſently diſmiſſed, their blood being yet hot for the late loſſe of their friends, they would be eager for revenge, and ſo raiſe a warre between both Kingdomes. Neither did hee diſmiſſe them but upon their bonds, that at a ſet time they would ſhew themſelves againe in Scotland.

The Engliſh Governour and others taken, and carried into Scotland.

So ſoone as the Queene had certaine notice hereof, ſhe waxed very angrie and ſtomackfull, taking it in great diſdaine, that the Scots, who (as ſhee ſaid) owed their libertie and peace to her and the Engliſh, firſt breaking the peace, had invaded the Engliſh, ſlaine them, taken the Governour of the middle border, who alſo was Governour of Berwick, and

and others, led them away prisoners into Scotland; and not dismissed them before they had assumed their cestume under their hands and seales. All these particulars the interpreter has done to her injurie, and the singular blemish of the English reputation. And the rather, for that the Regent had ordered, that this matter should be framed within the borders of Scotland, and made proposition whether the Delegates should be armed or not. This seemed to bewray a hostile intention, and the other an ambitious mind, as if the Regent would prescribe the Queene of England a place where to meet, as there not long since had appointed Mutrey to mete at Yorke. And the Regent, who was exceedingly perplexed herewithall, could not give satisfaction till such time as he came and appeared unarmed before the Earle of Huntingdon, appointed Delegate for England, at Boudenrod, where the borders of both Kingdomes meet; and in such forme of words promised to heale this scare, with all the good offices that might be; and for the repairing of the English reputation, sent into England *Cunninchell*, who was most deare to him, who was for a while kept at York in free custodie, and thereupon honourably rewarded, and sent home. For the fault was found to rest upon Sir *John Forster*, for that he stood too eagerly in the defence of a notable Swashbuckler. Thus all was made whole betweene the Queene and the Regent, and from that time he was alwaies constant in observing her friendship; and (to his great commendation) restrained the free-booters of the borders, to the great good of both Kingdomes.

1575.

Sir Henrie Sidney made Deputy of Ireland.

The Regent of Scotland is reconciled to Queene Elisabeth.

1576. Reg. 19.

This yeere there died in Scotland *James Hamilton* Duke of Castle-Herald, and Earle of Arran, who was great grandchild to *James* the second King of Scots by his daughter, appointed Tutor to *Mary* Queen of Scots, deſigned Heire & Governour of the Kingdome whiles she was of tender age. After, when he had delivered her to the French, he was made Duke of Chasteau-Herald in France; and after that made chiefe of the three Governours of Scotland by Queene *Maries* prisoner. Whose cause while he constantly maintained, (who was a very open hearted man, and of a most pleasing disposition) he was continually molested by the injurious dealing of hot and turbulent spirits.

The Earle of Essex molested in Ireland.

The Earle of Essex now in Ireland was shut up by the treacheries and conspiracies of *Turlogh* and the Lord Dungannon, and molested with many other difficulties out of England; but hearing, that consultation was held to call him home, he silently began to deplore the miserable forlorn fortunes of himself and his followers, to bewaile the condition of Ireland, which he assured himselfe might be brought under with 2000 souldiers, againe and againe desireth to make an honourable composition of the matter with *Turlogh Leinagh*: and, having now delivered up into the Deputies hands his command over Ulster, because he could not follow his deſigne with the small number of souldiers assigned him by the Deputie, he was commanded to resume it againe. And scarcely had he resumed it, but letters came to command him to desist wholly from warre, and make as honourable a peace as he could. The which he straightway concluded, and then went forward against the Scottish Islanders, who had seized upon Clandeboie, drave them into their holes, and, by the good direction of *William Norris*, set upon the Ile of Rachlin, slew

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1576 slew foure hundred Ilanders, won the Caſtle, and placed a Garriſon there. And being now in the midſt of victorie, he was againe beſides his expectation commanded to reſigne his authority, and, as he were an ordinary Commander, is ſet over three hundred ſouldiers: and indeed no wiles were omitted in Court for the continuall perplexing of his mild ſpirit.

Sir Henrie Sidney made Deputy of Ireland.

Sir *Henry Sidney* is now ſent the third time Deputy into Ireland, when the plague vexed the Iland farre and wide. He notwithſtanding went to Ulſter, and many met him, in moſt humble ſort ſubmitting themſelves; to wit, *Mac-Mahon*, *Mac-Guir*, *Turlogh Leinigh*, and others. Alſo in Leinſter the ſeditious Families of the *O-Conors* and *O-Mores*, who in Leiſe and Ophal by force and armes ſeized againe upon their ancient inheritances, whereof the lawes had deprived them. When he was come into Mounſter, he went in mourning weeds after the herſe of Sir *Peter Carew*, a noble and valiant Knight, whoſe funerall was at that time ſolemnized. At Corke the Earle of Deſmond came to ſee him, and profered him all dutie and obſervance. Afterward, going from thence to Connaught, he received into favour the rebelling ſons of the Earle of Clan-Ricard, who in moſt demiſſe manner craved pardon for their offences in the Church of Galloway: and ſo with great commendation he adminiſtred the Province.

1576. Reg. 19. In the beginning of the next yeere the French Agents began again to beat the Queens eares with the mention of marriage with Duke Alenſon: to whom anſwer was given, that it was not now a convenient time to treat thereof, when Alenſon could not come himſelfe, France being all in a combuſtion, and he buſied in that warre. Yet were one or two ſent into France, to renew brotherly affection betweene the King and Alenſon, and to diſſwade the French King from meddling with the Netherlandiſh affaires, leſt it might raiſe a new fire of warre againſt France, the King of Spaine taking diſpleaſure at the ſame; uſing other motives alſo to deterre the French King from the Low Countrie warre.

The Zelanders infeſt the Engliſh. For the Prince of Orange, out of his owne private reſpects, and hopes to retaine the Principalitie of Orange (which lieth in France) ceaſed not to invite the French into the Low Countries, and ſuffered the Hollanders and Zelanders to make booty of the Engliſh Merchants, under pretence that they were ſent with proviſion of victualls to the Dunkirkers their enemies. For the reſtraining of theſe troubleſome perſons, *Holſtock* was once more ſent forth to ſcoure the Seas, who took above two hundred Pirates, and laid them up in priſon about the Sea coaſt. But to demand the goods which the Dutch had taken away, Sir *William Winter*, and *Robert Beale*, Secretarie to the Queenes Counſell, were ſent into Zeland, to make computation of the loſſes on both ſides, and compoſe the differences. But through the covetouſneſſe of the Engliſh Merchants, and the inſolency of the Dutch, the contention brake forth againe, to the dammage of both Nations; but in a ſhort time was laid aſleep.

Now was there a great confuſion in the Low Countries, whiles the Spaniard without order ſhut up in priſon ſome of the States, and harried the Inhabitants with all manner of ſpoile and injuries; inſomuch that the States were enforced to take up armes, and meſſengers were ſent to

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all neighbouring Princes, and Monſieur *Aubigney* to Queene *Eliſabeth*, to inſtruct her upon how neceſſary and juſt cauſes they had taken up armes. She by Dr. *Wilſon* earneſtly laboureth both with the States of the Low Countries and the King of Spaine to forbeare warres, and was diligent to find out for what cauſes thoſe perſons of the States were clapped up in priſon. In the meane ſeaſon Antwerp, the very eye of Cities, and one of the moſt famous Townes of trafficke in all Europe, was not ſuffered to be at reſt, but was miſerably pillaged by the Spaniards, the Engliſh Merchants houſe rifled, and they, though guilty of no offence, compelled by way of redemption to pay a great ſumme of mony to the ſouldiers. *Aubigney* tooke this occaſion to be earneſt with the Queene in the States name to borrow a great maſſe of money, for the better abating of the courage of the Spaniards. She having beene certainely informed that they firſt ſued to the French King for help, denieth his requeſt, but promiſeth to intercede diligently with the King of Spaine for a peace. And in that employment ſhe addreſſed into Spaine *John Smith*, Couſin German to King *Edward* the fixth, a man of Spaniſh behaviour, and well knowne to the King of Spaine; who was liberally received by the King, and with ſuch wiſedome retorted the contumelious ſpeeches of *Gaſper Quiroga* Archbiſhop of Toledo, and the Spaniſh Inquiſitours, who would not admit in the Queenes title the attribute of *Defender of the Faith*, that he gained great thankes from the King of Spaine, who grew angry at the Archbiſhop, requeſted the Embaſſadour not to ſpeake of it to the Queene, and gave ſevere command that the title ſhould be admitted. For he knew the Queenes advice was uſefull in his affaires, though he followed it not, the Netherlandiſh fate (as it were) carrying him another way. 1576.

Queen Elizabeth laboureth to compound the Netherland variances.

In theſe dayes came *John* of Auſtria into the Low Countries with great authoritie and large Commiſſion (for he was the naturall ſon of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth) to whom the Queene ſent *Edward Horſey* Governour of the Ile of Wight to congratulate his comming thither, and to offer help if it chanced that the States called the French into the Netherlands; but *Swevingham* growing exceeding importunate on the States behalfe, ſhe ſendeth them twenty thouſand pounds of Engliſh money, upon condition that they ſhould neither change their Prince, nor their Religion, nor take the French King into the Low Countries, nor refuſe a peace if *John* of Auſtria ſhould condeſcend to equall and indifferent conditions. But if he embraced a peace, that then the money ſhould be paid backe to the Spaniſh ſouldiers, who mutined for lacke of pay. So carefull was ſhe to retaine theſe declining Provinces in obedience and ſubjection to the King of Spaine, that ſhe omitted no opportunitie to deſerve well of him, and compoſe the difference.

Don John of Auſtria commeth into the Netherlands.

In England at this time was joyfull quiet every where ſealed, and trade againe opened betweene the Engliſh and Portugalls, which by occaſion of the covetouſneſſe of ſome private perſons had lately beene ſtopped. And the Engliſh were ſuffered to trafficke in Portugall, Algarbie, the Ilands of Madera, and the Azores; and the Portugalls to trade mutually into England and Ireland for three yeeres: in which time the controverſie about goods detained ſhould be compoſed. And this was notified by

1576. publike Proclamation, and the voice of a Herald.

Some learned diſpoſitions alſo, kindled with an honeſt and liberall deſire to find out the fartheſt regions of the habitable world, and the ſecrets of the Ocean, ſtirred up other well monied perſons (who had as great an inclination to gaine wealth) to trie if there could be found any ſea upon the North part of America, leading to the wealthy coaſt of Cathaia, whereby they might joyne in one commerce the riches both of the Eaſt and Weſterne parts of the world: and thither they ſent *Martin Forbiſher*, who ſet ſaile from Harwich the 18. of June, and the 9. day of Auguſt entred into that Bay or Sea, but could not paſſe further, becauſe that then infinite mountaines of ſnow and ice were in his way. The like expedition was taken in hand two yeers after, but with no good ſucceſſe; which I will not ſtand to make further relation of, becauſe theſe travells are more at large diſcovered by others.

Attempts to find the Northeaſt paſſage.

The death of the Emperour Maximilian.

The Emperour *Maximilian* died about this time, a Prince wiſe, juſt, a wholeſome Governour, and a well deſerver of Queene *Eliſabeth* and the Engliſh; which ſo ſoone as the Queene had certaine intelligence of, ſhe was exceedingly grieved, and ſent Sir *Philip Sidney* to his ſon *Rodolphus* King of Romans upon Embaſſage, to beare part in his ſorrow for his worthy fathers death, and withall to congratulate his ſucceſſion; and likewiſe that in the way he ſhould condole the deceaſe of the Count Elector Palatine, named *Frederick* the third, with his ſurviving ſon; and mind *Caſimire* of the money which ſhe expended in the French warre: for by that warre a peace was procured to France, and the Dukedomes of Anjou, Tours, &c. for Alenſon: but the Queen had none of the money repayed, which nevertheleſſe ſhe thought well laid out in regard of the great good it wrought; and *Caſimire* ingenuouſly acknowledged that the French King was in fault, who kept not his promiſe, which was, to ſee it paid backe.

As in Germanie the Emperour *Maximilian* and the Elector Palatine died, Princes of Chriſtian fortitude and ſingular moderation, leaving a great longing of the people behind them, ſo in Ireland *Walter D'Evereux* Earle of Eſſex, a man ſingularly beloved; in whom a vertuous diſpoſition and nobilitie of parentage ſeemed to ſtrive for the prehemineence; both which notwithſtanding could not preſerve him againſt envie. For after that he was enforced to deſiſt from a laudable enterprize begun in Ireland, he returned into England) his patrimony being greatly diminiſhed) and openly threatned the Earle of Leiceſter, whom he ſuſpected to have bin the cauſe of all the injuries he had ſuffered. But he was by his Court devices (who feared him, & by a myſterie peculiar to the Court knew how to ſtrike and overturne men by caſting honours upon them) ſent againe into Ireland with the empty title of Earle Marſhall of Ireland. Where pining away with griefe, he fell into a bloudie fluxe, and in moſt grievous torments yeelded up his ſoule into the hands of his Redeemer; when he had firſt deſired the ſtanders by to admoniſh his ſon, not ten yeers old at that time, to have alwayes before his eyes the thirtie ſixth yeere of his age, as the utmoſt terme of his life; which neither he nor father could outgoe, and the ſon indeed attained not unto it, as ſhall hereafter be declared. This noble perſonage was by the common people

Walter D'Evereux Earle of Eſſex dieth in Ireland.

ſuſpected

suspected to have been poysoned (who indeed alwaies thinke them to end their life in such sort, which are deare to them) although *Sidney* the Deputy of Ireland, after diligent search made, wrote to the Lords of the Councell in England, that the Earle when he first began to lie by it, often said, that it was familiar with him, as often as hee was discontented in mind any thing deepely, to fall into a flux; and that he himselfe had no suspition that he was poysoned. That his body in his disease was coloured as when hee was in most perfect health; that no spot, no sore appeared, no haire or nailes fell off; that when he was bowelled there could be seene no foot-steps or tokens of poyson: Yet for all this, the man in those daies was every where pointed at, who was beleeved to have poysoned him. And this suspition was encreased, for that presently hereupon the Earle of Leicester with a great summe of money and large promises for future times, put away *Douglasse Sheffield* (whether shee were his wife or his lemman I say not, but he had a sonne by her) and openly made love to Essex his widow, whom he afterward married. For although it was given out that he was privately married to her, yet Sir *Francis Knolles* her father, who was well acquainted with Leicesters roaving loves, would not beleeve it, unlesse hee himselfe were present, and the contract testified by a publike Notarie. But of this more hereafter. 1576.

At this time likewise died Sir *Anthony Cooke*, being seventy yeeres of age; a man of antique austeritie, and composed grevitie, many waies learned, having been Schoole-master to *Edward* the sixth; most happy in his daughters, who beyond the reach of that sexe ordinarily, were skilfull in the Greeke and Latine tongues, and matched to men of fame and honour; Sir *William Cecill* Lord High Treasurer of England, Sir *Nicholas Bacon* Keeper of the great Seale, Sir *Thomas Hobey* who died Embassadour in France, Sir *Ralph Rowlet*, and Sir *Henry Killegrew*. The death of Sir Anthony Cooke.

Before the death of the Earle of Essex (to returne a little) the sonnes of the Earle of *Clan-Ricard*, who scarce two moneths before had obtained pardon of their rebellion from the Deputy, gathered together now againe a company of lewd persons, and in outrageous manner robbed and spoiled every where over Connaught, set on fire Athenrie, (which the Inhabitants were now about to repaire) and killed the workemen; out of a barbarous hatred against those Inhabitants, because they began to entertaine the Lawes, and to lead a civill life. But the Deputy comming towards them, the miscreants (after their wonted manner) betooke themselves to their holes, and the Earle of *Clan-Ricard* himselfe, as an accessary to the designes of his sonnes, was put in prison at Divelin. When the Deputy was gone, they got out of their lurking places, beset the Castle of Balla-Reogh, their fathers chiefe seat, where was a Garrison placed under *Thomas Strange*, but in vaine, and with the losse of a great number of their crew; and joyning themselves to the Scottish Islanders, wasted and made havocke of the lands of *Mac-William Eughter*, that is the younger: but upon the returne of the Deputy, they disappeared againe, and hid themselves. Atumult in Ireland.

William Drurie, who of late was Marshall of Berwicke, being now newly made President of Monster, reduced the whole Province to

1577. humanitie and obſervance of Lawes, by his wiſdome and valour, excepting onely the County of Kerry; whither, as to a common ſinke of miſchiefe and villanie, a number of vagabonds, robbers, bankrupts, & perſons ſuſpected of capitall crimes, were gotten, truſting to the immuuities of the place, and thinking themſelves without the reach of Lawes. For King *Edward* the Third made this a County Palatine, and granted to the Earles of Deſmond, *all the Royall liberties which the Kings of England had in that County, excepting wracke by fire, rape, fore-ſtall, and treaſure trouve.* The Governour notwithſtanding, who wiſely judged that theſe liberties were granted for the better preſervation of juſtice, and not for impunitie of outrageous malefactors, entred into it, and valiantly put to flight and vanquiſhed the miſchievous crew which the Earle of Deſmound had placed in ambuſh; made ſearch over Kerrie for all turbulent perſons, and ſeverely puniſhed a great number of them; the Earle of Deſmond raging in the meane while, and making grievous complaints of *Drury* to the Deputy, complaining alſo of the taxe which they call ceaſſe. For that taxe is an exaction of proviſion of victualls at a certaine rate, for the Duputies familie, and the ſouldiers in Garriſon. Hereat not only he found himſelfe agrieved, but in Leinſter alſo the Viſcount Baltinglaſſe, the Lords Delvin, Hothy, and Trimleſton, and thoſe of the nobler ſort, complaining hereof, refuſed to pay; alledging, that it was not to bee exacted but by Parliament. They which upon this occaſion were ſent Delegates into England, were heard by the Lords of the Councell, and then committed to priſon; in like manner thoſe in Ireland, whoſe Agents theſe were, untill they ſubmitted themſelves: for it appeareth out of the Records of the Kingdome, that this was anciently inſtituted, and is a certaine right of Majeſtie, or the Prerogative royall, which is not ſubjected to lawes, yet not contrary to them neither, as the wiſe Civilians have obſerved. Yet the Queene commanded them to uſe a temper and moderation in exactions of this nature, ſaying, according to the old ſpeech, that ſhee would have her ſubjects ſhorne but not devoured.

Great priviledges granted to the Earle of Deſmond.

1577 Reg. 20. *John* of Auſtria perceiving himſelfe too weake for the confederate States of the Low-Countries, who began now to waxe ſtrong among themſelves, and were ſupported by the friendſhip of neighbour Princes, ſent *Gaſtell* to the Queen, to give her thankes for the aide ſhe promiſed againſt the French, and to certifie her how he ſtood enclined to a peace. She by *Edward Horſey*, whom now againe ſhe ſent thither, commendeth his deſire of peace, treating on the by, to have reſtitution made of the goods of the Engliſh Merchants deteined at Antwerpe. Hereunto a ſlow anſwer was made, for that hee, as hee pretended, was taken up with other cares, and wholly bent to make an *Edict for perpetuall peace*; the which notwithſtanding hardly laſted one whole yeere. The Queen being ſeriouſly deſirous of a peace, ſendeth *Thomas Leighton* to the Prince of Orange, to perſwade him to attempt nothing contrarie to the peace, till *Smith* were returned from Spaine. The Prince of Orange, who heartily diſallowed this Edict, had a very opportune inkling at this time, that *John* of Auſtria his thoughts were ſet upon marriage with the Queen of Scots; which he gladly apprehended, and forthwith giveth the

Don John of Auſtria by the Queens perſwaſion inclineth to peace.

Queen

1577.

Queen intelligence thereof, the better to cauſe her to diſlike the peace. But ſhe, as if ſhe knew nothing, praiſeth the intention of *John* of Auſtria for being inclined to peace, albeit ſhe had by this time certainely found out, that he, through the perſwaſion of the Earle of Weſtmorland, and the Engliſh Rebells, and relying upon the favour and ready helpe of the Pope and the Guiſes, had already in hopes at leaſt ſwallowed the Queen of Scots marriage, and the Kingdomes of England and Scotland withall; and had now determined to ſeize upon the Ile of Man, ſcituate in the Iriſh Seas, as very convenient to invade England from thence, and the Weſtern parts of Scotland, where the Queen of Scots had many friends devoted to her, as alſo in the parts of England lying oppoſite to the Ile of Man, to wit, North-Wales, Cumberland, Lancaſhire, and Cheſhire, where the Inhabitants were for the moſt part Papiſts.

John of Auſtria aſpireth to win the Queene of Scots in marriage.

And certaine it is that *John* of Auſtria (carried away with ambition long before) when hee had failed of the Kingdome of Tuneſſe, dealt ſecretly with the Pope concerning the depriving of the Queene, the taking the Queene of Scots to wife, and the conqueſt of England; and without the privitie of King *Philip*, prevailed with the Pope to excite him under a ſhew of the publike good to a war againſt England; and *John* of Auſtria himſelfe, when he was to paſſe into the Low-Countries, proſecuted this very matter in Spaine; and afterward by *Eſtoved*, whom he ſent out of the Netherlands, requeſted to have a Haven in Biſcay allotted him, from whence he might invade England with a Navie. But King *Philip* was averſe from theſe enterpriſes, and began to neglect him as one too ambitious: Yet (as I ſaid) the Queene had not the full underſtanding of this matter till the Prince of Orange gave her notice.

Neither was it free from ſuſpition, that *Thomas Copley*, one of the prime men of the Rebels which fled from hence, was by *Vaulx* that waited upon *John* of Auſtria commended to the French King, and knighted and made a Baron: yet *Copley* endevoured to put off the ſuſpition from himſelfe, proteſting all obſervance toward his Prince, and that for no other reaſon he had accepted of this Title, but for the comfort of his wife (who was his companion in exile) and to the end hee might gaine a larger penſion from the King of Spaine; for as much as titular Noble men are much eſteemed by the Spaniards: and he thought the title of a Baron he might juſtly entertaine, his Grandmother being the eldeſt daughter of the Lord *Hoo*, and his great Grandmother, the eldeſt child and one of the heires of the Lord *Welle*.

Copley made Baron.

John of Auſtria in the meane ſpace purſueth this matriage under-hand, and withall to cloake the matter, ſendeth an Embaſſage to the Queene; declaring the conditions of the peace, & requeſting a longer day for payment of the money which the States had borrowed. This ſhe willingly yeelded unto, and once againe by *Wilſon* treateth to have the damages made whole which the Engliſh Merchants had ſuffered at Antwerpe. He playeth mock-holliday, and even then when he pretended to retire himſelfe to contrive a perpetuall peace, breaketh forth into a warre, craftily ſeizeth upon Cities, and fortifications; and writeth to the King of Spaine, that it were the beſt way firſt to ſet upon the Ilands of the Zelanders before the inner Provinces; and being ſet to purſue his owne

Don Johns diſſimulation.

1577. owne hopes, affirmeth that England might more eaſily be overcome than Zeland, perſwading the ſame by *Eſcoved* his Secretary.

Now when as nothing but a warre could be hoped for in the Netherlands, the States ſend Marqueſſe *Haurey*, and *Adolph Meikerk* to the Queen, to take up a hundred thouſand pounds ſterling for eight moneths: to whom the Queen made anſwer, that if they could borrow it elſe where, ſhe and the Citie of London would become Sureties for it; in caſe that ſome Townes of the Low-Countries which ſhe ſhould name, might be bound to repay it within a yeere. In like manner ſhe entreth into a League with the States for mutuall defence both at Sea and Land, upon theſe conditions.

Queen Eliſabeths confederacie with the States.

The Queen ſhall ſend aide into the Low-Countries to the States, a thouſand horſemen, and five thouſand foot; for whom, within three moneths after they take ſhipping, the States ſhall pay wages and other expences at London, and when the warre is finiſhed ſhall ſend them backe into England at their owne charge. They ſhall conclude nothing reſpecting either peace or warre, but with the Queenes approbation and conſent. They ſhall not enter into League with any perſon or perſons but with her allowance; and ſhee, if ſo ſhe thinke good, ſhall be comprehended in the ſame. If any Prince, under what pretence ſo ever, ſhall attempt any thing in hoſtile manner againſt the Queene, or the Kingdome of England, the States as much as in them lyeth ſhall make reſiſtance, and ſhall ſend ſupplies of aide to the Queen in the ſame number, and upon the ſame conditions. If any differences ariſe between the States themſelves, it ſhall be permitted to the Queene arbitration. If the Queene have cauſe to make ready a Navie againſt her enemies, the States ſhall furniſh fortie ſhips of ſufficient burthen, with Mariners, and all things neceſſarie, who ſhall obey the Admirall of England, and ſerve at the Queens pay. The States ſhall in no wiſe admit or entertaine in the Low-Countries, any perſons whom the Queen ſhall declare to be Rebells. If they conclude a peace with the King of Spaine, they ſhall ſee that theſe Articles ſhall be confirmed joyntly or ſeverally, according to the Queens liking.

She informeth the Spaniard of the cauſe thereof.

Preſently upon the concluding of this League, the Queen, becauſe ſhe would not have this wrongfully interpreted, as if ſhe meant to foſter a rebellion in the Netherlands, ſent *Thomas Wilkes* to the King of Spaine with theſe informations.

For as much as there be not wanting ſome evill affected perſons, who ſeeke by naughty meanes to diſſolve amitie between Princes, and by unjuſt ſuggeſtions to lay aſperſions upon her reputation, as though ſhe intended to miniſter fuell to the fire already kindled in the Netherlands, ſhe intreateth in the firſt place the King, and Governours of the Netherlands, to call to mind, how often, and in what friendly manner ſhe had long ſince interpoſed her advice touching the evills which ſhe perceived to be imminent to the Low-Countries; and after, when they were about to revolt, how eagerly ſhe endeavoured by frequent meſſages to containe the Prince of Orange and the States within their duty and allegeance to their King. Yea, that at ſuch time as thoſe wealthy Provinces were offered to her protection and poſſeſſion alſo, that ſhe refuſed to receive them upon eaſie condition. Laſtly, when as of late dayes the ſtate was wonderfully troubled, how liberally ſhe ſupplied the States with monies, to hold from yeelding themſelves to the ſubjection of a forrein

Prince

Prince, which in that urgent neceſſitie they were ready to undergoe. And when ſhe had notice that the Prince of Orange would not accept of a peace, ſhe not onely counſelled him to embrace it, but alſo interpoſed threatning ſpeeches, and after a ſort commanded him to entertaine the motion. And of this ſhe made ſolemne proteſtation. If theſe proceedings beſeemed not a Chriſtian Prince, ſtudious of peace, and deſirous to deſerve well of the King of Spaine, her Confederate and Allie, let the King of Spaine himſelfe and the Princes of the Chriſtian world be Judges. But to the end that the warres in the Low-Countries might be laid aſleepe, and the King of Spaine enjoy the benefit of dutifull and loving ſubjects, ſhe requeſted him to take them into his favour as formerly they had beene, to reſtore their priviledges, obſerve the conditions of the late peace, and ſubſtitute ſome other Governour out of his owne familie. The which ſhee intimateth could in no wiſe be brought to paſſe, unleſſe John *of Auſtria were removed, of whom the States were jealous and diſtruſtfull, hating him with a hoſtile hatred; whom ſhe her ſelfe alſo, by reaſon of ſome ſecret machinations of his with the Queene of Scots, found to be her deadly enemie; ſo that ſhe for her owne part could expect nothing but unavoidable danger as long as he continued in the Netherlands. But now that ſhe perceived what great forces* John *of Auſtria had levied of late, and what French ſupplies he had in a readineſſe, ſhe profeſſeth that to conſerve the Netherlands for the King of Spaine, and defend the Engliſh from apparent danger, ſhe had promiſed her aſſiſtance to the States; who enterchangeably promiſed they would continue in duty and allegeance to the King, and not innovate any thing in Religion. But if ſhe perceived that the King were unwilling hereunto, but reſolved to violate all Obligations of right and equitie, and ſought to bring the diſtreſſed Provinces into ſervitude, as if they had been taken by right of war, ſhe could not be wanting to the defence of her neighbours, and her owne ſecuritie. But if the States ſhall lay aſide there allegeance to their King, and attempt any thing otherwiſe than they are by promiſe engaged to her, ſhe would forſake them, and forthwith bend her ſelfe wholly againſt them.* 1577.

Theſe things he gave no very good eare unto; nevertheleſſe, becauſe he knew well that a great matter lay in Queen *Eliſabeth*, for the quieting or diſturbing of the Low-Countrie affaires, he diſſembled his diſpleaſure, and withall requeſted her (becauſe he knew that his brother *John* of Auſtria plotted miſchiefe againſt her) ſeriouſly to purſue the buſineſſe of a peace, and not give credit over haſtily to reports falſly ſpread abroad, or thinke that he attempted any thing unbeſeeming a friend and brother. Whiles that *Wilkes* in Spaine unfoldeth theſe matters, *John* of Auſtria ſendeth to Queen *Eliſabeth*, whom he both feared and wiſhed her deſtruction, accuſing in grievous manner the States concerning many crimes, and making a large declaration of the cauſes wherefore he tooke up armes againe. Thus ſhe (like a fortunate Princeſſe) late as an honourable Arbitreſſe betweene the Spaniſh, the French, and the States. In ſo much that it was not untrue which one wrote, That France and Spaine were ballances in the Scale of Europe, and England the Beame to turn them either way, for they ſtill gained the better to whom ſhe adhered.

Diſſimulation in the King of Spaine.

John of Auſtria accuſeth the States.

In theſe daies, when the Judges ſate at the Aſſizes in Oxford, and one

Rowland

1577. *Rowland Jenkes* a booke-ſeller of a laviſh tongue, was queſtioned for opprobrious words ſpoken againſt his Prince, they were on a ſudden ſurprized with a poyſonous and peſtilent breath: whether the noyſome ſmell of the priſoners, or the damp of the ground occaſioned it, it is uncertaine; but all that were there preſent almoſt every one within forty houres died, except women and children; and no others were touched with the contagion. Amongſt theſe were *Robert Bell* Lord Chiefe Baron, a wiſe perſonage, and skilfull Lawyer, *Robert D'Oylie*, Sir *William Babington*, *D'Oylie* Sheriffe of Oxfordſhire, *Harcourt*, *Wenman*, *Pheteplace*, the moſt noted men in this tract, *Barham* the famous Lawyer, almoſt all the Jurors, and three hundred others more or leſſe.

A peſtilent ſickneſſe ariſing from ſtench.

Hitherto the Papiſts in England beheld faire weather, who were mercifully connived at, whiles they ſolemnized their owne rites within their owne private houſes (though that alſo were againſt the Lawes) and nothing but a ſmall mulct impoſed on them; no violence being offered to their conſciences, in which the Queene was alwaies marveilous tender. But when as that thunderbolt of excommunication came abroad, their ſun-ſhine by little and little was changed into ſtormie and tempeſtuous ſeaſons; for that cauſed a law to be enacted againſt thoſe which brought into the Kingdome any *Agnos Dei*, or *hallowed beades*, or reconciled any of the Queenes ſubjects to the See of Rome. Yet for ſixe whole yeeres together after this law was promulged, it was not executed upon any Papiſt, although ſome were found to have offended againſt it. The firſt that was arraigned by vertue of the ſame, was *Cuthbert Maine* a Prieſt, who being an obſtinate maintainer of the Popes authoritie againſt the Queen, was executed at Launſton in Cornwall; and the Gentlemans goods that harboured him confiſcate, and himſelfe adjudged to perpetuall impriſonment.

Maine a Prieſt executed.

The death of the Lord Latimer.

This yeere the Title of Lord Latimer (which had flouriſhed in the familie of the *Nevills* ever ſince the daies of King *Henrie* the ſixth) was extinct in *John Nevill*; who died without iſſue male, and left a faire eſtate to foure daughters; the eldeſt whereof married *Henry* Earle of Northumberland, the ſecond, *Thomas Cecill*, who was after Earle of Exeeter; the third, *William Cornwallis*; and the fourth, *John Daverſe*, and from them ſprang a numerous progenie.

And of Sir Thomas Smith.

Sir *Thomas Smith* alſo died in this his climactericall yeere, one of the Queenes Secretaries, a man to be remembred for his varietie of learning and prudence in performing of ſundry Embaſſages. Hee was borne of honeſt parentage at Saffron Walden in Eſſex, educated at Queens Colledge in Cambridge, and when he was of ſomewhat ripe yeeres was choſen to be ſent into Italy at the Kings charges (for unto our times ſome young men of beſt hopes were continually choſen out of both Univerſities, and for the bettering of their knowledge and breeding were maintained at the Princes coſts in Univerſities abroad.) From thence he returned, graced with the title of Doctor of the Civill law, and found ſuch favour with the Duke of Sommerſet, Lord Protector of the Kingdome in *Edward* the Sixths daies, that he was made the Kings Secretarie next to *Cecill*, Steward of the Stannaries, Deane of Carlile, and Provoſt of Eaton Colledge, to which he was a good benefactor.

Queen

Queene *Marie* tooke away those dignities from him, and assigned him a pension of one hundred pounds yeerely, during his life, but upon condition that hee should not depart the Kingdome. As soone as Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crowne he was called to the affaires of the Common-wealth, and employed amongst those Diuines which set in order the Liturgie, and afterward vndertooke sundry Embassages with great commendation. Hee procured great good to the Common-wealth of learning, by the Law made for the serving the Colledges with Provision, which he was the first that set on foot, though he left behind him some elegant things in writing, an imperfect worke of the English Common-wealth, a singular booke of the Orthographie of the English tongue, and another of the pronunciation of the Greeke. There succeeded him in the Secretaries place, *Thomas Wilson* Doctor of Lawes, and Master of St. *Katharines* neere the Tower of London, who died within foure yeeres.

1578.

In Ireland the *O-Neyes* and *O-Conors*, and others, whose Ancestors the Earle of Sussex Lord Deputie in Queene *Maries* dayes, had for their Rebellions deprived of their Patrimonies in Leale and Offaile, assigning them no place wherein to abide, did now breake forth into Rebellion: vnder the conduct of *Rorie Oge*, that is, *Roderick* the younger, set on fire the Village of Naule, attempted Lachlin, but being driven back by the valour of *George Carew* the Governor, they intercepted *Henry Harrington* and *Alexander Corbey* at a treacherous conference: whom when Captaine *Harpole* went about to recover, and set upon a small Cottage by night, where *Rorie* examined them, having bound them to a post, *Rorie* raised with the noise, made at them in the darke and wounded them with many wounds; and being bold and adventurous, escaped by the benefit of the night season through the middest of the Souldiers which beset him. But a while after lying in wait for the Lord Baron of the Upper Offerle, he himselfe was intercepted and slaine.

An Rebellion in Ireland. Rorie Oge rebelleth in Ireland.

1578. Reg. 21.

Although the King of Spaine lent no very willing eare to the matters propounded by *Wilkes*, and yet dissembled his displeasure, as I said before; yet the Queene seriously taking to heart the distresse of the Netherlanders, whose Provinces for their conuenient scituation and mutuall friendship she thought were to bee regarded, having adhered firmely to the English for many yeeres; she called home *Wilkes* out of Spaine, and sendeth him to *John* of Austria, to give him notice that the States had procured Alenson to come into the Low-Countries with a French armie, and that his best way were to make a truce, lest he exposed the Provinces to a present danger. He being of a fierce and warlike disposition, and swelled with his successefull late battell at Gemblacke against the States, made answer, that he neither intended to make a truce, nor feared the French. She notwithstanding, minding still her owne commoditie and the good of the Low-Countries, sent *Edward Stafford* into France, to espie if they tooke in hand any matter vpon the coast toward the Low-Countries, and what forces they levied.

The Queen calleth her Embassadour out of Spaine.

Out of England now there went over Sea into the Low-Countries, *John North* the Lord *Norths* eldest sonne, *John Norris* second sonne to the Lord *Norris*, *Henrie Cavendish* and *Thomas Morgan* Colonells, with

1578. with a great number of Voluntaries, to learne Militarie experience. *Casimire* alſo, the Elector Palatines ſon, drew into the Netherlands an armie of Germane horſe and foote, at the Queenes great charges. Don *Iohn* being eager to ſet upon the ſtates who lay in the fields at Raimant, and to provoke them to fight before the Germane and French aides were ready, flyeth upon them ſooner than their expectation, aſſuring himſelfe of victorie; but they plucked up their courage and enforced them backe. They turning againe, and thinking to breake through the hedges and brakes, where the Scottiſh and Engliſh Voluntaries had placed themſelves, were not able, but were valiantly entertained by the Engliſh and Scots, who caſt away their garments by reaſon of the hot weather, and fought in their ſhirts which they made faſt to them. *Norris* the Engliſh Commander fought valiantly at this bout, and had three horſes ſlaine under him, winning great renowne for ever after: as alſo *Stuart* the Scot, and *Bingham Cavendiſh* his Lievtenant, and *William Markham*.

An Embaſſage to treat of peace with the Netherlands.

Now to the end the afflicted Provinces might for a while hold up their heads, there came at once into the Netherlands the Count *Sinzendorf* from the Emperour; from the French King Mounſier *Bellievre*; the Lord *Cobham* and *Walſingham* from the Queene, to procure conditions of peace. But they all returned, having done nothing; for Don *Iohn* refuſed to admit the reformed Religion, and the Prince of Orange would not returne into Holland.

About that time *Egremond Ratcliff*, ſonne to *Henrie* Earle of Suſſex by his ſecond wife, a man of a turbulent ſpirit, and of prime note in the Rebellion of the North, who ſerved under Don *Iohn*, was accuſed by the Engliſh that long ſince were fled thither, that he was ſent under hand into the Low-Countries to bee Don *Johns* aſſaſſinate, was taken in the field at Namurch with one *Grey* an Engliſh man, who was thought to be privie to the matter, and ſo they were both put to death. The Spaniards have affirmed that *Ratcliff* at his laſt end confeſſed voluntarily, that he was freed out of the Tower of London, & ſtirred up with *Walſinghams* large promiſes to bring this matter to paſſe. The Engliſh preſent denied that he confeſſed any ſuch thing, though the Engliſh Rebells did all they could to wreſt this confeſſion from him.

Ratcliff and Grey executed in the Netherlands.

At the very ſame moment of time, Don *Iohn* (in the floure of his age) died of the peſtilence, or of griefe, as others will have it, becauſe he was neglected by the King of Spaine his brother; and together with his life, laid aſide his fooliſh ambition, having firſt gaped for the Kingdome of Tunneſſe, and afterward for England; and, without the privitie of the French King or the Spaniard, had made a League with the Guiſes for the defence of both Crownes.

Alenſon in the meane while began now againe to purſue the marriage which he had formerly ſet on foot, although he were very buſie about the Belgick warre, to ſhew that hee could at once applie both love matters and militarie affaires. *Bacheville* was firſt ſent to the Queene (being at Melford Cordall in Suffolk in her progreſſe) to renew this ſuit, and ſoone after *Rambouliet* from the French King, and within a month againe *Simier*, a neat Courtier, exquiſitely learned in the trickes of love and Court levities, accompanied with a great number of the French

French Nobilitie, whom the Queen at Richmond entertained in ſuch loving maner, that Leiceſter began now to rage, as if his hopes were quite blaſted. Certainly a little before, when *Aſtley* a Lady of the Queens Bed-Chamber began to mention the Earle of Leiceſter to her for a husband, ſhe in angry ſort replied, *Doſt thou think me* (ſaith ſhe) *ſo unlike my ſelfe, and forgetfull of Majeſtie, as to preferre my ſervant, whom I my ſelfe have advanced, before the greateſt Princes of the Chriſtian World?* 1578.

At that time *Margaret Douglas* Counteſſe of Lenox, Niece to King *Henry* the eighth by his eldeſt ſiſter, widow of *Matthew* Earle of Lenox, grandmother to *James* King of Great Britain, having outlived eight children of her own, now at length exchanged this country for a better in heaven, and was interred at Weſtminſter, having a ſumptuous funerall made her at the Queens charge. A Matron of right excellent piety, patience, and chaſtity, having been three times caſt into priſon, not for any crime or treaſon, but about love matters. Firſt of all when *Thomas Howard* (the ſon of *Thomas Howard* Duke of Norfolke the firſt of that name, who died in the Tower) fell in love with her, then for the love of her ſon *Henrie Darlie* to the Queen of Scots; laſt of all, for the love of her youngeſt ſon *Charles* toward *Eliſabeth Cavendiſh* the mother of *Arbella*: which marriage the Queen of Scots was accuſed to make up, as is already declared.

Let us now take a taſte of the Scottiſh affaires. In the beginning of this yeere *Thomas Randolph* was by the Queen ſent into Scotland, to make inquirie in what eſtate matters ſtood there, to gratulate the young Kings proceedings in good literature (which indeed was great, by reaſon of his apt capacity and moſt happy memory) and to encourage him, and win him to the Engliſh with faire promiſes, and proffers of a tender and motherly affection toward him; and withall, to deale with the Earle of Argile that the Scottiſh of the Hebrides, or Weſtern Ilands, ſhould not aſſiſt the Rebels in Ireland; and to perſwade the Regent Morton to lay aſide his ſpleen conceived againſt the Earles of Argile & Athol, and other enmities which he foſtered in his breaſt, leſt he raiſed the Nobility againſt him, and alienated the Queenes affection from him. He was now accuſed underhand to have ſtained the eſtimation of his wiſdome and valour with ſordid covetouſneſſe; and in a ſhort time was ſo univerſally hated, that with the joint conſent of the Nobles, the adminiſtration of the Common-wealth was tranſlated to the King, though in regard of his tender age not very capable of government (for he was now hardly twelve yeers old) and 12. of the prime of the Nobility appointed, three of which ſhould for their three moneths in courſe attend him in counſell, and amongſt them the Earle of Morton for one, that they might not ſeem to caſt him quite away.

A relation of the affaires in Scotland.

The King having taken upon him the adminiſtration, ſtraightwayes ſent the Earle of Dunfermelin to Queen *Eliſabeth*, acknowledging with a thankfull remembrance her great deſerts towards him, proceeding, as he thought, not ſo much from a propinquitie of bloud, as the common and joynt profeſſion of true Religion. He requeſteth to have the treaty of Edenburgh in the yeere 1559. confirmed, for the more happy reſtraining of the robbers about the borders, and prevention of machinations againſt the true Religion, that juſtice might be equally adminiſtred between the Inhabitants of both Kingdomes, full reſtitution made of the goods taken away by pyracie, and his ancient patrimony in England (to

King James ſendeth to gratulate Queene Eliſabeth.

1578. wit, the lands granted to his grandfather *Matthew* Earle of Lenox, and the Counteſſe his grandmother) might be delivered into his hands who was the next heire, foraſmuch as things in Scotland falling ſhort, he had need of money for the maintenance of his familie and attendants ſuitable to his Princely dignitie.

Queen Eliſabeths anſwer to the former demands.

The Queene readily promiſed the former demands, but ſtucke a little at that requeſt concerning the patrimonie. For ſhe would not heare them which affirmed that *Arbella* the daughter of *Charles* the King of Scots Uncle, borne in England, was the next heire to the lands in England, nor the Embaſſadour, who would prove out of hiſtorie that the Kings of Scots, borne in Scotland, did anciently, without queſtion, hold the Earledome of Huntingdon by right of inheritance, and entreated that the priviledge of free Denizens, which was oftentimes granted to ſtrangers and unknowne perſons, might not be denied to the Prince her neere Kinſman. But ſhe commanded a ſequeſtration to be made of the revenues of thoſe lands, by Burleigh Maſter of the Wards, and willeth the King that out of the goods of the Earle of Lenox in Scotland, ſatisfaction might be made to his grandmothers creditours here. For ſhe took it in evil part that the King had recalled the infeoffement of the Earldome of Lenox made to his Uncle *Charles* and his heires, after the death of *Charles*, to the prejudice of *Arbella*, as was ſuggeſted to the Queene; albeit by the right of the Kings of Scotland it were alwaies lawfull for them to recall donations made in their minoritie, and to the hurt of the Kingdome.

The Counſellours of England were of opinion that that treaty of Edenburgh ought not to be ratified anew, for as much as it remained ſtill firme, and in force. And they willed the Embaſſadour to propound ſomewhat which might in part make recompence to the Queen for her great deſervings of the King and of Scotland (ſeeing ſhe had not ſpared the Engliſh bloud to defend them.) Hereupon he, according to his inſtructions, propounded a league, not of offence, but defence, and mutuall aid againſt the Pope and his confederates, and againſt thoſe that ſhould invade either Kingdome in regard of the Religion. But over and beyond this,

The demands of the Engliſh.

the Engliſh held it fitting (for as much as the Queen hath omitted and will omit nothing which may work for the Kings defence, and for that very cauſe was ſpighted by a great number abroad) that the Nobilitie of Scotland ſhould lay in caution that the King, during his minoritie, ſhould not enter into any league, or renew any with whomſoever, contract matrimony, or be ſent out of Scotland, unleſſe the Queen were firſt acquainted. But theſe demands being matters of great moment and accurately & circumſpectly to be reſolved upon, the Scots put them off til another time.

Morton re-aſſumeth the government.

The Earle of Morton in the meane while truſting to his owne underſtanding (which indeed was wonderfull deep) his long experience in affaires of State, and a numerous retinue whom he had gotten to him, thinking nothing well done whereof himſelfe was not the doer, and that he was not now the ſame man which he was wont to be, could no longer endure it: whereupon caſting off his aſſociates, and not regarding the preſcript forme of government lately ſet downe, drew the adminiſtration of matters to himſelfe, held the King in his owne power at the Caſtle of Sterlin, and according to his owne pleaſure excluded or admitted whom

whom he would himſelfe. Whereat the Nobles growing angry, made the Earle of Athol their Captaine, and ſent forth Proclamation in the Kings name, that as many as were at mans eſtate, and under threeſcore yeeres of age, ſhould meet in armes, and with proviſion for fifteene dayes, to ſet the King at libertie. A great number indeed met together, and with diſplaied colours marched forward to Fawkirk: where Morton with his company ſhewed himſelfe againſt them. But by the interceſſion of *Robert Bowes* the Engliſh Embaſſadour, who laid downe ſome equall conditions betweene them, were withheld from fighting; and Morton preſently, weary in a manner, betooke himſelfe home, and the Earle of Athol ſoone after died, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon. Which very accident thoſe which carried incenſed minds againſt Morton tooke up preſently amongſt other matters to procure him envie, and never left perſecuting of him, as we ſhall ſhew, till they caſt him headlong into deſtruction. 1578

A conſultation to invade England and Ireland at once.

Now alſo the King of Spaine and Pope *Gregorie* the thirteenth held ſecret conſultations to invade England and Ireland at once, and to worke the ruine of the Queene (who alone, under God, was the ſureſt ſafeguard and Protectour of the Proteſtant Religion) ſerving their owne ends, under a pretence of reſtoring Catholike Religion. The Pope, to gaine the Kingdome of Ireland for his ſon *James Bon Compagne*, whom he had made Marqueſſe of Vineola; the King of Spaine, ſecretly to relieve the Iriſh Rebells, according as Queene *Eliſabeth* did the Dutch, while friendſhip in words was upheld on both ſides: alſo that by the Popes authoritie he might gaine the Kingdome of England, if it were poſſible, and from thence the more eaſily ſubdue the Confederates of the Netherlands. Which he had no hopes to bring to paſſe, till he could make himſelfe Maſter of the Seas; and that command he could not get, unleſſe he firſt conquered England.

Advice is given to hire the Engliſh ſhips, thereby to weaken the Queen.

They that knew the greateſt ſtrength of England conſiſted in the Navie Royall, and the Merchants ſhips, which were built and fitted purpoſely for warre, gave advice that the Italian and Dutch Merchants, ſome upon one pretence, and ſome upon another, ſhould hire theſe for long voyages, and while they were abſent the Queenes Navie ſhould be ſurprized with a greater Fleet. And at the ſame time *Thomas Stukeley* an Engliſh Renegate, of whom mention hath been made heretofore, ſhould joyne himſelfe to the Iriſh Rebells with new forces. He, like a notable Bragadochio, making great boaſt, and promiſing the Kingdome of Ireland to the Popes baſtard ſon, did ſo inſinuate himſelf into grace with the ambitious old Dotard, that he, forſooth, adorned him with the titles of Marqueſſe of Leinſter, Earle of Wexford and Caterlogh, Viſcount Morough, and Baron of Roſſe, (which are the principall dignities of Ireland) and made him Commander over eight hundred Italian ſouldiers, which the King of Spaine was to pay whiles they were occupied in the Iriſh warre. With which forces he ſetting ſaile from Civita Vecchia, arrived at length in Portugall at the mouth of the River Tagus, where the over-ruling power of divine providence turned theſe forces another way which were deſtined againſt England and Ireland.

For *Sebaſtian* King of Portugall, to whom the chiefe command in

1579. this expedition againſt England was aſſigned: for he (ſwelling with youthfull heat and ambition, had long ſince devoted all his endevour to the Pope againſt the Mahometans and Proteſtants) being allured by *Malumet Abdali* ſon of King *Feſſa*, to follow the warre of Africa, and that by very great promiſes, dealt with *Stukeley* to goe firſt along with him into Mauritania with thoſe Italian Souldiers. He was eaſily perſwaded (becauſe the King of Spaine, who diſdained greatly that the Popes ſon ſhould be deſigned King of Ireland, was not unwilling) and went along into Mauritania with *Sebaſtian*; and there in that memorable battell, at which three Kings were ſlain, finiſhed his looſe life with an honourable Cataſtrophe.

The Spaniards intentions to invade England diverted.

Unleſſe this fortune of King *Sebaſtian* had turned the Spaniards mind from invading England, towards better hopes of gaining the Kingdome of Portugall, a mighty tempeſt of warre (if any credit may be given to the Engliſh that fled from hence) was prepared for England. For they have left it in record, that the great Armies which the King of Spain began to levie out of Italy to be hazzarded in the warre againſt England, he detained for the ſurpriſall of Portugall: neither could he, being ſet wholly upon this deſigne, be perſwaded to thinke of England yet, though he were by divers exceedingly importuned, and the Pope promiſed hereunto a part of Saint *Peters* patrimonie, to bee expended in this, as in a ſacred warre.

The Lord Deputy of Ireland returneth into England.

But when certaine intelligence was brought that *Stukeley* and his Italian forces were loſt in Mauritania, and that the King of Spaine was bent wholly upon Portugall, the Engliſh Navie which waited for *Stukeley* upon the coaſt of Ireland, was called home, and Sir *Henry Sidney* Lord Deputie delivered up the Province into the hands of Sir *William Drurie* Preſident of Mounſter, when that at ſeverall times he had ruled that Iland for eleven yeeres: and at his taking of ſhip he bid Ireland farewell in a verſe of the Pſalme, *When Iſrael came out of Egypt, and the houſe of Jacob from a ſtrange people.* A right noble perſonage he was, and to be reckoned amongſt the moſt renowned Deputies of Ireland, to whoſe wiſedome and valour Ireland muſt needs acknowledge it ſelf greatly indebted, although for the moſt part ſhe complaineth of her Vice-Royes.

Anno 1579. Reg. 22

Caſimire royally entertained in England, and made Knight of the Order of Saint George.

John Caſimire, ſon of *Frederick* the third Count Palatine of the Rhine, (who the laſt yeere brought into the Low Countries a great Armie of German ſouldiers when it was too late, at the great charges of the Queen and the State, and effected nothing, being hindred by ſome tumultuous French) came into England in the moneth of Januarie, in a ſharp and ſnowie Winter, to excuſe himſelfe, and lay the fault upon the French. Where he was received in moſt magnificent manner into London, with torches, in great pomp, by the Aldermen and Citizens, and brought to the Court by a great number of the prime Nobilitie accompanying him thither, where he was ſumptuouſly feaſted, entertained with tilings and juſtings, made Knight of the Order of Saint *George*, the Queen her ſelfe tying the Garter about his leg, rewarded with a yeerely penſion, and many honourable preſents, and laſtly, ſent into the Low Countries in one of the Queenes ſhips in the middeſt of Februarie, where he found his Armie diſſolved. For when as *Alexander Farneſſe* the Prince of

Parma

Parma, who was made Commander of the Netherlands by the King of Spaine, hovered over the Germans, and they had received no pay: when they had sustained but a light losse of some of their Company, they required money of him to depart out of the Low Countries; and he, taking them at advantage, imperiously, but dishonestly, required the money backe to suffer them to escape with their lives: they were well contented, so they might be but secure; and so made haste home, to their own great discredit, but greater detriment to the States. Queen *Elisabeth* notwithstanding was not wanting to the States, but supplied them with a great summe of money, for which *William Davison* (whom the Queen sent to quiet the commotion of the French in those parts) brought into England the ancient precious Habilliments of the Familie of Burgundie, and their costly Vessells, laid to pawne by *Matthew* of Austria and the States. 1578.

The Duke of Parma's cruelty to the Germans.

Simier in the meane time here in England ceaseth not to tickle the Queenes eares with amorous stories, and to perswade her to marrie Alenson; and although she earnestly declined the marriage for a great while, yet so farre he drew her at length, that the Earle of Leicester, who could in no case endure the match, and others also, dispersed rumours abroad that he crept into the Queenes affection by love potions and unlawfull arts, drawing her to love the French Duke. And he on the other side left no device unperformed to cast downe Leicester, discovering his marriage with the Earle of Essex his widow: whereat the Queen grew so angry, that she confined Leicester to the Castle at Greenwich, and had a thought to cast him into the Tower, the which his Rivalls at Court heartily desired.

Queene Elisabeth moved to marry Alenson.

The Earle of Leicester committed.

But the Earle of Sussex, though his chiefest and most displeased Rivall, who was altogether bent to have the marriage with Duke Alenson goe forward, disswaded the Queene from doing of it; esteeming, out of his rectified judgement, and noble generositie of disposition, that none ought to be molested for contracting a lawfull marriage, which is alwayes honest and honourable. Yet he rejoyced that by this meanes he was deprived of his hopes of marrying the Queene. Leicester notwithstanding was so provoked by this imprisonment, that he was bent to revenge the injurie. And some there were not wanting who accused him under hand to have suborned *Tender* one of the Queenes Guard to murder *Simier*. Sure it is the Queene by Proclamation commanded that no person should presume to offer injurie to the Embassadour, or any of his servants. At which time it fell out that when the Queene, together with him, the Earle of Lincolne, and Hatton Vice-Chamberlaine, were rowed in a Barge for pleasure neere to Greenwich, a young man shooting off a hand-gun out of a boat, shot one of the rowers in the Queenes Barge through the arme with a bullet; who was presently taken, and led to the Gallowes in way of terrour: but upon solemne protestation that he did it unwittingly, and out of no malicious intent, he was let goe. And the Queene would not beleeve that which some whisperers would have perswaded her, that he was purposely suborned to shoot either her or the French Embassadour. So farre was she from suspecting her owne subjects, that she would often say, *She could not beleeve any thing against*

One hurt in the Queenes barge.

1579. *them, which parents would not beleeve againſt their children.*

After a few dayes Alenſon himſelfe came privately into England, with no more but one or two attendants, and came to the Queene at Greenwich when ſhe thought nothing; where they had ſecret conference together, all parties being ſent away; which I liſt not to ſearch into (for the ſecrets of Princes are an inextricable labyrinth) and he being ſeene by a very few, returned home. But after a moneth or two, the Queene enjoyned the Lord Burleigh, Treaſurer, the Earle of Suſſex, Leiceſter, *Hatton*, and *Walſingham*, ſeriouſly to weigh the dangers and commodities likely to ariſe from this marriage with him, and to conſult with *Simier* concerning the marriage covenants. The dangers that appeared, were theſe: That he might poſſibly attempt ſomewhat againſt the Proteſtant Religion, invade the poſſeſſion of the Kingdome (by vertue of the Popes donation) for himſelf, or elſe deliver it up into the hands of the Queene of Scots, and marry her if the Queene died; or if his brother chanced to die, he might returne into France, and leave a Deputy here in England, which the Engliſh could not endure. Moreover, it was to be feared that he might engage England in warres abroad, the Scots bearing themſelves upon their ancient league with the French, and grow inſolent againſt the Engliſh; the King of Spaine prove an Adverſarie hereunto: And laſtly, leſt the people, being oppreſſed with over-burdenſome taxations for the maintenance of his great port, ſhould waxe ſeditious. The commodities that were likely to enſue they found to be of this nature; That a firme confederacie might be eſtabliſhed with the French, the rebellions of the Papiſts, if any happened, more eaſily quieted, all hopes cut off from the Queene of Scots, and all thoſe that ſeeke to marry her, or otherwiſe favour her in any kind: The King of Spaine might hereby be brought to compoſe the Low Countrey differences, and to ratifie the old Burgundian league, and England at length enjoy ſolid peace and joyfull ſecuritie, ſeeing children of Queene *Eliſabeths* body, which they had ſo long time deſired. But if this marriage were neglected, they feared the provocation of the French, and the alienation of the Scots, that Alenſon might contract marriage with the King of Spaines daughter, and receive the Provinces of the Netherlands in dowrie, the French King and the Spaniard aide the Queene of Scots, draw the King of Scots to their partie, provide him a wife for their own commoditie, out of the reformed Religion; and the Engliſh, when they ſee no hopes of children by the Queene, adore the riſing Sun: whereat ſhe could not chuſe but be vexed to the death, and pine away with the thought of it.

Dangers that appeared if the Queene married Alenſon.

Commodities hoped for if the Queene married Alenſon, and the inconveniences if it failed.

As in theſe dayes certaine Engliſh were affraid of an alteration of Religion here at home, if the Queene married Duke Alenſon, ſo in Scotland they were affraid of another Frenchman, called *Eſme Stuart*, Lord of Aubigney, who came now into Scotland to viſit the King his Couſin. He was the ſon of *John Stuart*, brother to *Matthew Stuart* Earle of Lenox, the Kings Grandfather, and had his denomination from Aubigney in France; which title *Charles* the ſeventh King of France had anciently conferred upon *John Stuart* of the Familie of Lenox, who being Conſtable of the Scottiſh Armie in France, vanquiſhed the Engliſh in

one

one battell, and was after slaine by them in another: and from that time this title belonged to the younger descent of that house. Him the King embraced with singular good will, conferring upon him goodly lands, and, using his advice in the most important affaires, made him Chamberlaine of Scotland, and Captaine of the Castle of Dunbritton, and (after that he had rightly in an assembly of Parliament revoked the honourable letters whereby in his minoritie he had created *Robert* Bishop of Cathanesse Earle of Lenox, who was the third brother of his grandfather, and given him the Earledome of March by way of recompence) created him first Earle, then Duke of Lenox. This his powerfull grace with the King procured him much envie amongst others abroad, who murmured, that he was devoted to the Guises and the Popish Religion, and sent into Scotland to subvert the Kingdome. The suspition was augmented in that he applied himselfe to Mortons adversaries, and mediated to have *Thomas Carr* Lord of Fernherst called home, who of all others was most addicted to the Queen of Scots; Morton in the mean while opposing this advice, but herein striving against the stream, whose authoritie began now to decline every day more than other, though he might seem to deserve as well as ever, having vanquished the *Hamiltons* lately, and taken the Castles of Hamilton and Daffran. There were some who at this time raised great hatred against the *Hamiltons*, mentioning their name to the King as a voice of terrour and amazement, and following the same in such sort, that they were faine to fortifie these Castles for their owne necessary defence against the King; but in vaine, for they were forced to yeeld, declared guilty by authoritie of Parliament of the murders of Murray and the Earle of Lenox, and finally outlawed. Some of the associates fled hither into England, and on their behalfe the Queene by *Erington* her Embassadour did interpose, esteeming her selfe bound so to doe both in equitie and honour, for as much as she in the yeere 73. to make way for a quiet settling of matters, had engaged her selfe that they should not be questioned upon these matters, unlesse her consent came betweene. 1579.

The feares in Scotland of a new favourite.

The Queene likewise about this time mediating in another part of the world, procured of the Turkish Sultan or Emperour, a grant upon the request of *William Harbourne* Englishman, and *Mustaphas Beg* the Turkish Bashaw) for the English Merchants to exercise free trafficke every where throughout his Dominions, as well as the Venetians, Polanders, and other neighbour Nations. Hereupon they set up first the Company of Turkie Merchants, managing a most gainfull trade every where at Constantinople, Angor, Chius, Petrazzo, Alexandria, Egypt, Cyprus, and other parts of Asia, bringing home Spices, Perfumes, unwrought Silke, Tapestry, Indico, Corants, and the like.

Queene Elisabeth obtaines peace with the Turke for all Merchants to trade freely.

The memorie of the execrable impietie of *Matthew Hamont* is to be held in detestation, who about this time at Norwich spake upon blasphemie against God and Christ Jesus, and was there burnt alive.

This yeere Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Keeper of the great Seale of England, sent forth his last breath, having lived in the managing of that honourable Office ever since the Queene came first to the Crowne; and in that place, by vertue of an Act of Parliament, he alwaies exercised the jurisdiction

1579. juriſdiction of the Lord Chancellour of England. A very fat man and corpulent, quick wittted, ſingularly wiſe, eloquent, and endued with a very ſtrong memorie, another prop of the Queenes Privie Councell. In his Office Sir *Thomas Bromley* ſucceeded in the Title of Lord Chancelour of England.

Not long after *Bacon* followed Sir *Thomas Greſham*, Citizen of London, and the Queenes Merchant (whoſe father likewiſe was a Knight, Sir *Richard Greſham* by name:) he it is that built the famous Bourſe at London, which the Queene named the royall Exchange: and his owne dwelling houſe in the Citie, which indeed was very large and faire, hee dedicated to the profeſſion of the moſt liberall and learned Sciences, erecting there Lectures of Divinitie, Civill Law, Phyſick, Geometrie, Aſtronomie, Muſick and Rhetorick; allotting to the Profeſſours very competent allowance.

James Fitz-Moris raiſeth new commotions in Ireland, by meanes of the Pope and Spaniard.

In Mounſter, a Province of Ireland, *James Fitz-Moris* kindled a new fire of Rebellion; he who formerly fell upon his knees to the Preſident of that Province, ſubmitting himſelfe in very dolefull manner, and vowing all duty and obedience to the Queene. But being of a turbulent diſpoſition, he ſtole away into France, and promiſed the French King, that if he would lend him his aſſiſtance, he would undertake to joyne Ireland wholly to the French Crowne, and reſtore the Catholike religion. But being wearied with delaies, and in the end derided, he departed from France into Spaine, making the King of Spaine the ſame offers. He ſent him to the Pope, from whom (by the meanes of *Nicholas Sanders* Prieſt, an Engliſh man borne, and *Alan* an Iriſh man, both Doctors of Divinitie) he obtained a little money, the Legates authoritie for *Sanders*, a conſecrated Banner, and letters of commendation to the Catholike King. And returning from Spaine with thoſe Divines, three ſhips, and a few men, he landed at Smerwicke Kerrie, a demy Iland in the Weſt part of Ireland, about the firſt day of July; where, the place being firſt of all duely conſecrated by the Prieſts, he built a Fort, and brought the ſhips cloſe under it; but them *Thomas Courtney* a Gentleman of Engliſh Nobilitie, who by chance lay at road hard by with a Navie of warre, ſtraightway ſet upon, tooke, and carried away, and deprived the Spaniards of their opportunitie of comming thither by Sea. *John* and *James*, brothers to the Earle of Deſmond, gathering together a ſmall number of Iriſh, preſently joyned themſelves to their kinſman *Fitz-Moris*. But the Earle himſelfe, who was a hearty favourer of the cauſe, maketh all the forces he could, upon pretence to reſiſt their enterpriſe, and under-hand tooke off the Earle of Clancar, who came thither with a ſelected band to oppoſe the Rebells.

The Rebells ſhips taken, and ſome Iriſh take part with them.

The Deputy having certaine information that the enemies were landed, ſent *Henry Davil* an Engliſh Gentleman, valiant, and intimately acquainted with the Deſmonds, joyntly to charge the Earle of Deſmond & his brothers to ſet upon the fortification out of hand. They made delaies and vaine excuſes, as if they durſt not in regard of the ſtrength of the place, & the danger in aſſaulting it; whereupon he departed, and *John* brother to the Earle of Deſmond followed him. Now at a little Village called Trally, he over-tooke *Davil* lodging in a common Inne; and in a tem-

tempestuous night, having first corrupted the Hoste with a small summe of money, he breaketh into his Chamber, accompanied with some villaines, having swords ready by their sides; where *Davill* was found asleepe with *Arthur Carter* Serjeant Major, and an old souldier of Mounster: but being awaked with the noise, when he saw *John Desmond* in the Chamber with a naked sword; he raised himselfe, saying; *How now? what's the matter my sonne* (for so he was wont to call him in familiar manner)? *I am no longer your sonne* (quoth he) *nor you my Father, you shall die.* Herewithall they slew both him, and *Carter* that lay with him; first giving them many cruell wounds, though *Davils* Boy with his owne naked body kept the blowes from his Master for a while as well as he could. Straightway he killed likewise every one of *Davils* servants which lay here and there in the house; and returning all besmeared with bloud, hee made his boast to the Spaniards of the slaughter. *And let this* (saith he) *be a pledge to you of my fidelity towards you and this cause.* This *Sanders* commended *as a sweet sacrifice in the sight of God. James Fitz-Moris* disallowed the manner of the murder, wishing that it had beene done upon the way rather than in the bed. The Earle when he heard it, heartily detested the fact. 1579.

A cruell murder committed, and after commended by Sanders the Priest.

The Spaniards seeing that but a very few Irish, and those unarmed, and meane creatures, joyned themselves to them, contrary to *Fitz-Moris* his large promises, began to distrust their owne estate, and to cry out that they were undone, deploring their owne hard fortune, now that they could see no way of escape neither by Sea nor Land. *Fitz-Moris* heartneth them on to be patient, telleth them that great supplies were comming, and he himselfe tooke journey to the Holy Crosse of Tipperary, under pretence of performing a vow made in Spaine, but indeed to get together all the Rebells hee could meet withall in Ulster and Conaught.

Now as he passed along with a few horsemen, and some foot to the number of twelve, through the Land of his affine named *William a Burgh*, (who was his Confederate in the former Rebellion) and his horses now failing, he tooke by force the cattell from the ploughes, as he went by the way. The Churles making an out-cry, raised the Country to recover their horses, amongst whom were the sonnes of *William* of *Burgh*, spirited young men, who got on horse-backe, and followed him and his company so close, that they overtooke them. *Fitz-Moris* spying *Theobald* of *Burgh* and his brothers, who not long before had been Rebells with him, spake to them in friendly sort (saying) *Cousins let not us strive about a Garon or two, I doubt not but when you know the cause wherefore I am come againe into Ireland, you will joyne your selves with me.* *Theobald* made answer: *It hath long since heartily repented both my Father and me, and all our Companions, of the former Rebellion: we have sworne duty and allegeance to a most mercifull Prince, which sacred our Lawes, and allegeance we will performe. Wherefore restore the Garons or I'le make you.* And brandishing his speare withall, hee run at him. They fought a pretty while. *Theobald*, and another of the brothers, with some more of their company, were slaine; and withall, *Fitz-Morris* being stricken thorow with a Pike, and shot into the head with a leaden bullet, fell downe in

Fitz-Morris committeth outrages in Ireland, and is thereupon slaine.

the

1579. the place, and the moſt of his company likewiſe. His head was cut from the carkaſſe, his body cut in peeces, and the quarters ſet upon the Gates of Kilmallock. The Queen comforting *William* of *Burgh* for the loſſe of his ſonnes with letters full of love and pitie, adorned him with the dignitie of Baron of Caſtle-Conell, and rewarded him with a yeerely penſion; whereupon the good old man (overwhelmed with joy in a manner) died ere long time went about.

Deſmond promiſeth fidelity to Queen Eliſabeth.

Drury the Deputy was now come neere to Kilmallock, and ſent for the Earle of Deſmond; who came before him, and making promiſe of faith and allegeance towards his Prince, and binding both himſelfe and his ſouldiers by oath to ſerve for the Queen, he was diſmiſſed to levie all the forces he could, and returne to the Deputy. *John Deſmond* the Earles brother, who was choſen by the Rebells into *Fitz-Morris* his place, lying in ambuſh, intercepted *Herbert* and *Price*, two Engliſh Captaines, with the bands which they led, and ſlew them, himſelfe receiving a wound in the face. But ſixe hundred ſouldiers out of Devonſhire ſupplied their number, and *Perot* who had formerly beene Deputy of Ireland, was ſent out of England with ſixe ſhips of warre, to defend the Coaſt.

Sir Nicholas Malbey made Preſident of Mounſter and Generall of the Army.

At that time the Deputy waxing every day more ſicke than other, of a diſeaſe which troubled him, was faine of neceſſity to goe backe to Waterford to recover his health, and appointed Sir *Nicholas Malbey*, (then Governor of Conaught) Preſident of Mounſter, and Generall of the Armie, for as much as he was an old experienced ſouldier. Upon the departure of the Lord Deputy, the Earle of Deſmonds wife came to him in moſt ſubmiſſe manner; and tendred her onely ſonne and heire for an hoſtage for his father. For when he was once departed from Kilmallocke he appeared no more, albeit *Malbey* upon every occaſion by letters admoniſhed him of his duty, and minded him of his promiſe; and he for his owne part (holding it no fit time to dally in) ſet upon the Rebells in Conell a wood Country: where *John Deſmond* ſetting his army in array, and diſplaying the Popes conſecrated banner, made ready to receive his charge, and joyning their forces, they fought ſtoutly on all ſides. And fortune in the end favouring the valour of the Engliſh, the ſaid *John* was the firſt that aſſaied to ſhift for himſelfe by flight, and left his company to the execution: amongſt whom was found ſlaine Doctor *Alan* the Divine, who heartned them on to fight, and aſſured them of victorie.

That very night the Earle of Deſmond, who was preſent as a ſpectator upon a little hillocke hard by, ſent letters of congratulation of the victorie to the Preſident, and colourably adviſed him to remove his Tents from thence. *Malbey* ſending backe the meſſenger with letters, commanded the Earle to come to him and joyne his forces; whom having in vaine expected there for foure daies together, he marched forward to Rekel a little Towne in Deſmond. Now the Earle, who thus long both in ſhew and ſpeeches had very finely maintained his diſſimulation, laieth aſide his vizour, and openly manifeſteth his rebellious intention, and the ſame night in the darke the Rebells came ſtealing to the Tents of *Malbey*, but found them ſo well fortified, that they were

Deſmonds falſhood diſcovered,

faine

faine to retire without doing any exploit. The Governour perceiving that to be a fit place to keepe the forces of the Rebells asunder, placed a firme Garrison there; and went from thence to Asketten a Castle of the Earles upon a Rocke, encompassed with the River Asketten, and fortified with a company of armed souldiers. But before he set upon it, hee sendeth letters to the Earle of Desmond once more, exhorting him in friendly wise to returne, alledging the Queenes mercy towards him in former time, the ancient dignity of the family of Desmond, the renowme of his Ancestors, and ignominie he was likely to incurre to all posteritie, and advising him not to staine his blood with rebellion. Hee on the contrary armeth his mind with obstinatie, and endevoureth to fortifie the towne of the Spaniards and Irish, with strong Garrisons on every side. At which time in the beginning of October, *Drury* the Deputy died at Waterford, a man of approved valour, and trained up in militarie affaires from his very youth in France, Scotland, and Ireland. 1579.

After the Deputies death the Rebells take new courage.

The Deputy being dead, *Malbey's* authoritie ceased withall in Mounster; who ordering the souldiers, and placing them in fit Garrisons, retired into Conaught his owne Province. The Rebells take courage to themselves upon the death of the Deputy, and enter into consultation how they might free themselves wholly from the yoake of the English; and it was thought the wisest way, to besiege the Garrison souldiers on all sides, and starve them. Whereupon *James Desmond* beleagureth Adar, where *William Stanley* and *George Carew* had their station. The Garrisons fearing famine, the most extreame of all miseries, so disquieted the besiegers with their frequent sallies out, that they broke up the siege.

Pelham chosen Justice of Ireland.

The meane while the Counsellors of the Kingdome, chose Sir *William Pelham* Justice of Ireland with the Vice-royes authoritie, untill such time as a Deputy were created, and made the Earle of Ormond President of Mounster, who sent the Earle of Desmonds sonne, which was with him in stead of an hostage, to Dublin to be kept there. *Pelham* the Lord Justice goeth forward into Mounster, and sendeth for the Earle of Desmond: but he, sending letters to him by his wife, excuseth himselfe. Whereupon the Earle of Ormond was sent to give him warning to deliver into the hands of the Lord Justice, Doctor *Sanders*, the forreine souldiers, the Castles of Carigo-Foyle and Asketten, to submit himselfe absolutely, and to turne his forces against his brothers and the rest of the Rebells: these conditions if he performed, his rebellion should bee pardoned, but if otherwise, he should be proclaimed a Traitor and enemie to his Country. Now when as hee sought to elude all this with shifts and excuses, he was declared Traitor and guilty of high Treason, in the beginning of November; for that hee had dealt with forreine Princes about the subduing and subverting of his Country, had upheld *Sanders* and *James Fitz-Morris*, Rebells, fostered the Spaniards, which escaped from the Fort of Smerwick, hanged some of the Queenes loyall subjects, displaied the Popes banner against the Queene, and brought forreine souldiers into the Kingdome. This being published, the Justice committed the warre to the Earle of Ormond to be followed

by

1580. by him; Deſmond turning aſide to another part of Mounſter, aſſaulted and tooke Yoghall a Sea towne, and indifferent well fortified; upon a ſudden, no man reſiſting him. The Earle of Ormond rangeth and maketh ſpoile every where in Conilo, the onely skowring place of the Rebells, driveth away their cattell, and allotteth the prey to his ſouldiers, commandeth to hang up the Maior of Yoghall before the Gates of the Towne, for refuſing to admit the Garriſon of the Engliſh, and ſtrengthneth the Towne with a Garriſon. Afterward he maketh proviſion to beſiege the Spaniards in Strangicall. But they had provided for themſelves in time; yet the Engliſh purſuing them, ſlew them every man, and chaſed the Rebells in grievous manner up and downe Mounſter. But the Earle of Deſmond and his brothers, though they lurked about and did nothing, yet ſignified their mind at large in letters to the Lord Juſtice, that they had undertaken the defence of the Catholike Religion in Ireland; and that under the authoritie and Godſpeed of the Pope and the Catholike King: and therefore they deſire him in courteous manner, that in a cauſe ſo pious and meritorious, tending to the good of his owne ſoule, he would not be wanting to them.

Ormond followeth the Rebells cloſe.

1580. Reg. 23. The Juſtice ſmiled at this requeſt, and returning into Mounſter, aſſembleth the Nobles, and wiſely keepeth them, not ſuffering them to depart before they had given hoſtages, and promiſed their aſſiſtance to him and the Earle of Ormond againſt the Rebells: who ſtraightway dividing their troopes, ſeeke for the Rebells, compell the Lord Lixnaw to yeeld, beſiege the Caſtle of Carigo-Foyle, the which *Julius* an Italian with a few Spaniards defended, and at the breach of the walls which the great Ordnance had caſt downe, they breake in, either hanging or killing the ſouldiers which kept it, together with *Julius* himſelfe. Then the Rebells ſet on fire the Caſtle of Ballilough, and forſooke it when they ſaw the Engliſh comminge; as alſo they dealt with Asketten, which Sir *Peter Carew* and his brother *George* were ſet to keepe with a new Garriſon of the Engliſh. They ſpoile the Territory of *Mac-Auley*; from whence the Juſtice entreth into Kerry, by the filthy Mountaine of Slew-lougher, driveth away a great number of Cattell, and deſtroyeth very many of the Rebells. The Earle of Deſmonds brother *James* pillaging Muskeroy, the Territorie of *Cormac Mac-Teg* (whom the Juſtice had diſmiſſed in hope that he would doe his Country good ſervice againſt the Rebells) lighted upon *Donell Cormack's* brother, who ſlew a great number of his company; and recovered the ſpoyle, tooke *James* himſelfe who had received a mortall hurt, and delivered him to Sir *Warham St. Leger*, Mareſhall of Mounſter, and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who now began to be a militarie Commander. They called him to a barre, and finding him guilty of high Treaſon, executed him after the uſuall manner of Traitors, and ſet up his head for a ſpectacle upon the Gates of Corke. The Earle of Deſmond himſelfe being now in a pecke of troubles, and finding no ſafetie any where, ſhifteth from place to place, ſendeth his wife to the Juſtice to beg his pardon, and dealt ſeriouſly with *Winter*, who with a Navie Royall waited for the Spaniards upon the Coaſts, that hee might bee wafted into England to goe and crave the Queenes mercy.

The Reb. are proſecuted by the Deputy.

James Deſmond taken and executed.

The

The Lord Iustice now certified that *Arthur* Lord *Grey* was landed with authoritie to be Deputy of Ireland; at Mounster delivereth the armie to *George Bourchier*, the sonne of *Iohn*, second Earle of Bath of that name, and himselfe returneth to Dublin to deliver up the Province to his Successour. The Lord *Grey* at his landing, before he had received the sword, hearing that certaine Rebells under the conduct of *Fitz-Eustace*, and *Phelym Mac-Hugh* the chiefe head of the great familie of the *O-Brins*, robbed & drave away bootes, having their Rendez-vous in Glandilough, five and twenty miles from Dublin Southward, to terrifie them at the beginning of his government, gave order to the Commanders (who came from all places to welcome him) to call their companies together, and march forward with him against the Rebells. They betake themselves into Glandilough out of hand. The place is a grassie Valley, and beset with trees & thickets, and they which dwell there scarce know the windings of it. When the English came thither, *Corbey* the Commander of the Irish Kernes, who was best acquainted with the place, told the rest how dangerous a thing it was to enter into that Valley, which was so fit a place for treacherie; yet biddeth them bee of good courage, himselfe leading the way (who was above seventie yeers of age) and the rest follow. So soone as ever they were come into the bottome, the Rebells which lay there in ambush sent bullets from the thicket as fast as haile about their eares, and themselves were not so much as seene. There the greatest number of the English were cut off, yet some came off with great difficultie, escaping to the Deputy, who expected the issue upon a little hill hard by, together with the Earle of Kildare, and Sir *Iames Wingfield* munition master, who wotting wel the danger, kept *George Carew* one of his nephewes with him against his will, who was reserved for greater honors. In that conflict were lost *Peter Carew* the younger, *George More*, *Audley*, and *Corbey* himselfe, men of good experience in militarie affaires.

1580.

Arthur Lord Grey commeth Depury into Ireland.

After a short space, there landed at Smatwick in Kerrie, under the command of *San-Iosepho* an Italian, about seven hundred Italian souldiers. They got on shore without resistance, for *Winter*, who had kept the coast a while with the Queens Navie, was now gone into England, the season of the yeere being past. They fortifie the place, and name it *Fort del Ore*. But assoone as they heard that the Earle of Ormond Governour of Mounster drew neere, by the perswasion of the Irish they forsooke the Fort, and betooke themselves to Glanmingellie, another low place hemmed in with woods and thickets. Some of them the President tooke, who being examined of their intent, and the number of Italians, confessed that there were landed but seven hundred, but they had brought armes for five thousand, and daily expected new supplies out of Spaine, that the Pope and King of Spaine had determined to drive the English out of Ireland, and for that purpose had sent a great summe of money, which they had deliv[illegible] into the hands of *Sanders* the Popes Nuntio, the Earle of Desmond, and *Iohn* his brother. The same night the Italians and Spaniards, not knowing which way to turne themselves, and being unaccustomed to lodge in holds and caves, crept in the darke along to the Fort, neere whereunto the Earle of Ormond had pitched, but wanting Ordinance and other necessaries for an assault, stayed for the

Italians and Spaniards arrive in Ireland.

The Rebels [illegible]

1580. Lord Deputies comming. Hee within a while came with *Zouch*, *Raleigh*, *Denis*, *Mac Worth*, *Atkin*, and other Commanders; and at the same time *Winter* returned out of England with the Fleet, having gotten a checke for his former hast.

The Deputie sent a Trumpetter to the Fort, to demand who they were, what they had to doe in Ireland, wherefore they built a Fort in the Kingdome of Queen *Elisabeth*, and who sent them: withall commanding them to depart forthwith. They replied, that some of them were sent from his Holinesse, others from the Catholike King, upon whom the Pope had bestowed the Kingdome of Ireland; for that Queen *Elisabeth* (by reason of heresie) had fallen from her right to it. Wherefore they would maintaine what they had gotten, and enlarge their holds if they could by any meanes. After that the Deputie and *Winter* had consulted about the manner of the onset, they bring forth of the ships certaine Culverings secretly by night, and place them neere the shore: Also the souldiers let flie the great Ordnance, and so for foure daies together they play upon the Fort. The Spaniards once or twice make sallies out, but to their owne losse, but not a man of the English was wanting, save *John Cheeke* onely, a proper and courageous young Gentleman, sonne to Sir *John Cheeke* a learned Knight.

The effect of cowardise in a Commander.

San-Joseph, who commanded the Fort, a hen-hearted souldier, terrified with the continuall batterie, began to thinke presently of yeelding the Hold; but the rest of the Commanders earnestly dissuaded it, as an unworthy part and unbefeeming men of valour; and pressed him rather to make provision for the defence, that by their cowardise they daunted not the hearts of the Irish, who were now nigh at hand with supplies. He being an egregious coward, notwithstanding used the meanes of some of his servants to find how the souldiers stood affected, and so causing them to mutine against the other Commanders, they all consented to yeeld up the Fort: whereupon the fift day, receiving no reliefe, neither out of Spaine nor from the Earle of Desmond, they set up a white flag, and desired parley: which was denied them because they had combined with Rebells, with whom it was not lawfull to hold parley. Then they demanded to passe away with their baggage. Neither was this allowed them. Afterwards, that this leave might be granted to the Governour and some of the chiefe sort. Neither could they obtaine this, though they earnestly entreated it. And the Deputie (inveighing bitterly against the Pope) commanded them to yeeld without condition. And when they could nothing prevaile, they hanged up the white flag againe, crying out, Mercy, Mercy, and so submitted themselves absolutely to the Deputies clemency; who prudently consulted how to deale with them. Now their number equalling well neere the English, who fearing danger from the Rebells, and the English being so destitute of meat and apparell that they were likely to famine, unlesse they might have the spoile granted them, & there being not ships neither to send them away if they were spared; this sentence they concluded on. The Deputie gainsaying and letting teares fall, That the Leaders only should be saved, and the rest slaine pell mell; but the Irish should be hanged up; which was straightway put in execution. The Queene allowed of this manner of

The Rebells lamentably slaine.

dealing

dealing, heartily detesting the slaughter of such as yeelded themselves, and would hardly accept of their excuses and allegations.

In England about this time, the Queene by Proclamation represseth excesse in apparrell, gold chaines, and cloaks, which men wore downe to their heeles. The length of swords was limited to three foot, and daggers to twelve inches, besides the hilts. The buildings likewise in the Suburbs were restrained, In-mates forbidden, and expresse charge sent forth, that no dwelling houses should be new built within three miles of any of the Citie gates (in regard of many inconveniences which would naturally follow) under paine of imprisonment and losse of the materialls.

A Proclamation concerning Apparell.

In the Netherlands, *John Norris* and *Oliver Temple* English Commanders, with some companies of the Dutch, tooke Mechlin at an assault with ladders, a wealthy towne of Brabant, setting upon it early one morning. Some valour here they shewed, but much more cruelty and sacriledge, promiscuously murthering the Citizens and a great number of religious persons; yea, offering violence to the dead, taking away very grave stones, which were sent into England to be sold,

At this time in the beginning of April, about sixe of the clocke after noone happned an earth-quake not far from Korke, which in some places shooke the very stones out of the buildings, and made the bells in the Churches to jangle. The night following the earth trembled once or twice in Kent, against the first day of May. What naturall causes hereof may be alledged, let Philosophers see to, but it might seeme to presage a storme to be raised against the Papists in England, which shortly followed, but from these their owne beginnings.

Certaine English Priests, who were fled into the Netherlands in the yeere 1568. by the procurement of *William Allen* an Oxford scholler, sometimes the most learned of them, joyned themselves to studie at Dowey, and erected in common into a kind of Collegiat forme of Discipline, to whom the Pope allotted a yeerely pension. Their tumults arising in the Low-Countries, and the English Runnagates by the King of Spaines Edict commanded to depart from thence, other Colledges the like were erected for the training up of the English youth, at Rhemes by the Guises the Queene of Scots Allies, and at Rome by Pope *Gregory* the thirteenth. Which alwaies afforded new supplies of Priests for England when the old failed, who should spread abroad the seeds of the Romish religion here amongst us: whence those Colledges had the name of Seminaries, and those called Seminarie Preists that were trained up therein.

The Colledge of Doway endowed by the Pope.

If these Seminaries, amongst other disputations concerning Ecclesiasticall politicall Jurisdiction, out of zealeto the Pope their Founder, hatred to the Queen, and hopes of bringing in againe the Romish Religion by the Queen of Scots meanes, they fell in perswade themselves, and to make publike determinations, that the Pope had such fulnesse of power by divine right over the whole Christian world, both in Ecclesiasticall and Secular matters, by vertue whereof it was lawfull for him to excommunicate Kings, and being excommunicate, to absolve their subjects from the Oath of allegeance, and deprive them of their Scepters.

The Originall of Seminary Priests, who first taught they might excommunicate Princes, &c.

Hereupon

1580. Lord Deputies comming. Hee within a while came with *Zouch*, *Raleigh*, *Denis*, *Mac Worth*, *Archin*, and other Commanders; and at the same time *Winter* returned out of England with the Fleet, having gotten a checke for his former hast.

The Deputie sent a Trumpetter to the Fort, to demand who they were, what they had to doe in Ireland, wherefore they built a Fort in the Kingdome of Queen *Elisabeth*, and who sent them: withall commanding them to depart forthwith. They replied, that some of them were sent from his Holinesse, others from the Catholike King, upon whom the Pope had bestowed the Kingdome of Ireland; for that Queen *Elisabeth* (by reason of heresie) had fallen from her right to it. Wherefore they would maintaine what they had gotten, and enlarge their holds if they could by any meanes. After that the Deputie and *Winter* had consulted about the manner of the onset, they bring forth of the ships certaine Culverings secretly by night, and place them neere the shore: Also the souldiers let flie the great Ordnance, and so for foure daies together they play upon the Fort. The Spaniards once or twice make sallies out, but to their owne losse; but not a man of the English was wanting, save *John Cheeke* onely, a proper and courragious young Gentleman, sonne to

The effect of cowardise in a Commander.

FOXING.

Then they demanded to passe away with their baggage. Neither was this allowed them. Afterwards, that this leave might be granted to the Governour and some of the chiefe sort. Neither could they obtaine this, though they earnestly entreated it. And the Deputie (inveighing bitterly against the Pope) commanded them to yeeld without condition. And when they could nothing prevaile, they hanged up the white flag againe, crying out, Mercy, Mercy; and so submitted themselves absolutely to the Deputies clemency; who prosently consulteth how to deale with them. Now their number equalling well neere the English, who fearing danger from the Rebells, and the English being so destitute of meat and apparell that they were likely to famish, unlesse they might have the spoile granted them, & there being not ships neither to send them away if they were spared; this sentence they concluded on. The Deputie gainsaying and letting teares fall, That the Leaders only should be saved, and the rest slaine pell mell. Or, the Irish should be hanged up; which was straightway put in execution. The Queene disallowed of this manner of

The Rebells lamentably slaine.

dealing

dealing, heartily detesting the slaughter of such as yeelded themselves, and would hardly accept of their excuses and allegations. 1580.

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1580. Hereupon in the yeer 1569. that *Bull declaratory* of Pope *Pius Quintus* was published, and from thence grew the Rebellion in the North, and that in Ireland. Many forbore the English rites, which hitherto without scruple they used: *Hanse*, *Nelson*, *Maine*, Seminarie Priests, and *Sherwood*, taught stiffely that the Queen was an Heretike, and Schismatike, and therefore to be deposed; which boldnesse their lives paid for.

The intent of sending Iesuits into England.

Out of these Seminaries came a few young men at first, and more soone after, having Orders over-hastily conferred upon them, and being thus instructed were sent abroad into England and Ireland, to administer the Sacraments (as they pretended) to those of the Romish Religion; but the Queene and her Councell; found that they were sent to withdraw the Queenes subjects from their allegeance by *Reconciliation*, to tie them to be ready to execute the Popes commands, to raise sedition under *The Seale of Confession*, and in plaine truth to put in practice the Bull of Pope *Pius* against the Queene, that by this meanes, way might bee made for the Pope and the King of Spaine to set footing in England.

Proclamation against Priests and Iesuits.

Now Proclamation was sent forth from the Queen, that whosoever had any children, kindred, or others in their protection in forrein parts, should after ten daies signifie their names to the Ordinarie, and within foure moneths call them home, they should intimate to the Ordinarie who were returned; & those which returned not, they should not relieve with mony or meanes directly nor indirectly; and that no person should receive, harbour, or maintaine any Priest or Iesuits sent from those Seminaries. If any one disobeyed, he should be held for a favourer of seditious persons, and a breaker of the Lawes of the Kingdome. Before this Proclamation came forth, the Papists here (too late) felt the hurt they suffered by meanes of the Popes Bull, and pretended to be heartily sorry that it ever came abroad. The defence of the same written by *Nicholas Sanders* they craftily suppressed (as the event afterward shewed) and forbad the question concerning the Popes authoritie in excommunicating and deposing Princes to be discussed: But the contention grew thereby the more hot. For *Robert Parsons*, and *Edmund Campian* Englishmen, and Iesuites, being now bound for England to promote the Catholike cause, for the moderating of the severitie of the Bull, gained a facultie of Pope *Gregorie* the thirteenth, in these words. *Let there be requested of our supreme Lord an explication of the Bull declaratory, by Pope* Pius Quintus *against Elisabeth and her adherents. Which the Catholikes desire may have this understanding, that it may have force to bind her, and the Heretikes as all times, but not the Catholikes, during standing as they now doe: but then onely when there may be made a publike execution of the said Bull.* This foresaid favour our holy father the Pope granted to Father *Robert Parsons* and *Edmund Campian* going for England, the foureteenth day of Aprill 1580. Father *Oliver Manark* being then present and assistant.

Parsons and Campian come into England, and bring a facultie for the Papists.

This *Parsons* was borne in Somersetshire, a fierce and rough conditioned fellow; *Campian* was a Londoner, a man of a sweet and affable disposition, and of handsome demeanour. They were both brought up in Oxford. *Campian* was fellow of St. *Johns* Colledge, and Proctor of the Universitie in the yeere 1568. hee counterfeited himselfe a Protestant

when

when he was made Deacon till ſuch time as he ſlipped out of England. 1580.
Parſons was of Baliol Colledge, where hee made open profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion, till for diſhoneſt carriage he was expelled with diſgrace, and then fled to the Popiſh partie. Both theſe came privily into England in the diſguiſe one while of ſouldiers, another while of Noble men; now like Engliſh Miniſters, and by and by in the habit of Apparitors, paſſing up and downe the Country to the dwellings of Noble men, and both by words and writing putting in practice the Commiſſion which they brought with them from Rome. *Parſons*, who was made the Superiour, being a fellow of a ſeditious and turbulent diſpoſition, and armed with boldneſſe, proceeded ſo farre, and brake forth into ſuch open words amongſt the Papiſts about depoſing the Queen, that ſome of themſelves had a purpoſe to deliver him into the Magiſtrates hand, as they ſaid. *Campian* though ſomewhat more modeſt, yet in a writing ſet forth he provoked the Engliſh Miniſters to a diſpute; and publiſhed in Latine a fine elegant booke of his *ten reaſons*, in the maintenance of the Doctrine of the Romiſh Church, as *Parſons* in like manner ſet forth another virulent Pamphlet againſt *Charke*, who had written modeſtly againſt *Campians* provocation. But Doctor *Whitaker* ſolidly confuted *Campian*, and he was apprehended after a yeere, put upon the racke, and afterwards brought out to a diſputation, where he ſcarcely made good the great expectation that went of him.

Parſons and Campian come diſguiſed into England.

Others likewiſe of the Popiſh faction there wanted not, who laboured all that ever they could at Rome, and in the Courts of other Princes, to raiſe up warre againſt their Countrie; yea, and publiſhed in print that the Pope and King of Spaine had conſpired to invade England, and expoſe it for a prey. And this they did on ſet purpoſe, to encourage their owne adherents, and draw others from their allegeance to their Prince and Countrie. The Queen being thus evidently ſhot at by the Pope, and the King of Spaine, maketh declaration in print, in which after acknowledgement of the goodneſſe of God in her preſervation, ſhee alledgeth: *That ſhe had made no attempt againſt any Prince, but for the preſervation of her owne Dominions, nor yet invaded the Territories of any other, though ſhe had been oftentimes both provoked by injuries and invited by opportunitie. If any forein Prince aſſailed her ſhee nothing doubted (by the goodneſſe of Almightie God) but ſhe ſhould be able to defend her owne people; and for that purpoſe had muſtered forces, and made proviſion both by Sea and land. Wherefore ſhe exhorteth her loyall ſubjects to continue unmoved in their dutie, and obedience toward God, and their Prince, who is Gods Miniſter. The reſt, who had laid aſide love to their Country and obedience to their Soveraigne, ſhee commandeth to demeane themſelves modeſtly, and not provoke her to take rigorous courſes, for ſhee would no longer abide partiall toward the evill minded, to the injurie of her ſelfe and her loyall ſubjects.*

The fugitives plot with ſtrangers againſt their owne countrie.

The Queenes declaration.

Neither did theſe perfidious ſubjects onely at home wax thus unquiet, but ſtrangers likewiſe out of Holland (a countrie fruitfull of Heretikes) about that time began to diſturbe the peace of the Church and Common-wealth of England, who inſinuating themſelves into the hearts of the ignorant multitude under a ſhew of ſingular integritie and ſanctitie,

Sectaries come out of the Low Countries to doe miſchiefe in England.

1580. ſanctitie, afterwards infected their minds with damnable hereſies, openly repugnant to the Chriſtian Religion, uſing new and monſtrous kinds of expreſſion, which the eares of men bred in the Chriſtian Church had never beene inured to, and all men rather wondred at then underſtood. Theſe named themſelves of the *Familie of love*. They perſwaded their followers, that thoſe onely which were adopted into that familie were elected, and no others could be ſaved, but the reſt were all reprobates and damned perſons: and that it was lawfull for them to denie upon oath whatſoever they pleaſed, before any Magiſtrate, or whomſoever, that was not of their familie. Bookes there were of this fanaticke vanitie written in Dutch, and tranſlated into Engliſh, and diſperſed amongſt their followers, with titles of this nature, *The Goſpell of the Kingdome*, *The Lords ſentences*, *The prophecie of the Spirit of love*, *The publication of Peace upon Earth*, by the Author *H.N.* But the Authors name they would in no wiſe be brought to reveale; but he was found afterward to be *Henrie Nichols* of Leyden, who blaſphemouſly preached that *he was partaker of the divinitie of God, and God of his humane nature*. For the timely repreſſing of theſe evills by Law, the Queen made Proclamation, that for as much as Religion ought to be the chiefe care of Princes, therefore the Civill Magiſtrates ſhould aſſiſt the Eccleſiaſticall, and theſe bookes be burnt.

Sir Francis Drakes voyage about the world.

About this time returned Sir *Francis Drake* into England, bringing home great wealth, but greater glorie and renowne, having proſperouſly ſailed round about the world: if not the firſt that may challenge this honour, yet the firſt after *Magellan*, who died in the middle of his voyage. Hee was borne of meane parentage in Devonſhire, his Godfather *Francis Ruſſell* afterwards Earle of Bedford, whoſe name he carried (as the uſuall manner is.) Being but yet of tender yeers, his father having embraced the Proteſtant Religion, was called into queſtion by vertue of the law of the *Sixe Articles*, enacted by King *Henrie* the eight againſt the Proteſtants, whereupon he changed his ſoile, and got aſide into Kent. King *Henrie* being dead, he found a place amongſt the Mariners of the Queenes Navie to read praiers, and afterwards being ordained Deacon, and made Vicar of Upnore at Medweay, which is the road of the Navie royall, by reaſon of his meane eſtate he bound his ſonne to a ſhip-maſter dwelling neere, who in a ſhip which went to and fro upon the coaſt, fraught with commodities, one while to Zealand, another while into France, trained him up to hardſhip and paines at Sea. He being a diligent young man won the favour of his old maſter, in ſo much that when he died he bequeathed his barke to him by Will. By which having gained a little money, and hearing that Sir *John Hawkins* was providing certaine ſhips at Plymouth, and was bound for America, which they call *The New World*, he ſold his barke and went thither, accompanied with ſome other ſtout Sea-men, and in the yeere 1567. unfortunately adventured his labour and fortunes in that expedition with Captaine *Hawkins*. For the Engliſh, as hath been related, being oppreſſed by the Spaniards in the port of St. *John de Ullua*, he loſt his adventure and hardly eſcaped himſelfe. Five yeeres after, having gathered together againe a good ſumme of mony by trading and Piracie, to recover the dam-

His Education.

dammage sustained from the Spaniards (which the ship Preacher told him was lawfull, and he apt to beleeve it) with a ship of warre, and two smaller Vessels hee set saile againe for America, his companions onely being made acquainted, and tooke *Nombre de Dios*, and presently lost it againe. Afterwards having intimation from the Negro's that fled to him, that great store of gold and silver was to be carried upon Mules a certaine way, which they shewed him, hee robbed them in the way, brought the gold to the ships, but left the silver behind, hiding it under ground, because he could not conveniently carrie it over the Mountaines. Then hee fired a great place of traffick, called the Crosse, at the river Chirag: and roving to and fro upon the Mountaines hee espied the South Sea. Now the man thirsting for wealth and glory, was so vehemently desirous to saile that Sea, that in the very place he fell upon his knees, craving assistance from Almightie God to find out that passage at length, and bound himselfe with a vow to follow this project. And from that time his mind run upon performing his vow day and night. 1580.

Oxenham saileth into America.

Whiles he being already very rich, secretly ruminated upon these cares, *John Oxenham* (who in former expeditions had served under him as a Souldier, a Mariner, and a Cooke, and gained the title of a Captaine for his valour and wealth, which hee had privately scraped together) to prevent him both in getting the prey, and navigating the South-Sea, setteth saile toward those places in the yeer 1575. with one only ship, & seventie Mariners, and communicating the businesse with the Negro's, when he understood that the treasure at that time was on bringing from Panama with a Guard of souldiers, he getteth his ship on shore, hideth it in a woody place out of the way with leaves, burieth his greater Ordnance and victuals under ground; and passing forward with all his owne associates and sixe Negro's for their guides, to the river which floweth into the Southerne Sea, cut downe trees, and having built a Pinnace, wafted over to the Ile of Pearles in the South-Sea, a little way distant. Where laying wait ten daies for the ships which were comming from Peru, he tooke one with threescore, and another with a hundred pound waight of gold, and then returneth to the river with the ships which he had taken. But the matter being now divulged by the Spaniards whom hee sent away, *John Ortega* a Spaniard with a hundred souldiers pursueth them, and the river having three mouths, he stood in a doubt which way to follow them, untill at length the feathers of some foules which the English had eaten being brought along with the streame, manifested which way they were gone. The Spaniards going on found the gold amongst the thickets, and the English at variance about parting the spoile; who notwithstanding joyned in common against the Spaniards, who were many more in number than they, and set upon them. But the most of them were slaine, others taken, and amongst them was *Oxenham*; who being carried to Lime, and examined whether he had the Queenes Commission to come into the King of Spaines Territories. But when he could shew no authoritie, he was executed as a Pirate and Malefactor, together with the ship-master and others, and so fell in a bold and memorable adventure.

He is put to death.

Drake not knowing what was become of *Oxenham*, in the yeere

1577.

1580. 1577. the thirteenth day of December, to set saile for the Southern Sea, which never went out of his mind, and to trie his fortunes, weighed anchor from Plimouth with five ships, and Sea-men to the number of 163. amongst whom hardly one or two knew what they went about. Within five and twentie daies he came to Cantine a Cape in Barbarie, and from thence in the Ile of Maio (a very pleasant place, and bearing very sweet grapes) he refreshed himselfe and his companie. At *San-Jacobin* he tooke a Portugall ship laden with wines, which hee carried along with him, dismissing the Mariners, but keeping *Nonnius Sylva* the Pilot, to make use of him for the roads, and watering places upon the shore of Brasill, with which he was very well acquainted. From thence he sailed along by the Ile of Fogo, which sendeth forth flames of sulphur. Being now under the line, *Drake*, wonderfull charie of the health of his Campanions, himselfe let every one bloud in the ship; and were held with a great calme for a long time, though it thundred and lightened very often, and for three weekes made little way, not seeing any land for fiftie daies together, till Brasill at length offered it selfe to their view.

The 26. of Aprill entring into the mouth of the Plate, they espied a world of Sea-Calves. From thence tyding it to the Port of Saint *Julian*, he found a paire of Gallowes, set up (as is thought) by *Magellan* when he executed certaine mutiners. In this very place *John Doughty* an industrious and brave spirited man, and the next to *Drake* in authoritie, was called in question for raising sedition in the Navie, found guiltie by the verdict of twelve men, and condemned to die, which he patiently underwent, being here beheaded, after that he had first taken the Holy Communion with *Drake*. The indifferent men of the companie were indeed of opinion that he had beene too tumultuous, and that *Drake* had a mind to remove him as his rivall in this renowne, not regarding so much how many he himselfe exceeded in the skill belonging to Navigation, but who were any thing equall to himselfe. Yet some curious persons there wanted not who reported that *Drake* had charge given him from the Earle of Leicester, to make away *Doughty* upon some pretence or other; besides, he had said that the Earle of Essex was craftily made away by Leicester.

Drake puts Doughty to death.

The twentieth of August, with three ships (for two of lesser burthen he left to the floods, emptying the men and fraught into others) he came to the Sea which they call the *Streit of Magellan*, to wit, a Sea beset thicke with Ilands, and encompassed as it were with high Mountaines, a cold and snowie Climate. The sixt of September having passed the Streit, entring the wide Southern Ocean, which they call the Pacificque Sea, he found it out of measure troublous; and a mighty tempest drave the Navie about a hundred leagues Westward, and parted them.

Drake passeth the Strait of Magellan.

Of those ships which the storme dispersed, one in which *John Winter* was Master, was brought backe againe through the Streit, and returned safe into England, and was the first that ever got backe againe through that Streit. *Drake* himselfe being tossed with his owne ship alone five and fiftie degrees to the Southward, coasted along the shore, and found the

One of his ships comes into England.

the shore (contrarie to the ordinarie description in the Maps) to give backe a vast way toward the East. 1580.

At the Isle Mouchu, which lyeth neere the shore, he landed the last day of November, and one or two of the Mariners, which he sent to get fresh water, were taken by the inhabitants. Loosing from hence, hee light upon a fellow fishing in a little boat, who imagining our men to be Spaniards, discovered to them a great Spanish ship that lay laden in a road not farre off at Villa Perizo, and directed them thither. The Spanish Mariners supposing likewise that the English approaching were their owne Country men, beat up the Drum, and setting wine abroach invited them with full cups; but they getting aboard, presently shut the Spaniards under hatches, pillaged St. *James* towne hard by, together with the Chappell, the spoile whereof was allotted to *Fletcher* the Preacher of the ship. Having landed the Spaniards (which were not above eight in number, and two Negro's) he tooke along with him the Pilot, who was a Grecian born (and the ship) in which was foure hundred pound weight of gold.

Drake taketh great spoyles from the Spaniards.

At Tarapasa againe hee went on shore, where he found a Spaniard soundly sleeping by the Sea-side, and hard by him thirteene barres of massie silver, to the value of foure thousand duckats, which hee bid his followers take away, the man not being so much as awaked out of sleep. Going after into the Port of Arica, hee found there three Vessells without any Mariners in them, and in them, besides other wares, 57. silver brickes, each of which weighed twenty pound. From hence riding it to Lima, he found twelve ships in one rode, and in them great store of silke, and a Chest full of mony coyned, but not so much as a ship-boy aboard: such securitie was there in that coast, that they feared nothing lesse than Pirates at such a vast distance and an unknown Sea. Putting now to Sea with these ships, he followed with all his might the rich ship called *Cacafoga*, which he understood was departed from thence toward Panama, and by the way met with a small ship unprovided of munition and armes; out of which he tooke fourescore pound of gold, a golden Crucifix, and some Emeralds of a fingers length. The first day of March he overtooke the *Cacafoga*, and taking away the foremast with the force of a peece of great Ordnance, set upon her, and tooke her with ease, and in her, besides Jewells, fourescore pound weight of gold, thirteene Chests of silver ready coyned, and as much silver as would ballast a ship. By this time he thought he had gained wealth enough, and abundant satisfaction for the private injuries offered him by the Spaniards in the port of St. *John De Ulua*, and therefore bethought himselfe of returning home. To goe backe by the *Magellan* Strait seemed verie dangerous, both by reason of the frequent stormes arising there, and many uncertaine shallowes, as also for feare the Spaniards might wait for him there. And indeed *Francis* of Toledo Vice-roy of Peru had sent one thither with two ships, to take him at his returne. Wherefore he held on his course to the North at the Latitude of 42. degrees, to see if there were any Sea in that coast to bring him home a neerer way. But when he could see nothing that way but thicke clouds, extreame cold, and the shore lie covered with snow, he went lower to 38. degrees, and getting a convenient

The Cacafoga taken richly laden.

1580. convenient road, tarried there a while. The Inhabitants of those parts were naked, very pleasant, and dancing in a Circumference; and by the signes they made seemed to salute *Drake* for their King with a long Oration; and he could not imagine that the Spaniards had ever come thus farre. This region of the world being of a fruitfull glebe, and replenished with Deer and Conies, they thought good to name *New England*, setting the said inscription upon a post there, together with the yeere of our Lord, the name of Queene *Elisabeth*, and the time of their arrivall, making fast a peece of the Queenes coyne to the same post. Loosing from hence againe, in the moneth of November he came to the Molucca Ilands, and was courteously entertained of the King of the Iland of Ternata. From whence furrowing that Sea full of Rockes and Ilands, the ninth day of Januarie his ship was cast upon a Rocke which lay hid with waters, where it stucke fast for 27. houres, being given for lost by them all; who fell devoutly to their prayers, making no other account but to perish there, with all their wealth which they had gained with so much labour. But when they set themselves to worke, and had cast into the Sea eight great Ordnance, and some of their wares, a wind bearing of one side (sent as it were by divine providence) removed them from the Rocke. Then he landed at Java Maior, where the inhabitants were exceedingly vexed with the French disease; which they cure by sitting against the South Sunne, which drieth up the noxious humour. Having there tasted of the Kings extraordinarie courtesie, he held on his course to *Cape de bonne Esperance*. At the West side of it he went on shore to get fresh water, but found no spring; and now they had wanted sweet water, but that he had providently reserved raine in Vessells. But this want they supplied at Rio grande: from whence with a faire winde *Drake* returned into England the third day of November 1580. to Plimouth Haven from whence he first set saile, having sailed about the World in the compasse of three yeeres, to the great admiration of all men; his adversaries having nothing to lay to his charge, but that hee put *Doughty* to death, left the Portugall to the crueltie of the Spaniards which hee tooke upon the coast of Africa, and somewhat inhumanely set a Negro woman on shore, which had beene gotten with child in the ship.

The first discovery of New England by Drake in his voyage homeward.

Drake is welcommed home by Queen Elisabeth, and knighted.

The Queene welcommed him home in courteous sort, made a sequestration of the wealth, that it might be ready if the King of Spain demanded it, commanded the ship for a monument to be drawne on shore neere Dep-ford, at the river of Thames (where the carkasse is yet to be seene) & her selfe feasted in the same; at which time she knighted Captain *Drake*. Then a bridge made of plankes, thereby to get up to the ship, yeelded to the weight of the multitude, and fell with an hundred persons upon it, & yet none of them were hurt. There were verses in Sir *Francis Drakes* commendations fastned to the maine Mast, which verses the Schollers of Winchester made. Now did nothing so much trouble him, as that some chiefe at Court, to whom he tendred a present of the gold hee brought home, rejected it as being gained by Piracie and unlawfull courses; but the Queene encouraged him, and the people extolled him.

Bernardine Mendiza the King of Spains Embaſſadour in England began to rage, and earneſtly demanded a reſtitution of the goods, making complaint that the Engliſh ſailed upon the Indian Sea. But this anſwer was made him, *That the Spaniards by vnjuſtious dealing with the Engliſh, whom, againſt the Law of Nations they ſuffered not to traffique, had been the authors of theſe euills to themſelues.* Drake *was ready to anſwer in law, if he could be convinced to haue done any thing againſt right and equitie. That the wrong was ſequeſtred, that the King of Spaine might haue ſatisfaction, although he* Queene *had expended againſt the Rebells, whom the Spaniard had excited in England and Ireland, more money than that which* Drake *brought home. Moreouer, ſhe vnderſtood not wherefore her ſubiects, and the ſubiects of other Princes, ſhould be barred from the Indies, which ſhe could not perſwade her ſelfe the King of Spaine had ſufficient right vnto by the Popes donation, in whom ſhe acknowledged no ſuch Prerogatiue, much leſſe authority to binde thoſe Princes which owe him no obedience. Nor was ſhe acquainted with any other right, but that the Spaniards had landed here and there in the Indies, built Cottages, giuen denomination to a riuer or Promontorie, which things are not of force to make a propriety. Therefore this imitation, and imaginarie propriety ought not to hinder other Princes from free commerce into thoſe Countries, and bringing Colonies where the Spaniards inhabite not, ſo they violate not the Law of Nations (preſcription without poſſeſſion being not of force) ſeeing the Sea and the aire are common for all men to paſſe.*

An anſwer to the Spaniſh Embaſſadors demands.

The Lord Chief Iuſtice of Ireland.

Notwithſtanding to *Pedro Sebura* the Spaniard (who tooke vpon him to be the King of Spaines Agent for the recouerie of the gold and ſilver) a great ſum of money was repayed: which was not reſtored to thoſe to whom it belonged, but employed to the Spaniards warres in the Low-Countries, as was found out afterward when it was too late.

In what time Sir *Francis Drake* thus proſperouſly compaſſed the World, *Iackman* and *Petr*, skilfull Pilots, were ſent forth with two ſhips by the Londoners, to find out a ſhorter way to the Eaſt-Indies by the Northweſt paſſage, but with no good ſucceſſe. For, ſailing a few leagues beyond the Iſles of Vltgate, they met with ſuch vncertaine tides, ſtrong ſhallowes, and ſuch Mountaines of Ice, that they could goe no farther, and had much adoe to retaine.

An attempt to finde the Northweſt paſſage, but in vaine.

About this time *Henrie Fitz Alan* Earle of Arundell yeelded his ſoule to the hands of Almighty God, in whom the Inheritance of a moſt noble familie died, which had flouriſhed in this honour for three hundred yeeres and vpward, from *Richard Fitz Alan*, who being deſcended from the *Albinis*, ancient Earles of Arundell and Suſſex (in the reigne of *Edward* the firſt) obtained the title of Earle, by reaſon of the poſſeſſion of the Caſtle and honour of Arundell, without Creation. This laſt Earle was full of honours, being of the Priuie Councell to all the Princes in whoſe reigne he liued. To *Henrie* the eighth he was Gouernour of Calice, Marſhall of the Armie at the ſiege of Bollen, and Chamberlaine; Lord Marſhall of England to King *Edward* the ſixth at his inauguration; Lord Conſtable at the inauguration of Queen *Marie*, afterward Steward of the Queenes houſe, and Preſident of the Councell: and to Queene *Elizabeth* he was Lord Steward againe, whom he had a

Henry Fitz-Alan Earle of Arundell dieth.

The Scots enuie the Duke of Lenox.

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1580. mind to marry in his declining age; and not ſo well beloved by her, becauſe he had a hand in the Duke of Norfolkes affaires, and openly oppoſed himſelfe to the Queenes marching with the Duke of Alenſon, or Anjou. For he, uſing freedome of ſpeech, profeſſed plainely that he liked not the French; ſaying, that his father had given him an Item not to truſt them. Hee had three children by his wife *Katherine*, daughter to *Thomas Grey* Marqueſſe of Dorſet, all whom he out lived; *Henrie* a young man of exceeding good hopes, which died at Bruſſells; *Joane* the Lord *Lumlies* wife; and *Marie*, who being married to *Thomas Howard* Duke of Norfolke, brought forth *Philip* Earle of Arundell, of whom we ſhall have cauſe to ſpeake hereafter.

The Lord Grey ſuppreſſeth the Rebels in Ireland.

Arthur Lord *Grey* Deputie of Ireland, going forward againſt the *O-Conors*, which raiſed ſtirres in Ophaly, putteth to death *Hugh-O-Moloy* a ſeditious perſon convicted according to Law, quieteth all that quarter, even the families of the *Magohigans* and *O-Charles*; and in the verie beginning ſuppreſſeth the conſpiracie which was breaking forth. For ſome of noble families in Leinſter, and moſt of them of Engliſh deſcent, partly out of love to the Roman Religion, partly alſo out of hatred to the upſtart Engliſh (who, againſt the true intent of a law lately made, excluded them as meere Iriſh from bearing any office) began to conſpire to take the Deputy and his whole familie, to ſurpriſe on a ſudden the Caſtle of Dublin (where all the munition is kept) & to cut the throats of all the Engliſh. And ſo cloſe were they in their conſpiracie, that they never had conference about this enterpriſe more than two at once: but amongſt ſo many that were acquainted with it, it brake forth, and was quieted by the execution of a few; the chiefe of whom was the Lord *Nogent*, a man of great integritie both for his life and reputation, and (as the Iriſh report) circumvented by the fraud of ſome envious perſons. He being confident in his owne innocencie, when the Deputie proffered to ſave his life, if he would confeſſe himſelfe guilty, choſe rather to undergoe an infamous puniſhment, and be held guiltleſſe, than to live in infamie by betraying his owne innocency. Howſoever the truth is in this matter, certaine it is the Queene was extraordinarily diſpleaſed with the Lord *Grey* (whom the Earle of Suſſex alſo provoked) objecting, that by his late crueltie towards them which yeelded themſelves, and now toward the Queenes owne ſubjects, hee had eclipſed the glory of his Prince, and encreaſed the number of her enemies. The Deputy for all this compelled *Turlogh Leinigh* with his threamings (who now began to rebell in Ulſter) to accept conditions of peace. Whereupon the *O-Brins*, *O-Mores*, and *Cavanaghs*, rebellious families in Leinſter, humbly craved peace alſo, and offered hoſtages.

The Scots envie the Duke of Lenox.

In Scotland now ſome zealous Miniſters of the Word, and others of the Nobilitie, obſerving that Lenox Lord of Obignie (of whom I ſpake) began to gaine exceedingly in the Kings favour; firſt they ſet up a rivall againſt him, *James Stuart* of the familie of the *Orbiſtons*, Captaine of the Guard, and Earle of Arran, which title he had ſeized upon by I wot not what grant from *James Hamilton* Earle of Arran, who fell lunatick, and he appointed for his Guardian. But the King ſoone made them friends againe. This not ſucceeding, they made Lenox as odious as they could

at

at home, and accuſed him to the Queen here in England, as one ſent from the Guiſes under-hand to ruine the Religion, to ſet the Queen of Scots at libertie, and to ſet at variance the Kingdomes of England and Scotland. They have credit eaſily given to them here, & a ſerious conſultation is appointed in England about this buſineſſe, although he both purged himſelf by letters to the Queen, and made profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion. 1580.

Conſultation in England againſt the Duke of Lenox.

For the Counſellors in England, feared that by ſome meanes or other he might get the upper hand of thoſe Scots, which held league and amitie with the Engliſh, be an abetter of the excurſions in the borders, and allure the King of Scots to marrie into France, or elſewhere, without the privitie of the Engliſh: and the young King bearing himſelfe thereupon, might chance to trouble England, and comming to riper yeeres lay claime to the Engliſh Crowne, as his mother already had done. And if that once came to paſſe, it were greater danger than could be feared from his mother. For being borne heire apparant to both Kingdomes, he would gaine to himſelfe the more favourers; and the Scots, who now for a good while had been trained up in warres at home, and abroad in the Low Countries, would be found hard to maſter, by reaſon of their experience. Hereupon they thought beſt to ſeparate Lenox from the King by ſome meanes or other, or elſe to drive him out of Scotland, and that without delay. For divers rumours were ſpread abroad, that he to ruine the Earle of Morton had ſent for *Balfoure* out of France (who was ſaid to have I know not what writing under Mortons own hand, by which he would prove him to have conſpired the murder of the Kings father) and had gotten into his hands the command of the Caſtle of Dunbriton, for no other end but to receive forrein forces into great Britaine; or elſe to have power to carrie the King of Scots into France. It was reported likewiſe, that he had perſwaded the King to yeeld up the Kingdome to his mother, for that ſhe was unjuſtly depoſed by her ſubjects, and the thing it ſelfe was a pernicious example for poſteritie; but did enterpoſe caution, that forthwith upon that lawfull reſignation he ſhould receive it againe: by which meanes he ſhould confirme the Kingdome moſt ſurely to himſelfe, and all factions being extinguiſhed, be unanimouſly acknowledged the lawfull Prince of Scotland.

Sir Robert Bowes ſent to accuſe him.

Hereupon Sir *Robert Bowes*, Treaſurer of the Garriſon at Barwick, is ſent into Scotland, to expoſtulate with the Duke of Lenox before the King and Counſellours about theſe matters, and to admoniſh them of ſome imminent dangers. He, as ſoone as he was admitted, made requeſt that Lenox might be removed from the place for a while. This requeſt the Counſellors denied utterly; ſaying, that it was a ſtrange thing and not heard of, that a Counſellour of the Kings ſhould be put out from the Councell before his cauſe were heard. They doubted beſides whether the Queene had given any ſuch expreſſe charge; for the clearing whereof, they willed him to exhibit his Inſtructions. That he refuſed to doe, ſaving to the King onely, and one or two others. Whereupon he was preſently called home unheard, and bade the King adieu, not ſo much as thinking of it, complaining that the Queenes wholſome counſells, who ſo well deſerved of Scotland, were rejected.

Soone after *Alexander Humes* is ſent out of Scotland to excuſe theſe

1581. matters, and to learne what thoſe imminent evills were; but was not admitted to the Queenes preſence, but referred to *Burleigh* the Treaſurer, who like an aged grave Counſellour, briefly ſignified thus much to him: *That it ſeemed not good to the Queene to admit him into her preſence, not that ſhe neglected him, whom ſhe had found to be a lover of the true Religion, his Prince, Countrie, and the peace of both Kingdomes; but out of juſt griefe that her owne Majeſtie had not beene regarded, and her Embaſſadour diſgracefully uſed, who notwithſtanding had contained himſelfe within the limits of his Commiſſion; and yet (which was a thing never heard of) was commanded to exhibite his Inſtructions. He laieth the whole blame upon the new Counſellours, who were not ſo well adviſed, and excuſeth the King by reaſon of his tender yeeres and lacke of experience, wiſhing that he would give eare to the Queens profitable and wholſome admonitions, not preferring a French Couſin before her, one entangled in a French wedlock, and of the Popiſh Religion; and who perhaps (the* Hamiltons *being now in place) hath a project in hand to be pronounced the next in place to the King. Let the King* (ſaith he) *remember, that no affection is more boundleſſe than ambition, and let the Scottiſh Nation call to mind, what tumults the French had raiſed in Scotland, had not the Queene prudently and providently prevented them.*

Thus was *Humes* ſent backe againe into Scotland; and all this was purpoſely contrived to terrifie the King, and to make him beleeve that the Duke of Lenox had dangerous projects in hand againſt the King and Kingdome of Scotland. Nevertheleſſe, not long after the Earle of Morton, who was moſt addicted to the Engliſh of all the reſt, was by the Earle of Arran accuſed of Treaſon and caſt in priſon.

Anno 1581. Reg. 24. Randolph ſent into Scotland.

Upon this occaſion, the Januarie following, *Thomas Randolph* Poſtmaſter is ſent into Scotland, with Commiſſion; that for the preſervation of religion, & maintenance of the amitie betwixt the Engliſh and Scots, he ſhould leave nothing unattempted; endevouring withall, that no hurt came to the Earle of Morton, that the Duke of Lenox might be expelled from Scotland, and the Peeres of the Engliſh partie encouraged in their hopes. The King made anſwer: That he being a Prince, and ſupreme Magiſtrate, could not chuſe but call a man to the barre that was accuſed of high Treaſon; nevertheleſſe, hee acknowledged the Queenes good will, and would doe nothing which might give juſt occaſion of offence.

His complaints to the Scots.

Afterwards *Randolph* being admitted into the aſſembly of the Nobles, reckoneth up the Queens deſerts, and good turnes toward the Kingdome of Scotland; to wit, *That with the Engliſh bloud ſhe had delivered the Kingdome from the French, defended the Religion, and the Kings perſon, that ſhe had not ſo much as a thought of getting him away* (as was falſly reported) *or of ſeizing upon an Acre of Land in Scotland; although ſhe wanted not opportunitie to ſubdue Scotland, if ſhe had thought good, when the King lay in his cradle, his mother priſoner in England, and the Nobles at oddes amongſt themſelves: but contrariwiſe, had employed all her care, to procure the ſafetie of the Kingdome, and the King, who was neerely allied to her in the moſt ſtrict obligations of bloud, religion, and neighbourhood: of whoſe love, as likewiſe of all the Regents, ſhe had evermore good*

teſtimonie,

1581.

...ister named, before the Lenox should arrive into Scotland. But ever since that time, he had wholly framed the King to alienate his mind from the love of the English nation, and the Protestants; which even to this day had not answered to him in due and lawfull King, that he had removed the Kings most loyall subjects from his person, by whom in other times he was disciplined, and by letters (which he then produced) had dealt with forrein Princes about the invading of England: That he had made the Ministers of Gods Word odious to the King, traducing them for railers and turbulent persons, and took no care of safety for the true professors of the Religion. These things the Queen could not chuse but highly distaste, seeing her Friend of such vertues, and so neerly allied to her, borne away and alienated from her by the underminings of ill affected persons. Notwithstanding all this, nothing was done at that time, either for the Earle of Morton, or against the Duke of Lenox, the most suspecting the letters to be counterfeit, and the crimes false that were laid to his charge.

Randolph therefore applieth himselfe to other devices. For fortifying himselfe with such as affected Morton and envied Lenox, he deploreth the unhappy condition of Scotland, alledgeth what dangers were hanging over the head of the King and the Common-wealth, complaineth that the mediation of the Queen of England was unthankefully rejected, and privily adviseth them to take up armes, since other courses would doe no good, promising supplies both of men and money out of England. And assured by he drew to his partie the Earles of Argile, Monrosse, Angus Mortons nephew, Marre, Glencairne, Reuthwen, Lindsey, and others. But they presently disagreeing among themselves, when they saw the King so bent to favour the Duke of Lenox, and nothing terrified with the English forces at the borders, but providing others of his own, the most of them reverencing princely Majestie though in a youth, durst not attempt any thing against the Duke of Lenox, and would doe no more but pity Morton. Yet the Earles of Angus and Marre plotted secretly with *Randolph*, to releeve Morton, and oppresse Lenox; whereof the King having intelligence, Angus was commanded to depart beyond the river Spea, and Marre forthwith to yeeld up the Castle of Sterlin to the King. *Randolph* being now afraid, getteth privily to Barwick, and adviseth Angus and Marre, that seeing things were now past hope, they should shift for themselves, either by craving the Kings favour, or flying to the Queenes Patronage. But the English forces were now called home from the borders, and not long after the Earle of Morton was convicted as accessarie to the Kings murther, & beheaded. For he confessed, as they say, that the Earle of Bothwell, and *Archibald Douglas* imparted to him their purpose of making the King away, but he durst not discover it at so ticklish a time. Yet he could not denie, that after it was committed he held *Douglas* for one of his intimate friends, who had beene an actor in the same, and bound himselfe to defend *Bothwell*, if any one accused him for it. The Earle of Angus and others which laboured for Morton straightway upon this fled into England.

Randolph seeketh to raise sedition in Scotland.

Morton beheaded.

In the Low-Countrie Provinces about this time, the Count Reinberg proceeded victoriously for the King of Spaine, and beleaguered Steenwick in Friesland, when the Confederates sent *Norris* Generall of the

1581. field, and ſome Engliſh, who valiantly and ſucceſſefully relieved the Towne with victualls once and againe, put the Reinbergh Companies to the worſt, and broke the ſiege. But afterward joyning battell with *Verdugo* the Spaniard at Northone, now that the victorie was already in his power, *Roger Williams*, puting the enemies to flight, the chance of the warre turned, he himſelfe is vanquiſhed, wounded, and a great number of his ſouldiers ſlaine; amongſt whom were *Cotton*, *Fitz-Williams*, and *Biſhop*, three Commanders. Here I muſt not let ſlip, how the Engliſh (who hitherto of all the dwellers in this Northern part of the world were the leaſt drinkers, and alwaies deſerved praiſe for their ſobrietie) in theſe Dutch warres learned to be drunkards, and this vice ſo ſpread over the whole Kingdome, that lawes were faine to be enacted for the repreſſing of it. While the States and the King of Spaine contend about a few townes in the Low-Countries, he ſeizeth upon the whole Kingdome of Portugall. For the laſt yeere *Henrie* King of Portugall died in his declining age, and many Competitors challenged the Kingdome; but *Philip* King of Spaine, the ſonne of *Henries* eldeſt ſiſter, had either more right or greater might to obtaine it, although he put the caſe to his Divines and Lawyers, adjuring them to pronounce what was equitie in this caſe; who concluded for him. So the other Competitors, the Duke of Savoy, the Prince of Parma's ſonne, *Katharine Bragant*, and the Queene of France, with her ridiculous title, were excluded; and the King of Spaine ſent Duke *D'Alva*, who put to flight *Anthonie* whom the people had elected King, and within 70. daies ſubdued all Portugall. The French Queene growing angry at the repulſe, and enviouſly beholding the King of Spaines Dominions thus enlarged every day, being afraid both for her ſelfe and her poſteritie; ſeeing the Spaniard now Maſter of Portugall, the Eaſt-Indies, and many Ilands beſides, adviſeth other Princes, and Queen *Eliſabeth* in the number, to bethinke themſelves in time of reſtraining his exceſſive dominion. And the Queen, who was carefull enough for her ſelfe and her ſubjects, and well adviſed how dangerous a thing it is to have the neighbour Princes wax too potent, gave ready care hereunto. Beſides, *Anthonie*, who was driven out of Portugall into France, and from thence recommended into England, ſhe lovingly relieved, hoping this might be done without offence, ſince he was deſcended of the Engliſh bloud, and of the houſe of Lancaſter, and that no caution was in the league that the Portuguer ſhould not bee admitted into England.

Drunkenneſſe comes firſt from the Low-Countries.

The Spaniard getteth Portugall.

Now alſo the Queen Mother of France, and the King her ſonne, to make a more firme bond of friendſhip with the Queene, doe more eagerly than ever purſue the match with the Duke of Anjou. For the tranſ-acting whereof they ſent an honourable Embaſſage into England; *Francis Borbon* Prince of Daulphiney, *Arthur Coſſe* Count Segondin, Marſhall of France, and many other honourable perſonages; who were entertained with high reſpect, and ſumptuous banquets, a houſe being ſuddenly built at Weſtminſter for this uſe, royally furniſhed, tilting and Juſts proclaimed by *Philip* Earle of Arundell, *Frederick* Baron of Windſour, Sir *Philip Sidney*, and Sir *Fulke Grevil*, againſt all commers. Now the Delegates that were to conferre with thoſe others concerning the mar-

An Embaſſage about the marriage with the Duke of Anjoy.

marriage, were these, Sir *William Cecill* Lord Burleigh, High Treasurer of England, *Edward* Lord Clinton Earle of Lincolne, high Admirall of England, *Robert Dudley* Earle of Leicester, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, and Sir *Francis Walsingham* Secretarie: and these were the Covenants at length agreed upon. 1581.

The Articles of the marriage with the Duke of Anjou.

The Duke of Anjou and the Queen of England, within sixe weeks after the ratification of these Articles shall contract matrimonie: for the present, the Duke and his followers (so they be not borne subjects of England) shall freely exercise their owne religion, in some place set apart in his own dwelling, without any hinderance. He shall make no innovation concerning the religion already established in England. After the marriage is finished hee shall enjoy the title and honour of a King; but shall leave the disposall of all manner of affaires entire to the Queen. For as much as he requesteth that presently upon the marriage he may bee crowned King, and enjoy that honour (the marriage holding or failing by the Queenes death) during the Government of the Kingdome in the minoritie of his children, the Queen promiseth to preferre a Bill in Parliament to this purpose, which shall be called within 15. daies after the ratification, and to promote the same with all her might. Letters Patents and other instruments shall passe in both their names, as in the reigne of *Philip* and *Marie*. The Queene shall allot the Duke a yeerely pension by authoritie of Parliament; but it shall be left to her discretion how great it shall be: and she shall procure the Parliament to assigne a sufficient annuitie if he out-live the Queene. He shall set out a joynture to the Queen of forty thousand Crownes of the Sunne by the yeere, and shall put her in present possession of the same. That which shall be concluded in a Parliament of England touching their children, shall be registred in the Parliaments of France, in this forme. Whether the children be males or females, they shall have their Mothers inheritance in England. If there be two males, the eldest shall succeed in the Kingdome of France, and the second in England. If there be but one male, and hee chance to come to both the Crownes, he shall abide in England eight moneths every two yeeres; and if the Duke come not to the right of the Kingdome of France, the children shall succeed in partage. If he servive the Queene, he shall have the protection of the children, if the males bee not above 18. yeeres old, and the females more than 15. If the Duke die first, the tuition of them shall be left to the authoritie of Parliament. The Duke shall promote no stranger to any office in England. He shall conserve all the Lawes and Customes. He shall not carrie the Queene, nor her children out of the Kingdome, without her owne liking, and the consent of the Peeres of the Kingdome. If the Queene die and leave no children, the Duke shall challenge no proprietie in the Kingdome of England. He shall not transport out of the Kingdome the royall Jewells. Hee shall cause all places and Ports of the Kingdome to be governed by native English men, and shall not send away any Munition. He shall not disturbe England with any forrein war. He shall procure peace between England and other Kingdomes. The Queene shall onely have the Superioritie, without any title that may belong to the Duke, *as holding by the Custome of England*. The Duke

1581. ſhall not entend by this marriage to bring any prejudice againſt his own right to the Kingdome of France.

This preſent agreement ſhall be read, proclaimed, and regiſtred in all the Courts of France and England, within ſixe months of the marriage day, when the authoritie of the moſt Chriſtian King ſhall ratifie theſe Articles.

There ſhall be a Treatie apart concerning a covenant and tie betwixt England and France. All theſe particulars ſhall be ratified within two months, by the faithfull promiſe & oath of the French King, for him and his heires, &c. and as ſoone as may be he ſhall deliver the letters of ratification, which ſhall provide that all things herein concluded, ſhall bee faithfully obſerved. A reſervation alſo was added apart with the hands and ſeales of every one of the Delegates; That Queene *Eliſabeth* is not bound to finiſh the marriage, untill ſhe and the Duke have given each other ſatisfaction in ſome particulars, and have certified the French King of the ſame within ſixe weekes.

Before thoſe ſixe weekes were expired, *Somer* Secretarie to the Councell was ſent into France concerning this buſineſſe. The King will not heare him, but preſſeth to have the marriage accompliſhed, which was already contracted, and that nothing elſe was to be done. *Somer* on the other ſide ſheweth by the Articles, that a league offenſive and defenſive muſt firſt be concluded: this the French King diſclaimeth. *Walſingham* is ſent preſently to compoſe this difference, who joyntly with *Henrie Cobham*, the Embaſſadour in ordinarie, and *Somer*, alledgeth to the French King theſe particulars.

The French King urgeth the marriage.

Although the multitude imagine that this marriage is on no good ground deferred, yet Queen *Eliſabeth* for no other reaſon was willing to marrie, but for the ſatisfaction of her people, who importunatly urged the ſame, for the ſecuring of the ſucceſſion in her owne children. As for the Duke of Anjou, who ſued to her on this behalfe, for his vertues and the dignity of his degree, ſhee preferred him before all men in this buſineſſe, and profeſſeth that her love is yet very highly fixed upon him. Yet for the finall concluſion of the match, ſhee doth for a while hold backe her conſent, till ſhee find it a thing acceptable to her people, that ſhee may not be wiſe when it is too late. For many impediments are come in the way ſince the firſt treaty: to wit, the Civill warres of France; the deplored fortunes of the Duke of Anjou, who had undeſervedly loſt the Kings good will; the beſt and the wiſeſt here in England are againſt the match, which is the true cauſe wherefore the Queene deferreth the accompliſhment of the ſame: notwithſtanding her affection is conſtant toward the French Duke. But the French Kings motion, to have the matter finiſhed out of hand, is unſeaſonable at this time, ſince the French Duke having engaged himſelfe in a warre againſt the King of Spaine, might in no caſe ſurceaſe without a blemiſh to his honour, and great inconveniences which would accrue to both the Kingdomes of France and England, and the Netherlands (the Spaniards dominion enlarging it ſelfe farther dayly than can bee for the benefit of the States.) For theſe cauſes the Queene would have no farther Treatie to be held, till the French Duke were freed from the Spaniſh warre, and a league of mu-

The Queen deferreth it.

mutuall offence and defence agreed on. The French King willingly accepted of the league defensive, but the other was offensive to him, and hee would heare no speech of that whiles the marriage remained unfinished. 1581.

The Duke of Anjou commeth into England.

Not long after the French Duke himselfe came into England, having with good successe raised the siege of Cambray. Thus much he surely promised to himselfe, that if hee could not gaine upon the Queene to make up the marriage when he came in his owne person, yet her favour would otherwise prove very usefull to him, and make him more gracious with the Netherlanders, who like some tutelar Goddesse held the Queene in admiration. Here he was received with as great humanitie as he could expect or wish for; and nothing omitted whereby hee might judge himselfe to bee truely welcome: insomuch that in November, when the anniversarie of the Queenes inauguration came to be solemnized, the Queene (whiles they were in love conference) drew a ring off from her finger and put it upon his, upon some private conditions. The standers by imagined that by this ceremonie the marriage was agreed on betweene them: and *Aldegond* Governour of Antwerp being there dispatched messengers into the Low-Countries to give notice of the same: whereupon they made Bonfires, and shot of Ordnance, making showtes and joyfull acclamations. The Courtiers here at home were severally affected with this businesse; some rejoyced, others were astonished, and some cast downe with sorrow. The Earle of Leicester (who privily plotted to crosse the match) *Hatton* the Vice-Chamberlaine, and Secretary *Walsingham* fret and are enraged, as if the Kingdome, the Queene, and Religion were now utterly overthrowne. The Maides of Honour, and Ladies that were familiar with the Queene, made grievous lamentation, and so terrified and daunted her, that with care and doubting she could take no rest that night. The next day she calleth to her the French Duke, and causing all companie to goe aside, they privately entertaine a long discourse. At length returning to his lodgings, he cast the ring away from him, and after a while takes it up againe, girdingly exclaiming against the levitie of women, and their inconstancie.

Inconveniences if the Qu. marrie not the French Duke.

The Queene amidst much doubting, calleth to mind what Burleigh and the Earle of Sussex had formerly minded her of: That unlesse shee married the French Duke, there would be no hope to procure the French King to enter into a league offensive; how of her selfe she was unmeet to cope with the Spaniards greatnesse; who now proffering his daughter in marriage to the King of Scots, might with ease draw to his partie all the Papists in England, and other discontented persons, whereof there be swarmes in every Common-wealth. That now the hopes of her loving subjects would be frustrated, which desired to see some off-spring from her, and now perhaps might neglect her, and cast their eyes upon some of the Competitors to the Kingdome. Moreover, it could not be avoided but she must highly displease the French King, and Mounsieur his brother, who after so much time spent, so many consultations held, and so many honourable Embasies sent into England, besides a great deale of money laid out, would take it in great distast to be deluded after all. A great scruple likewise remained yet behind; That if the French Duke being

1581. being caſt off ſhould marry a wife out of Spaine, as ſome ſurmized, then ſhe preſaged danger from France as well as Spaine. But amidſt theſe difficult thoughts, whereinto the neceſſitie of the times ſeemed to caſt her, ſome were of opinion that ſhe aſſured her ſelfe, that the good of the Common-wealth, and her own renowne would better be procured if ſhe lived ſingle, than if ſhe ſhould lead a wedded life. For ſhee foreſaw, if ſhe married a ſubject, the diſparitie might diſgrace her, and countenance factions and emulations at home. If a ſtranger, ſhe ſhould ſubject both her ſelfe and her people to a forrein yoke, and bring danger to the reformed Religion: that the glorie likewiſe and credit, which while ſhe lived ſingle was wholly her owne, after marriage would bee aſcribed to her husband.

A ſeditious booke ſet forth againſt the match with the Duke of Anjou.

Beſides, ſhee was ſorely vexed at a booke lately put forth in a bitter ſtile againſt this match, with this title: *The gulfe wherein England will be ſwallowed up by the French marriage.* Wherein the Counſellours that favoured the match were girded, the Queen her ſelfe indirectly taxed, the French Duke reviled, and the French Nation odiouſly traduced. The marriage it ſelfe, becauſe to one of a different Religion (a daughter of God with a ſonne of Antichriſt) by Scripture miſerably wreſted damned to the pit of hell, as ungodly in it ſelfe, and pernitious to the Church and Common-wealth. And the Queen would not be perſwaded, but the Author had a direct purpoſe to procure her ſubjects hatred, and bring in ſome innovation (for ſhe alwaies wiſhed to be loved, rather than feared, and had a carefull eie and regard to her honour) for as much as the Nobilitie and Commons in Parliament had formerly urged her to marriage, as the only proviſion againſt future evills, and remedy for preſent danger. Thus much by a declaration publiſhed in print ſhe giveth her people to underſtand, therein condemning the authour of the foreſaid booke as a firebrand of ſedition, defending and excuſing the French Duke, &c. and giving order that the ſeditious libell ſhould bee burnt.

The Queen incenſed againſt the Puritans.

From that time ſhe began to be more offended at the Puritans, who ſhe was verily perſwaded were the authours of this Pamphlet; and within a few daies *John Stubs* of Lincolnes Inne, a zealous Profeſſour, and the Author of this book, (whoſe ſiſter *Thomas Cartwright* the father of the Puritans had married) *William Page* that diſperſed the Copies, and *Singleton* the Printer were apprehended. Sentence was pronounced againſt them, that their right hand ſhould be cut off, by vertue of a Law made in the reigne of *Philip* and *Marie*, againſt the Authors and diſperſers of ſeditious writings: (though the chiefe Lawyers and Judges of the Kingdome were at variance concerning the force of that Statute.) Hereupon *Stubs* and *Page* were brought to the Scaffold, made on purpoſe in the Market place at Weſtminſter, and their right hands with a butchers knife and a mallet cut off by the wriſt: the Printer was pardoned. At that time *Stubs* when his right hand was cut off, uncovered his head with the left, and cried out, *God ſave the Queen*, to the great amazement of the beholders.

This was done preſently upon the French Dukes comming into England, and whiles he yet tarried here. The Queene upon importunate entreaty,

entreaty, gave way to *Edmund Campian* Iesuite, *Ralph Sherwin*, *Luke Kirby*, and *Alexander Briant* Priests, to be called to the bar, who being accused by vertue of a Law made in the 27. yeere of *Edward* the Third, to have plotted the ruine of the Queene and Kingdome, by adhering to the Pope the Queens enemie, and comming into England to raise forces against the State, were then condemned of high Treason, and (shamefully maintaining the Popes authoritie over the Queene) were executed. *Campian* after he was condemned, being demanded first whether Queene *Elizabeth* were a lawfull Queen, would not make answer; afterward, whether he would stand for the Queene or the Pope, if he should send an armie against the Queene, he plainly professed that he would be on the Popes side, and witnessed the same under his hand. After this, some other Papists upon the like occasion were also put to death, which the Queene necessarily rather than willingly affented unto, as being unwilling to force any mans conscience. 1582.

These and the like exorbitancies of Papists procured new and stricter lawes to be enacted against them the Parliament following, which began the next January; *Wherein they were made guilty of high Treason, that laboured to draw the Queenes subjects from their allegeance, or the Religion established in England, or should reconcile any to the Church of Rome; as also they that shall be so seduced and reconciled. Every one that said Masse, shall be fined in two hundred Markes, and a yeere imprisonment, or longer, till the fine be paid. They that wittingly are present at Masse in one hundred Markes, and a yeeres imprisonment likewise; and they that refuse to heare Divine Service at their owne Parish Church, in twenty pounds for every moneth.* 1582. Reg. 24. New lawes against the Papists.

The French Duke after three moneths abode in England, tooke his journey in Februarie into the Low-Countries. The Queene her selfe brought him on his way to Canterbury, and then commanded the Earle of Leicester, the Lords, *Charles Howard*, *Hunsdon*, *Willoughby*, *Windsore*, *Sheffeild*, Sir *Philip Sidney*, Sir *Francis Russell*, Sir *George Bourchier*, and some others of the flower of knighthood, to beare him companie to Antwerp: where he is made Duke of Brabant, Limburg, and Lorreine. For the Dutch had long before renounced the King of Spaines government, and quitted the people from their oath of Allegeance, that it might bee in their power to chuse any other Prince. The Duke of Anjou gave free leave to exercise the Romane Religion, to as many as would sweare fealtie to him, and abjure the King of Spaines authoritie: but after all, having spent to little purpose a great masse of money, wherewithall he was supplied from England, and observed that onely vaine and empty titles were conferred upon him, whiles the States held all the Dominion in their owne hands, he rashly enterprised an assault against Antwerp and some other Townes, and shortly departed without any great matter performed. The Duke of Anjou saileth into the Low-Countries.

Here let it suffice to note onely by the way, that in May was seene a Comet or blazing Starre in England, and presently happened a wonderfull storme in Norfolke, thunder, lightning, and mighty winds, and haile-stones of three thumbs thicknesse.

The Queene for the better security against forrein enemies, and the King

1582. King of Spaine chiefly, whom he knew well he had provoked by giving a supply of money to his rebellious subjects in the Low Countries, received into the order of the Garter *Frederick* the second King of Denmarke, whom he alwaies held in high esteeme, and employed in Embassage Sir *Peregrine Bertie* (lately made Lord *Willoughbey* of Eresby) to invest him. *Willoughbey*, whiles he tarried in Denmarke, promoted the suite of the English Merchants to the King; for they complained that the Customes were raised, and of the exaction of *Lastgelt*, which was levied upon the Merchants goods, namely, a thirtieth part of them by way of Loane during the warre between the Dane and King of Sweden, and was to be given backe at the end of the warre. But these matters, as things of great consequence, were put off.

The Queene likewise, to make all things at home as quiet as might be, had a purpose to send Sir *Walter Mildmay* to compose the difference with the Queen of Scots. But having an inkling that the Duke of Guise secretly plotted with some English fugitives to set her at libertie (which thing the French King first intimated, and out of his love to the Queen hindred the matter) it is defered till some other time, and the Queen of Scots neglected.

Goury and others raise tumults in Scotland.

But now to prevent the Duke of Guises designes in Scotland, who was thought to make use of the Duke of Lenox, to withdraw the Kings affection from the English, *William Ruthwen*, whom the King had lately made Earle of Gowrie, plotted treason in Scotland. He (nothing degenerating from his father, who hated the Kings mother) and other conspirators, imployed all their wits to remove Lenox and the Earle of Arran from the King: and to effect the same, they set this stratagem on foot. Lenox is perswaded by them, that being now made Chamberlaine of Scotland, he should revive that obsolete jurisdiction, and exercise the same in rigid manner, whereby they onely intended to make him odious to the multitude, and that he unawares should bring the zealous Ministers about his eares, who would be ready out of the Pulpits to inveigh against him, for a Papist, a Guisian, &c. Whiles Lenox therefore was gone from Perth (where the King was at that time) to Edenburgh, and Arran also was absent on a journey, the Earles Gourie, Marre, Lindsey, and others seizing on the opportunitie, invited the King to the Castle of *Ruthwen*, and there detaine him, not permitting him to walke abroad. All his trusty servants they removed from about him, Arran they cast in prison, enforced the King at the Queenes mediation to call home the Earle of Anguse, and to send away Lenox into France: who being a man of a soft and gentle disposition, for the Kings safety readily consented thereunto: and not content with all this, they compelled the King to approve and allow this his thraldome by letters under his owne hand to the Queen, &c.

They surprise the King.

The French King, upon intelligence of these matters, sent *Mota Fenellon* through England, and *Manninguille* by sea with the selfe same instructions into Scotland; namely, that they should devise by what possible meanes to free the King, confirme the French partie, win the Kings good opinion toward the French, &c. The Queene of Scots all this while bewailing her owne hard fortune, and the distresse of the King her son,

layeth open the ſame in a large letter to the Queene, written in French, the effect whereof was this: 1582.

The Queen of Scots letter to Queen Eliſabeth.

Having certaine notice that my ſon is intercepted by his rebellious ſubjects (as I my ſelfe alſo was ſome yeeres paſt) and having juſt cauſe to feare that the like miſchiefe may happen unto him which befell me at that time, I cannot forbeare to poure out my ſorrowfull complaintes, and engrave the ſame, if it be poſſible, in your mind; that poſteritie may know my innocencie, and take notice of their unworthineſſe, through whoſe unjuſt dealing I am plunged into this miſerie. But for as much as their wicked trickes and devices have hitherto prevailed more with you than my juſt complaints, I will appeale to Almighty God, whoſe authoritie alone over us both I acknowledge. And I heartily beſeech him (with whom diſſembling and fraud are nothing worth) that at the laſt day he will give unto us according to our deſerts toward each other, in whatſoever ſort my enemies to mee here, and it may be to you alſo, can colour their treacherous purpoſes againſt me. In his name therefore, and as before his Tribunall, I now call to your remembrance by what cunning devices certaine inſtruments, pretending your allowance, drew the Scots my ſubjects into rebellion againſt me, while I was in Scotland, and were the cauſes of all the miſchiefes which have happened there ſince that time. The which (to paſſe by other proofes) appeared evidently by teſtimonies, and Mortons owne confeſſion, who for that ſervice was advanced to honours. Againſt whom if I had proceeded according to law, and you for your part had not lent the Rebels your aid, they had not been able ſo long to hold out againſt me. While I was in priſon at Loch-Levin, Nicholas Throckmorton in your name perſwaded me to ſeale the Patent, and yeeld up my right to the Kingdome (which he averred would be of no force, and ſo all the world accounted it) whiles you in the meane time with favour and force aided the authours of that writing. And now ſay in good earneſt, whether you doe acknowledge that your owne ſubjects have any ſuch power over you? From that time nevertheleſſe all Princely authority was debarred me, by your counſell and aſſiſtance, and the Kingdome tranſlated to my young ſon, by reaſon of his tender yeeres uncapable of the government. And whereas I had lately a purpoſe to confirme the Kingdome to him, certaine Traitours have ſeized upon his perſon, reſolving without all doubt to deprive him as well as my ſelfe of the Kingdome at leaſt, if not of life alſo. When I, having eſcaped from Loch-Levin, and determined to make warre againſt my rebellious ſubjects, implored your aid, ſending you the ſame Adamant which before I received from you, as a pledge of your love, together with a large promiſe of aſſiſtance againſt my rebellious ſubjects, the ſame often iterated; and your faith moreover engaged, that if I would betake my ſelfe to you, you would come to the borders, and in perſon aſſiſt me. I truſting upon this faithfull promiſe of yours, againe and againe repeated (although your Miniſters had often deceived me) reſolved to flie unto you as the laſt anchor in adverſitie. And thither aſſuredly had I fled, had ſo faire a way beene open to me, as alwayes was open to thoſe that rebelled againſt me. But ere I could come neere you, I was intercepted, guarded, confined, and ever ſince have ſuffered things more grievous than death it ſelfe.

I know well enough that you will lay in my way what paſſed betweene me and the Duke of Norfolke, but I deny that to have beene any way to the detriment

1582. triment of you, or of your Kingdome. For it was allowed by the chiefe of the Counsellours of England, and confirmed by their subscriptions, as can be produced; who also affirmatively promised your assent. And how (I beseech you) could so great personages peremptorily promise your assent to that, which should deprive you of honour, life, and Kingdome at once? yet this you would have all the world to beleeve.

Ever after that I resolved to make triall if by patience I could get any rigour abated, bearing any thing which was laid upon me a miserable captive: and for a yeere past all entercourse betweene me and my son, whether by letters or messengers, hath beene stopped, to our utter dis-union in affection, if it were possible. Termes of peace and agreement betweene us I have often propounded, at Chatteſworth eleven yeeres agoe with the Delegates, and by the Embassadours of the most Christian King, and with Beale the last winter, with whom I dealt plainely and sincerely. But those conditions were alwaies rejected, delayes sought, my counsells suspected, and all my sincere intendments misconstrued and condemned. And no other fruit have I reaped of my unwearied patience, but to be handled every day worse than other, not now as a prisoner, but rather as a handmaid of meaneſt qualitie. Undoubtedly I can endure this usage no longer. Wherefore to take away all heart-burnings, let the testimonie of the Spaniards lately taken in Ireland against me be produced, and the examination of the Jesuites; let it be lawfull for any one to accuse me publikely, only let me have leave also granted to cleere my selfe. Malefactours, and the worſt of men, are suffered to plead for themselves, and their accusers are brought before them: wherefore have not I so much favour allowed me, who am an annointed Queene, neereſt in bloud to your selfe, and after you the lawfull heire of the Kingdome? But this last is that which grieveth my adversaries, who for this cause would have us at perpetuall ods. Woe is me, there is no cause why this should trouble them; upon mine honour, and in the presence of God, I have bent my thoughts on no other Kingdome than an heavenly one for this long time past. You notwithstanding are bound in Religion, in duty and justice, not to suffer my son to be molested in his undoubted right, nor to helpe forward their designes who secretly conspire his ruine and mine, both in Scotland and England.

Is it a reasonable thing that I, being a mother, should be debarred from giving counsell to my oppreſſed son? and not so only, but from knowing in what estate he is? Wherefore by our neere alliance I earneſtly beseech you to be carefull of my sons welfare; not to intermeddle any further with the affaires of Scotland, without my privity, or the French Kings, and to hold them for no other but Traitours who thus deale with my son at their pleasures. And lastly, by the Croſſe and passion of Christ our Redeemer I beg of you, that upon faire conditions I may refreſh my selfe in some place out of England for the small space of life which is yet behind: my infirmitie and lacke of health causeth me to urge this request so earneſtly. Vouchsafe me this favour, that I may understand your mind by a letter from you, or by the French Embassadour. My last request remaineth, that my thoughts being fixed upon another life, I may have allotted me some reverend Prieſt of the Catholike Religion to give me ghoſtly counsell for the saving of my soule. This last good office ought not to be denied to one of the meaneſt condition. You your

selfe

1583.

ſelfe permit the Embaſſadours of forreine Princes to exerciſe their owne Religion, and I freely gave that allowance to my owne ſubjects. If this be denied I hope God will pardon me, and I feare my enemies will not eſcape unpuniſhed. This and much more to like purpoſe the diſtreſſed Queen committed to writing, according as her ſorrowfull ſoule dictated the ſame unto her pen: Subſcribing theſe words:

Sheffeild Novemb. 8. 1582. Voſtre treſdolée plus proche parente & affectionée ſeure *Marie R.*

1583. Reg. 26. Conſultation about the Queene of Scots delivery.

Queene *Eliſabeth* being ſomewhat affected with this letter of the Queene of Scots, ſent unto her *Robert Beale* Clerke of the Councell (a man vehement and auſterely bitter) to expoſtulate with her concerning that querulous writing, and joyntly with the Earle of Shrewsbury to treat of the freeing of her; for that by many other letters ſhe had earneſtly requeſted for her libertie, and that, ſecuring the Queene, ſhe might be joyned with her ſon in the government of Scotland. Hereupon ſerious conſultation was held at the Councell Table, and the moſt were of opinion that upon theſe conditions ſhe ſhould be ſet at libertie: *If ſhe and her ſon would promiſe not to attempt any thing to the hurt of the Queen or Kingdome of England. If ſhe would acknowledge that whatſoever was done by* Francis *the Second King of France, her husband, was done without her conſent, and as unjuſt would diſallow the ſame, confirming likewiſe the treaty of Edenburgh. If ſhe would bind her ſelfe to renounce all right to the Crowne of England while the Queen lived, and afterward leave it to the Peers of the Kingdome to determine. To avoid cavills in time to come, and that ſhe might not ſay ſhe was enforced to condeſcend to theſe conditions, ſhe ſhould take an oath to obſerve them, and cauſe the Peeres of Scotland to confirme them, and the King by his oath and hand-writing to ratifie the ſame, and give hoſtages for the performance. As for the joynt adminiſtration of the government in Scotland, it was not held meet that the Queene ſhould interpoſe in that, but they referred it to the King and the Eſtates of Scotland.* Theſe things were conſulted on, but nothing effected; for the Scottiſh of the Engliſh faction oppoſed themſelves, and raiſed ſundry rumours and by-reports to hinder the agreement.

Now the French and Engliſh Embaſſadours in Scotland ſtrove whether ſhould win moſt upon the Kings affection, and draw him to the love of their Nation. The King beareth himſelfe indifferently, and would not engage himſelfe in any factions, deſirous rather to extinguiſh than cheriſh them. But the zealous Miniſters of Scotland were ſo highly offended at the French, that the ſame day that *Mot-Fenellon* the French Embaſſadour was invited to a Feaſt by the Citizens of Edenburgh, they bid a Faſt, and all the day inveighed in the Pulpits againſt the French King, the Duke of Guiſe, and the Embaſſadours; and they hardly forbore excommunicating all the gueſts.

As ſoone as the Embaſſadours were departed, the King (by Colonell *William Stuart* and *John Colvill*) ſent to the Queene of England, profeſſing all manner of reſpect and obſervance, and requeſting advice for the

1583. better quieting of the tumults in Scotland, and contracting of marriage. Now they who had ſeized on the Kings perſon tooke courage to themſelves, now that they had rid Scotland of the French Embaſſadours; and anon grew more confident upon repeirt that the Duke of Lenox was dead in France: who departing this life at Paris, even at the very point of death, as before oftentimes, made open profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion, thereby confuting thoſe which had maliciouſly traduced him for a Papiſt. After his death, even when the ſurpriſers of the King were lift up in their owne conceit, thinking they had him ſafe enough; he, though he were hardly come to eighteene yeeres of age, yet could not endure to be ſubject to three Earles; and as formerly he had wiſely diſſembled his indignation, ſo now on a ſudden, they little dreaming of any thing, found an opportunitie to free himſelfe, and with a few others conveyed himſelfe into the Caſtle of St. Andrewes. The Nobilitie upon this occaſion brought with them armed bands to the place where the King had appointed them to meet, fearing that ſome danger might befall him in theſe tumults. Afterwards, in faire words, and with a pleaſing countenance, he adviſed ſome of his ſurprizers to goe from the Court for the avoiding of tumult, and promiſed them pardon if they would crave it. But *Gowrie* onely asked pardon, and ſubmitted himſelfe, uſing this diſtinction, that he had not offended in matter, but in forme onely. Afterward the King ſent for the Earle of Arran to the Court, and reſpected him as his intimate friend, and employed him to compoſe the differences amongſt the Nobilitie, and to purge the Kingdome and his owne Court from civill broiles and diſſentions.

The Duke of Lenox dieth.

Whiles he is ſedulous in theſe cares, comes Sir *Francis Walſingham* from the Queen, to adviſe him not to be led away by evill Counſellours, to the deſtruction or hurt of both Kingdomes. He findeth the King accompanied with the flower of the Nobilitie, and beholdeth another manner of Majeſtie than he looked for in Scotland. Having audience given him, he mindes the King of what the Queene out of *Iſocrates* in private letters had formerly admoniſhed him, *That a Prince muſt be ſuch a lover of truth, that more credit may be given to his affirmation, than to anothers oath*; and in many words adviſed him to beware now in his youth of evill Counſellours, and alwaies to be like himſelfe. The King freely anſwered, *That if he wrote otherwiſe than he meant, it was unwillingly, and by compulſion. He was a free and abſolute Prince, and would not be driven into thoſe ſtreights, that others ſhould appoint him Counſellors, whom he liked not: That he had done nothing, but what tended to his owne honour and ſafety: That he had long ſince devoted the firſt fruits of his amitie to the Queen of England, his deare ſiſter; and doth now willingly, and according to her due deſert, make proffer of the ſame.*

Walſingham ſent Embaſſadour into Scotland.

Walſingham now dealt with him farther, not to lay to the Queenes charge what broiles had lately fallen out in Scotland; ſheweth how beneficiall to him, and to both kingdomes, amitie had beene hitherto, and would be in time to come alſo, ſo it were not neglected; and that the ſame might the better be confirmed, if the variance betweene the Nobles were layed aſleepe, by a law of oblivion enacted in Parliament; the Peeres, which now were removed from the Court, called backe againe,

His advice to the King.

Religion

Religion ſeene unto, and a firme league concluded betweene both kingdomes. The King modeſtly made anſwere, That he gladly embraced amitie with England; that hee would be wanting to the Queene in no good office; and that he would conſtantly defend the Religion already eſtabliſhed. Afterward he lovingly diſmiſſed *Walſingham*, though he held him no good friend to him and his mother; and carefully looking to matters, even with underſtanding above his yeares, propoſed and profered reconciliation to thoſe that intercepted him, if within a limited time they craved pardon. But ſo farre were they from that, that they hatched new conſultations to ſurprize him againe. Hereupon within a ſet time they are commanded to leave the kingdome: of which number *Marre*, *Glames*, *Paſlet*, and others, betooke themſelves into Ireland; *Boyd*, *Zeſter-Weme*, *Lochlevin* into the Low Countries; *Dunfermelin* into France; the Earle of Anguſe is confined to his Earledome. *Gourie* onely, as hereafter we ſhall have time to relate, to his owne ruine tarrieth behind after the limited time, hatching new devices. 1583.

The King of Scots love to the Duke of Lenox.

They who lately procured the baniſhment of the Duke of Lenox, ere the yeer be turned about have it for their own lot. The King expreſſed no leſſe love toward him after his death than in his life, ſuppreſſing the libells written againſt him; and calling his children home out of France, advanced them to ſeverall dignities. *Lodowicke* his ſon ſucceeded in the Dukedome of his father, and his daughters when they came to yeeres were married to the Earles of Huntley and Marre. His ſpirit alſo and princely authoritie he manifeſted in declaring his confinement traiterous and unlawfull, which his ſurprizers in an aſſembly of their owne calling together had pronounced lawfull: and the zealous Miniſters alſo leaning to their partie, in a Synod of their owne averred it to be juſt, dooming all thoſe to excommunication which ſhould gainſay it.

Queen Eliſabeth obtaineth a peace of the Muſcovite for the King of Sweden.

About this time happened a difference and warre betweene the Emperour of Muſcovia and the King of Sweden; in ſo much that *John* King of Sweden holding himſelfe not a fit match for the Emperour, ſent a royall Embaſſage to the Queene, and by letters alſo requeſted her to intercede for him to the Emperour. The which requeſt of his ſhe fulfilled without delay, and by her Embaſſadour drew the Muſcovian to a peace upon reaſonable conditions. But the Muſcovian ſhortly died, and *Theodorus* his Succeſſour granted free traffike to Merchants of all nations that would come thither, and being often importuned by the Queene to admit of none but Engliſh Merchants, and to confirme the priviledges which his father had granted them; he by way of anſwer demanded free trading for all the Engliſh, ſaying, it was unmeet that a ſmall company ſhould exerciſe a Monopolie, and all others be denied the libertie of trading. As for Cuſtomes, he promiſed to take leſſe by one halfe of that Company than of any other, becauſe the Engliſh firſt opened the way thither.

The next Summer *Albertus Alaſco*, a learned man, and of comely perſonage, came into England out of Poland to ſee the Queene, and was here nobly entertained by the Queene and Nobilitie, and by the Students of Oxford with learned recreations; and having tarried here foure moneths, and ranne into much debt, he ſecretly withdrew himſelfe and departed.

1583. This yeere in Dorſetſhire was ſeene a Prodigie no leſſe wonderfull than that in Herefordſhire in the yeere 71. A field of three acres in Blackmore, with the trees and fences, moved from his place, and paſſed over another field, travelling in the high way that goeth to Kerne, where it ſtayed.

The death of the Earle of Suſſex. This yeere departed this life *Thomas Ratcliffe*, the third Earle of Suſſex of this Familie, a man of a great ſpirit, and an able Counſellour, faithfull to his Countrie, and of high parentage: for his mother was the Duke of Norfolkes daughter, and his grandmother daughter to *Henrie* Duke of Buckingham, high Conſtable of England: who paſſing through many honourable ſervices with credit and applauſe (for he was ſent on Embaſſage by Queene *Marie* to the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, about the marriage with King *Philip*; afterward to King *Philip* in Spaine about the ratifying of the ſame; and to the Emperour *Maximilian*, to treate of the marriage of Queene *Eliſabeth* with *Charles* Duke of Auſtria; Lievtenant of Ireland, Preſident of the North parts of England, High Chamberlaine to the Queene, chiefe Forreſter of England beyond the River of Trent, famous for his victories againſt the Iſlanders in Scotland, and the Scots that troubled the borders) after a tedious ſickneſſe died at London without iſſue, howbeit he had two wives, *Eliſabeth Wriothſly*, and *Frances Sidney*: his brother *Henry* ſucceeded him.

The Earle of Southampton. Now alſo died *Henry Wriothſly* Earle of Southampton, one exceedingly devoted to the Romiſh Religion, and a favourer of the Queene of Scots, which coſt him the Queenes diſpleaſure, and impriſonment beſides. He was the ſon of *Thomas Wriothſly*, whom King *Henry* the eighth for his deſerts made Lord *Wriothſley* of Tichfield, Knight of the Garter, and Lord High Chancellour of England, and one of the Overſeers of his laſt Will and Teſtament. *Edward* the ſixth made him Earle of Southampton. He left iſſue by his wife, daughter of *Anthony* Viſcount *Montacute*, *Henry* his only ſon and Succeſſour, and a daughter married to *Thomas* Lord *Arundell* of Wardour.

About that time alſo Sir *Humfrey Gilbert* was caſt away at ſea (a man prudent and valiant) in his returne from the North part of America called New-found-land, whither he lately ſailed with five ſhips, having ſold his patrimonie, out of hope to plant a Colony there.

And the Archbiſhop of Canterburie. Then alſo died *Edmund Grindall* Archbiſhop of Canterburie, being blind through age; a grave and pious Prelate, who returning from his baniſhment under Queene *Marie*, was firſt made Biſhop of London, then Archbiſhop of Yorke, afterward of Canterburie; who ſtood highly in the Queenes favour for a long time, till by the cunning devices of ſome that would ſeeme to accuſe him as a favourer of the Puritans conventicles and prophecyings, he utterly loſt the ſame; but the true cauſe was, for diſallowing the matrimonie of *Julio* an Italian Phyſician with another mans wife, therein thwarting the Earle of Leiceſters pleaſure. The ſmall wealth which he gathered he beſtowed upon founding a free Schoole in Cumberland where he was borne, and in penſions to both Univerſities. *John Whitguift* ſucceeded him, being tranſlated thither from the See of Worceſter; a man of eminency and learning, who both for his integritie in managing the Vice-Preſidents place of Wales, and

learning

learning in defending the Englisſh Church diſcipline, gained ſingular praiſe and eſtimation: The which was daily improved by his extraordinary courage, wiſdome, and patience. To him the Queene gave in eſpeciall charge to ſee to ſettle an uniformitie in the Eccleſiaſticall Diſcipline according to the lawes, which through the connivency of Biſhops, and perverſeneſſe of the Puritans, lay now almoſt gaſping; ſome of the Miniſters covertly oppugning the Queens authoritie in matters Eccleſiaſticall, uſing new rites at their pleaſures in private houſes, and diſallowing the Booke of Common-Prayer, and adminiſtration of the Sacraments, together with the Ordination of Prieſts and Deacons, as contrary to the Word of God; to the great rejoycing of the Papiſts, who from hence tooke occaſion to make dayly new Proſelites, accuſing us to have no unitie in our Church. For the remedying of theſe abuſes, and procuring of unitie and uniformitie, hee provided three Articles to which every Miniſter ſhould ſubſcribe. 1583.

Whitgift Archbiſhop of Canterbury laboureth to bring the Church to uniformitie.

The firſt, *That the Queene had ſupreme authoritie over all perſons borne within her Dominions, of what condition ſoever they were, and that no other Prince, Prelate, or Potentate, hath, or ought to have any juriſdiction, Civill or Eccleſiaſticall, within her Realmes and Dominions.*

The ſecond, *That the Booke of Common-Prayer, and of the Ordination of Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, conteineth nothing contrarie to the Word of God, but may lawfully be uſed; and that they will uſe that and none other.*

The third, *That the Articles of Religion agreed on in the Synod holden at London, in the yeer of our Lord* 1562. *and publiſhed by the Queens authority, they did allow of, and beleeve them to be conſonant to the Word of God.*

It is now almoſt incredible what ſtirres and diſputes hence aroſe, how much hatred and reviling he for his part reaped from the factious Miniſters; yea, how hee incurred the diſpleaſure even of many of the Nobilitie; yea, and received inſufferable injuries at their hands, who made gaine by preferring unworthy Clerkes, or elſe gaped for the goods of the Church, which might happily fall to their ſhare if an innovation were brought in. Yet by his conſtancie, patience, and fortitude he overcame all difficulties, and in the end brought peace to the Church, making this his Motto, *Vincit qui patitur.*

Nor were theſe they alone which diſturbed the peace of the Church here at home, but others alſo from abroad, which had been their diſciples; as *Robert Browne* a young Student of Divinitie in Cambridge, from whom came the ſectaries called Browniſts, and *Richard Harriſon* a petty Schoole-maſter. Theſe preſuming to judge matters of religion by their owne private ſpirit, by bookes ſet forth in Zealand and at this time diſperſed over England, condemned the Church of England for no Church, and enſnared many in the nets of their new ſchiſme. Yet were their bookes prohibited by the Queens authoritie, ſoundly confuted by ſundry learned perſons, and one or two of the Ringleaders executed at *Edmunds Bury.*

The Browniſts Schiſmaticks.

On the other ſide, certaine Popiſh bookes written againſt the Queene and Princes excommunicate, withdrew divers from their allegeance, who had the Popes authoritie in admiration; and amongſt others, ſo intoxicated one *Sommervill* an Engliſh Gentleman, that he went pri-

The Papiſts rage againſt the Queene.

1583. vately to the Court, and breathing nothing but bloud and death againſt all Proteſtants, ſet upon one or two by the way with his drawn ſword. Being apprehended, he profeſſed that he would murther the Queen with his owne hands. Hereupon he, and upon his intimation, *Edward Ardern* his father in law (a man of an ancient houſe in Warwickſhire) *Ardernes* wife, their daughter, *Sommervills* wife, and *Hall* a Prieſt were hurried to the barre and condemned as acceſſaries. Three daies after *Sommervill* was found ſtrangled in the priſon. *Ardern* being condemned was executed and quartered; the women and the Prieſt were ſpared: many pitied the good Gentleman *Ardern*, who was miſled by the Prieſt, and (as it was generally beleeved) brought to his end through the envie of Leiceſter, from whom he would alwaies detract, ſaying, he was an whoremonger, an upſtart, &c.

The Engliſh betray Aloſt.

Theſe were the paſſages at home. Now for forrein affaires. The Engliſh Garriſon at Aloſt in Flanders being neglected, left without pay or proviſion, were brought into thoſe ſtreights that *Pigot* the Governour and the other Captaines, upon compoſition yeelded up the Towne to the Spaniards, and fearing diſgrace at home, joyned themſelves to the Prince of Parma: at whoſe hands finding no good uſage, by degrees they ſtole all away; and the Traitors came ſeverally to unlucky ends.

The Earle of Deſmond ſlaine.

In like manner the famous rebell and Traitor in Ireland, *Girald Fitz-Girald*, the eleventh Earle of Deſmond of this familie, his adherents being conſumed with ſword and famine (who made a barbarous vow that they would ſooner forſake God than leave him) having a long time in ſeverall lurking places eſcaped the Engliſh, was now by a common ſouldier found out in a poore Cottage, not knowing who he was, (till at length having loſt one of his armes he diſcovered himſelfe) who wounded him, & ſlew him. His head was ſent into England, and ſet upon London bridge, for terror to all Rebells and Traitors. This end had a potent and famous Noble man of Ireland, deſcended from *Maurice* the ſon of *Girald* of Windſore an Engliſhman, famous amongſt thoſe which firſt ſet upon Ireland in the yeere 1170. He poſſeſſed ſundry lands, yea, whole Countries, together with the County Palatine of Kerry, & many Caſtles and great Lordſhips, and had of his own name and race at leaſt five hundred Gentlemen at his becke. All which, and his life alſo, he loſt within three yeeres, very few of his houſe being left alive, having once proved traiterous to his Prince, at the inſtigation of certaine Popiſh Prieſts. The chiefe of them was *Nicholas Sanders* an Engliſhman, who at the ſame time died miſerably of famine, when as being forſaken, and running mad upon his ill ſucceſſe, he wandred up and downe the mountaines, woods, and groves, finding no comfort. In his Scrip were found certaine Orations and Letters, written to hearten the Rebells, and promiſing large rewards from the Pope and King of Spaine.

Upon their ill ſucceſſe, *James Fitz-Euſtace* Viſcount Baltinglas, of great eſtimation amongſt the Nobilitie of Ireland, fled away into Spain, where he pined away with griefe. Hee out of zeale to the Roman Religion, a little before tooke up armes with the Rebells, and in writing exhorted the Earle of Ormond his neighbour to doe the like (who drew his linage from St. *Thomas* of Canterburie) in theſe words: *If St.* Thomas *of Canter-*

terburie had not dyed for the Church of Rome, thou hadſt never beene Earle of Ormond. For King *Henrie* the Second, to expiate the murder of *Thomas Becket*, gave large lands in Ormond to his predeceſſors. 1584

The beginning of the the next ſpring, certaine Scots coverly returned from Ireland, upon agreement with *Gourie*, who plotted with ſome others how to ſurprize the King into their hands againe. Theſe men made open profeſſion, that they had no other aime but the glory of God in their proceedings, a care of the ſecuritie of Religion, the King and Kingdome, and deſire to maintaine firme amitie with the Engliſh, againſt thoſe, who by deviſes would miſlead the King now in his tender yeeres and unſtable age. The King upon the hearing hereof, giveth commandement forthwith to Colonell *Stuart*, to ſeeke meanes out of hand for the ſurpriſing of Gourie the maſter-peece of this treaſon; who diſſemblingly was lately gone to the Haven of Dundee, as if he meant to leave the Kingdome. He being conſcious to himſelfe, deſpiſed the Kings authoritie, and made obſtinate reſiſtance, defending himſelfe as long as hee could; but within an houre or two hee was taken and led away to priſon. 1584. Reg. 27. Tumults in in Scotland.

In the meane time, the reſt of the conſpirators make a ſudden aſſault upon Sterlin, and take both the Towne and Caſtle at unawares, but abandon it by and by, when they underſtood that the King came thither with diſplaied enſignes to beſiege them, their aſſiſtants being fewer than Gourie expected, and no aide comming from England, which they vainely hoped for. And while every one maketh ſhift for one; Marre, Glames, and Anguſe and others, of the Confederacy make haſte for England, and beſeech the Queen to commiſerate their wofull ſtate, and mediate for them to King, foraſmuch as they hazzarded their fortunes and incurred the Kings diſpleaſure, for no other cauſe but ſtudying to doe her and the Kingdome of England acceptable ſervice. The King on the other ſide accuſeth them to the Queene of hainous matters, and by vertue of the league requireth them to be delivered up into his hands. But there were ſome in the Court, which perſwaded the Queen that they were dutifull and well minded ſubjects, deſirous alſo of his welfare, elſe they would not have dealt ſo favourably with him when he was in their power. Theſe Courtiers likewiſe endevour to perſwade the King of Scots to deale gently with ſo great perſonages, leſt their deſpaire brought forth greater inconveniences. The Confederates flie into England.

Secretarie *Walſingham*, who bare great good will to theſe men, ſent letters with a command that they ſhould be ſafely admitted into Lindsfarne, otherwiſe called the Holy Iſland: Hunſdon, which governed thoſe parts, and was greatly addicted to the King of Scots, reſiſted his authoritie, alledging that it were no wiſdome to give a fortified place to ſtrangers, who for ought he knew might prove enemies; and that he could not ſatisfie the Secretarie in this demand, except the Queene gave ſuch expreſſe commandement. Hence grew a diſpute, whether a Secretarie of State might not tranſ-act buſineſſe of State without ſpeciall commiſſion from the Prince. How this caſe was determined is uncertaine; but ſure enough the Scots came not thither. Yet it was thought meet here in England to ſhew them ſome favour, that they might buckle with the adverſe

1584. adverſe partie in Scotland, eſpecially ſeeing that the zealous Scottiſh Miniſters ſpread abroad rumours, that the King would preſently forſake the Religion; yet (albeit they raiſed many fictions) they had no probable argument to induce men ſo to thinke, but onely becauſe he alwaies honoured his mother as became him with a filial love, and made choice of thoſe for his neereſt Counſellours, who he knew bore his mother moſt good will.

Gowrie arraigned.

Earle Gowrie now was tryed by his Peeres at Sterlin; and this was the ſum of what was laied to his charge. That whereas the King had advanced him to honours, wealth, and places of high account, and dignified him with the title of Couſin, he notwithſtanding enterpriſed a new peece of treaſon againſt the Kings perſon, whom hee formerly had held priſoner. That hee held nightly conſultations with the ſervants of the Earle of Anguſe, about the taking of Perth and Sterlin. That with force and armes at Dundee hee reſiſted the Kings royall authoritie, concealed a conſpiracie tending to the deſtruction of the King and his mother; and laſtly, adviſed with one *Maclen* a Witch. Hee anſwering for himſelfe, made great profeſſion of his innocency and ſincere good will toward the King, acknowledged himſelfe highly obliged for the favours he had received, and in ſharpe manner girded the Earle of Arran as his adverſarie, and a bloudy minded man; making complaint that by his ſubtiltie he was apprehended and ſtaied, when he was about to leave the Kingdome: and that upon promiſe of life and pardon, he was brought to confeſſe thoſe things which now were layed to his charge, and therefore in equitie they ought not to bee brought againſt him. The cauſe of his reſiſtance, he ſaid, was for that he held the Warrant for his apprehending, written with the Earle of Arrans hand, to be of leſſe moment than the letters of protection which he had by him under the Kings Great Seale. That he had concealed for a while the conſpiracy againſt the King and his mother, was not ſo blameworthy as the revealing of it at length was commendable. Finally, he proteſteth his hatred againſt Witches and Wizards, and openly profeſſed, that if there were any ſuch creatures, he beleeved they were in Princes Courts. His Peeres firſt taking a formall oath, that they miniſtred no matter of accuſation againſt him to the Kings Atturney, pronounce him guilty of high treaſon, and at night hee was beheaded: but his ſervants ſowing his head to his body committed his body to the grave.

Throckmortons treaſon.

About this time likewiſe, ſome traiterous perſons herein England with as ill ſucceſſe conſpired againſt the Queene, on the behalfe of the Queene of Scots. The chiefe of theſe was *Francis Throckmorton*, eldeſt ſonne of *John Throckmorton* Juſtice of Cheſter; he came to be ſuſpected by reaſon of ſome letters ſent to the Queene of Scots, which were intercepted. As ſoone as he being in priſon began to diſcloſe ſomewhat, *Thomas* Lord *Paget*, and *Charles Arundell* privately ſtole away and got into France, who with others popiſhly affected made grievous moane, that through the wiles of Leiceſter and *Walſingham* the Queen was alienated from them; that they were unworthily and diſgracefully handled, and that by new inventions, and ſlie deviſes, they were ſo circumvented, that doe what they could, they muſt be brought within the Acts of treaſon

ſon, and that in their owne Countrie no ſafety was to be expected. And indeed in theſe dangerous times great cunning was practiſed to find how men ſtood affected; counterfeit letters under the Queen of Scots and others names privily left in the houſes of Papiſts; Spies ſent forth to gather up rumours, and ſnatch at words; all tales received, and divers for ſmall cauſe ſuſpected: *Henrie* Earle of Northumberland, and *Philip* Earle of Arundell confined to their owne houſes, his wife given to the cuſtody of Sir *Thomas Shirley*, *William Howard* the Earles brother, and *Henry Howard* their Uncle, brother to the Duke of Norfolke, examined about letters from the Queene of Scots; and ſuch like ſtratagems ſet on foot, dangerous to particular perſons, but neceſſarie (as ſhould ſeeme) for the Queens ſafety and ſecurity. Certaine it is, that now the malice of Papiſts againſt the Queene brake forth more than ever: for in printed books they ſtirred up the Queens ſeruants, to attempt the like upon the Queen that *Judith* did on *Holofernes*. The author was not found, but the ſuſpition lay upon one *Gregorie Martin* ſometime of Oxford, one well skilled in the Greek and Latin tongues: but one *Carter* a Stationer, which procured the bookes to be printed, ſuffered for it. And whereas the Papiſts every where traduced the Queene for cruelty; ſhee, deſirous alwaies to leave a bleſſed remembrance behind her, grew extremely offended at the Commiſſioners for Popiſh cauſes, taxing them of ſauage crueltie: Inſomuch that they were faine in a printed declaration to purge themſelves; wherein they proteſted, that they dealt more mildly with the Prieſts themſelves than they deſerued, that they queſtioned no man for his Religion, but only for dangerous attempts againſt the Queen and State. That *Campian* himſelfe was never ſo racked, but that hee could preſently walke up and down, &c. But all this gave not the Queen ſatisfaction, for ſhe commanded the Commiſſioners to forbeare tortures, and the Judges other puniſhments: and not long after, whereas ſeuenty Prieſts were taken, of whom ſome were condemned, and the reſt in danger of the Law, ſhee cauſed them to be ſhipped away out of England. The cheife of them were *Gaſpar Heywood*, the great Epigrammatiſts ſon, the firſt Jeſuit that ſet foot in England, *James Boſgrave*, *John Hart*, and *Edward Riſhton*, &c.

1584.

The malice of the Papiſts toward the Queen.

The Queens mercy toward them.

Edward Stafford ordinarie Embaſſadour in France, diligently watched the Lord *Paget* and *Arundell* in France, after their arriuall, to ſpie what deſignes they tooke in hand, and dealt with the French King to have them ſent for England: but that could not be granted.

Now was *Mendoza* the Spaniſh Embaſſadour thruſt out of England, and arrived in France; fretting & chafing that he was diſhonourably uſed, whereas he was deſeruedly ſent away: for hee joyned himſelfe with *Throckmorton* and others that wrought Treaſon againſt the Queene, and upon gentle expoſtulation concerning the ſame, brake forth into immodeſt ſpeeches, upbraiding the Queen with the Genueſes mony deteined, her ſupplies lent to the Low-Countries, the Duke of Anjou, and *Anthony* of Portugall, againſt the Spaniard, &c. Nevertheleſſe, that the King of Spaine might have no juſt ground of offence, Sir *William Waad* was diſpatched thither with inſtructions, to ſhew how ill *Mendoza* had diſcharged the office of an Embaſſadour here in England. Withall to

make

1584. make proffer of amitie and courteſie. But when as the Spaniard vouchſafed not to admit *Waad* to his preſence, and give him a perſonall hearing, but put him off to his Counſellours, he, taking the ſame in great diſdaine, boldly ſaid, that it was a received cuſtome among Princes (though in the heat of warre) to give Embaſſadours audience: and therefore ſtoutly refuſed to declare his Embaſſage; and after long attendance, but all in vaine, returned into England unheard.

The greateſt matters which he had to lay to *Mendoza's* charge, were gotten out of *Throckmortons* confeſſion. For when hee was in danger to be apprehended, he ſent away to *Mendoza* a box of ſecret matters; and when his other Cheſts were ſearched, there were found two ſcroules; one with the names of the Ports of England, and in the other, the names of the Nobilitie and Gentrie in England, which favoured the Romiſh Religion. Theſe when he ſaw brought forth, he ſaid they were counterfeited, and never ſeene before by him, but made purpoſely to worke his deſtruction: and thus much he averred upon the very racke. But being brought to the rack the ſecond time, he readily anſwered to what was asked him, as farre as his own knowledge: and being queſtioned about the ſcroules, and for what purpoſe they were written, hee made this anſwer: *That when he was at the Spaw a few yeeres paſt, he conſulted with one* Jenney, *and* Inglefield, *by what meanes beſt a forrein enemie might invade England; thereupon he wrote the names of the Ports, and the Popiſhly affected perſons amongſt the Nobilitie. That* Morgan *by letters out of France had given him intimation, that the Catholike Princes had decreed to invade England, and to free the Queene of Scots with the helpe of the Duke of Guiſe; that nothing now was wanting but money and aide in England; and that to procure this laſt,* Charles Paget *under the counterfeit name of* Mope *was ſent into Suſſex, where the Duke of Guiſe intended to land. That he had imparted the matter to* Mendoza, *and intimated the names of the Ports and Nobles, who knew thus much from the Confederates long before. Beſides, he denied not that he promiſed his owne aſſiſtance, and withall nominated to* Mendoza *ſome of the Nobilitie, with whom he might have farther conference, being a publike perſon, which hee being a private man could not doe without danger; and that he adviſed with him how ſome eminent Catholikes, as ſoone as the forrein forces were come, might muſter up ſouldiers in the Queenes name, and joyne with thoſe ſtrange forces.*

Throckmortons confeſſion.

But when he was arraigned at Guild-Hall in London, he preciſely denied theſe particulars; ſaying, they were fictions of his owne braine, becauſe hee would not be racked againe; openly accuſing the Queene of credulitie, and his torturers of falſhood: and by a vain diſtinction thought to elude the force of the Law, but it would not be for all this. Notwithſtanding the fatall ſentence of death was pronounced againſt him. Afterward, he was perſwaded to flie to the Queenes mercy, and in writing confeſſed in a manner what we have before related, all which at the Gallowes againe he went about to denie.

A new Treatie with the Qu. of Scots.

Sir *William Waad* returning from Spaine, was employed to the Queen of Scots about a Treaty begun two yeers before, but broken off, as wee have ſaid. To him the diſtreſſed Queene ſincerely profeſſed, how ſhee was deſirous to devote her ſelfe, and her ſervice to the Queen of England,

land, and to depend wholly upon her: if this her proffer might be honourably and lovingly accepted. Moreover, she made solemne promise, that if the former Treatie might goe on, she would meane to the King her sonne, and likewise bring it to passe, that he should receive into favour the Earle of Anguse, and other Scottish Nobles; as also that the Bishops of Rosse and Glasco her Agents in France, should plot nothing against the Queen or Kingdome of England, nor have any thing farther to doe with the English rebells and fugitives. 1584.

This the Queene heard gladly, and the Earles of Anguse, Marre, and *Glames* being at that very time fled into England; she catching at the present opportunitie, sent *Beale* to the Queen of Scots, who joyntly with the Earle of Shrewsburie should signifie unto her, that if she continued still in the same mind as she had delivered to *Waad*, Sir *Walter Mildmay* should come out of hand, and treat concerning her libertie. In the meane while they should deale with her to intercede to the King her sonne, to restore those of the Scottish Nobilitie which were faine to flie out of Scotland; and finally to dive into her as well they could, and find out what projects the Duke of Guise had on foot. Propositions to her.

She like a prudent and wary Lady, answered: *She eagerly desired the treaty might proceed, the which she earnestly beggeth of the Queen her sister. That she made no proffer to Sir* William Waad, *but such as was limited with certain conditions, & so far she buildeth upon his integritie, that he will no otherwise relate it. Her perswasion she beleeveth will be very needfull to get the Scottish Nobles restored; neither should it be wanting, so she might be assured of some good to accrue to her and to her sonne thereby; and they submit themselves in humble manner to their King: otherwise she wisheth the Queene would adhere to her sonne rather than to them, that they might be brought to know themselves. Moreover, she dealeth plainely, that being sickly her selfe and infirme of body, she had committed her selfe and her sonne into the protection of the Duke of Guise her deare Cousin; of whose entendments she knoweth nothing, nor if she did know would she disclose them, unlesse she might be sure of her owne libertie: it being no point of good advise to forsake a certaine friend upon uncertaine hopes: She requesteth, that she being a free and absolute Prince, might not bee worse handled than was the Queen her selfe, when she was a subject, and kept in prison by her sister; and furthermore, that the treatie might be brought to an issue, &c.* Her answer.

These things had a hearing, but came to nothing, through their meanes, who were skilled in nourishing of enmitie between women at oddes. And a chiefe ground they tooke from certaine papers, which *Creighton* a Scottish Jesuite sailing for the Low-Countries, and being taken by some Dutch Pirats, tore and threw away. These torne Papers were throwne over-board, and by the wind blown into the ship againe miraculously (as *Creighton* himselfe said) the which Sir *William Waad* patching together with much labour and cunning, discovered new intendments of the Pope, the King of Spaine, and the Guises, about the invading of England. Upon this occasion, and divers other rumours, the better to prevent and defeat mischievous counsells, and to provide for the safety of the Queene (upon whom all other happinesse depended) a number of the Queens subjects (the Earle of Leicester being their foreman) men of all rankes and

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1584. conditions, bound themſelves mutually to each other by their oathes and ſubſcriptions, to perſecute all thoſe to the very death, that ſhould any waies attempt any thing againſt the Queene: which league of theirs they termed the *Aſſociation*.

The Queene of Scots, who quickly apprehended that this aſſociation was entred for her downfall, feeling her forepaſt miſeries very irkeſome, and fearing greater inconveniences for the time to come, maketh this propoſition by *Nawe* her Secretarie to the Queen and the Councell.

Propoſitions made by the Queen of Scots.

That if ſhee might have her libertie granted, and be aſſured of the Queens love and good will, ſhe would enter a ſtrict league of amitie and correſpondence with the Queene, and paſſing by all matters of offence, eſteeme and honour her above all the Princes of the Chriſtian World, laying no claime to the Crown of England, ſo long as the Queen ſhould live, nor directly or indirectly enterpriſe ought againſt her; utterly renounce the Title and Armes of England, which by the peremptorie command of *Francis* the French King her husband ſhee had aſſumed, as alſo the Popes Bull concerning her depoſing: yea, that (ſaving the ancient league betwixt France and Scotland) ſhee would be comprehended in the aſſociation and a league defenſive againſt all that ſhould goe about to injure the Queene. Yet ſo, that nothing in the Queens life time, or after her death, might be agreed on to her or her ſons prejudice, and her lawfull heires in the ſucceſſion, untill they may have a legall hearing in an aſſembly of the Engliſh Nobilitie. For aſſurance of all this, ſhe her ſelfe would for a time tarrie in England as an hoſtage, or give other hoſtages, if ſhe might have leave to depart out of the Kingdome. Furthermore, that ſhee would cauſe no alteration to be made in Scotland, in caſe that her ſelfe onely and her ſervants might have libertie to ſerve God according to the way which they had learned; yea, that ſhe would remit and forget all by-paſt injuries (but upon condition, that the lawes purpoſely made in Scotland to her infamie might be abrogated) commend to the King her ſonne ſuch Counſellours as were well affected toward the Engliſh, and as much as in her lay reconcile the Nobles that were fled out of Scotland, if ſo they would humbly acknowledge their offence, and the Queene paſſe her word to aſſiſt the King againſt them, if in time to come they chanced to revolt. That without the Queenes privitie ſhe would hold no treatie touching the marriage of her ſonne. And becauſe ſhe would doe nothing without making her ſonne acquainted, ſhe requeſteth that he may have notice, and be joyned alſo in this treatie, to make all things more ſure. As for the French King, and the Princes of the houſe of Lorraine, ſhe nothing doubteth but they will interpoſe and undertake for the performance of this agreement.

Now ſhe made earneſt requeſt to have a ſpeedy anſwer to theſe propoſitions, that no other inconveniences might intervene to diſſolve the treatie. And in the laſt place, ſhe deſireth a little more libertie, that thereby ſhe may ſee a token of the Queens good meaning toward her.

Hereupon the Queene was wonderfully pleaſed, and at that time had an inclination to grant her freedome, albeit ſome there were in England which invented new ſcar-crowes to hinder it. But the greateſt impediment

ment arose from the Scottish of the adverse partie, who with great importunitie exclaimed, that the Queene could be no longer in safetie if she were set at liberie, that both Kingdomes were utterly undone if she were admitted into the joynt government of the Kingdome of Scotland, and that the reformed Religion lay bleeding if the Popish were permitted within the Court walls. Nor was this all, but the Scottish Ministers in their Pulpits and the common streets laded the Queene of Scots with all manner of contumelies, slandered the King himselfe and his Councell in most bitter manner; and being cited to appeare before him, refused, saying, that the Pulpits were exempted from all Regall authoritie, and that Ecclesiasticall persons were not to be censured by the Prince, but by their owne Consistorie; directly against the Lawes made the yeere past in Parliament, whereby the Kings authoritie over all persons, whether Secular or Ecclesiasticall, was confirmed; and namely, that the King and his Councell were supreme Judges in all causes, and that whosoever refused to be tried by them, should be held guilty of High Treason: all Presbyteries and Lay conventicles forbidden, paritie of the Clergie taken away, and the authoritie of Bishops restored, whose calling the Presbyteries had condemned as wicked and Antichristian. And lastly, all scurrulous libells against the King and his mother prohibited, namely, the Scottish historie of *George Buchanan*, and his Dialogue *De jure Regni apud Scotos*.

1584.

The insolency of the Scottish Ministers.

Buchanans writings prohibited.

These proceedings so enraged the Scottish Ministers, that divers of them voluntarily forsooke their Countrie, and filled England with rumours and complaints, saying, the true reformed Religion was banished out of Scotland. But the Queene tooke no heed to these innovators, nor suffered them to preach at all within her Dominions; yet made use of them upon occasion. And now the Earle of Arran, who was the Kings neerest favourite in Scotland, proffering amitie and observance to the English, she laid hold on the opportunitie, to see that the Scottish Nobilitie who were in banishment might not be proscribed at the Parliament which now drew neere, and requested his aid in keeping the King in firme friendship with the English. Hereupon a conference betwixt the Earle of Arran and Hunsdon at the borders was appointed. But before that time came the Parliament was hastened, and the Nobles, with as many as had a hand in the businesse against the King at Sterlin, were outlawed, and the Earle of Arran in the conference presently after laid grievous imputations upon them; and amongst other things charged them to have conspired the Kings destruction. Nevertheless he solemnly undertooke to omit no good office wherein to give the Queene satisfaction, nor to doe any thing to her prejudice during the time that he continued in grace and favour with the King. Notwithstanding all this, the Scots dwelling neere the borders, within a moneth after, by the King of Spains procurement, endevouring to make her weary of aiding the Netherlanders, brake into Rhedesdale, there behaving themselves in hostile manner; which outrage of theirs the English soone after, using the same violence through Liddesdale, recompenced to the full.

Hereupon came out of Scotland Sir *Patrick Grey*, the chiefe of his house, a proper and no lesse conceited young man, on Embassage to the

1583. vately to the Court, and breathing nothing but bloud and death againſt all Proteſtants, ſet upon one or two by the way with his drawn ſword. Being apprehended, he profeſſed that he would murther the Queen with his owne hands. Hereupon he, and upon his intimation, *Edward Ardern* his father in law (a man of an ancient houſe in Warwickſhire) *Arderns* wife, their daughter, *Sommervills* wife, and *Hall* a Prieſt were hurried to the barre and condemned as acceſſaries. Three daies after *Sommervill* was found ſtrangled in the priſon. *Ardern* being condemned was executed and quartered; the women and the Prieſt were ſpared: many pitied the good Gentleman *Ardern*, who was miſled by the Prieſt, and (as it was generally beleeved) brought to his end through the envie of Leiceſter, from whom he would alwaies detract, ſaying, he was an whoremonger, an upſtart, &c.

The Engliſh betray Aloſt.

Theſe were the paſſages at home. Now for forrein affaires. The Engliſh Garriſon at Aloſt in Flanders being neglected, left without pay or proviſion, were brought into thoſe ſtreights that *Pigot* the Governour and the other Captaines, upon compoſition yeelded up the Towne to the Spaniards, and fearing diſgrace at home, joyned themſelves to the Prince of Parma: at whoſe hands finding no good uſage, by degrees they ſtole all away; and the Traitors came ſeverally to unlucky ends.

The Earle of Deſmond ſlaine.

In like manner the famous rebell and Traitor in Ireland, *Girald Fitz-Girald*, the eleventh Earle of Deſmond of this familie, his adherents being conſumed with ſword and famine (who made a barbarous vow that they would ſooner forſake God than leave him) having a long time in ſeverall lurking places eſcaped the Engliſh, was now by a common ſouldier found out in a poore Cottage, not knowing who he was, (till at length having loſt one of his armes he diſcovered himſelfe) who wounded him, & ſlew him. His head was ſent into England, and ſet upon London bridge, for terror to all Rebells and Traitors. This end had a potent and famous Noble man of Ireland, deſcended from *Maurice* the ſon of *Girald* of Windſore an Engliſhman, famous amongſt thoſe which firſt ſet upon Ireland in the yeere 1170. He poſſeſſed ſundry lands, yea, whole Countries, together with the County Palatine of Kerry, & many Caſtles and great Lordſhips, and had of his own name and race at leaſt five hundred Gentlemen at his becke. All which, and his life alſo, he loſt within three yeeres, very few of his houſe being left alive, having once proved traiterous to his Prince, at the inſtigation of certaine Popiſh Prieſts. The chiefe of them was *Nicholas Sanders* an Engliſhman, who at the ſame time died miſerably of famine, when as being forſaken, and running mad upon his ill ſucceſſe, he wandred up and downe the mountaines, woods, and groves, finding no comfort. In his Scrip were found certaine Orations and Letters, written to hearten the Rebells, and promiſing large rewards from the Pope and King of Spaine.

Upon their ill ſucceſſe, *James Fitz-Euſtace* Viſcount Baltinglas, of great eſtimation amongſt the Nobilitie of Ireland, fled away into Spain, where he pined away with griefe. Hee out of zeale to the Roman Religion, a little before tooke up armes with the Rebells, and in writing exhorted the Earle of Ormond his neighbour to doe the like (who drew his linage from St. *Thomas* of Canterburie) in theſe words: *If St.* Thomas *of Canter-*

terburie had not dyed for the Church of Rome, thou hadst never beene Earle of Ormonde. For King *Henrie* the Second, to expiate the murder of *Thomas Becket*, gave large lands in Ormond to his predecessors. 1584

The beginning of the the next spring, certaine Scots covertly returned from Ireland, upon agreement with *Gourie*, who plotted with some others how to surprize the King into their hands againe. These men made open profession, that they had no other aime but the glory of God in their proceedings, a care of the securitie of Religion, the King and Kingdome, and desire to maintaine firme amitie with the English, against those, who by devises would mislead the King now in his tender yeeres and unstable age. The King upon the hearing hereof, giveth commandement forthwith to Colonell *Stuart*, to seeke meanes out of hand for the surprising of Gourie the master-peece of this treason; who dissemblingly was lately gone to the Haven of Dundee, as if he meant to leave the Kingdome. He being conscious to himselfe, despised the Kings authoritie, and made obstinate resistance, defending himselfe as long as hee could; but within an houre or two hee was taken and led away to prison. 1584. Reg. 27. Tumults in in Scotland.

In the meane time, the rest of the conspirators make a sudden assault upon Sterlin, and take both the Towne and Castle at unawares, but abandon it by and by, when they understood that the King came thither with displaied ensignes to besiege them; their assistants being fewer than Gourie expected, and no aide comming from England, which they vainely hoped for. And while every one maketh shift for one; Marre, Glames, and Anguse and others, of the Confederacy make haste for England, and beseech the Queen to commiserate their wofull state, and mediate for them to King, forasmuch as they hazzarded their fortunes and incurred the Kings displeasure, for no other cause but studying to doe her and the Kingdome of England acceptable service. The King on the other side accuseth them to the Queene of hainous matters, and by vertue of the league requireth them to be delivered up into his hands. But there were some in the Court, which perswaded the Queen that they were dutifull and well minded subjects, desirous also of his welfare, else they would not have dealt so favourably with him when he was in their power. These Courtiers likewise endevour to perswade the King of Scots to deale gently with so great personages, lest their despaire brought forth greater inconveniences. The Confederates flie into England.

Secretarie *Walsingham*, who bare great good will to these men, sent letters with a command that they should be safely admitted into Lindsfarne, otherwise called the Holy Island: Hunsdon, which governed those parts, and was greatly addicted to the King of Scots, resisted his authoritie, alledging that it were no wisdome to give a fortified place to strangers, who for ought he knew might prove enemies; and that he could not satisfie the Secretarie in this demand, except the Queene gave such expresse commandement. Hence grew a dispute, whether a Secretarie of State might not transact businesse of State without speciall commission from the Prince. How this case was determined is uncertaine; but sure enough the Scots came not thither. Yet it was thought meet here in England to shew them some favour, that they might buckle with the adverse

1584. adverſe partie in Scotland, eſpecially ſeeing that the zealous Scottiſh Miniſters ſpread abroad rumours, that the King would preſently forſake the Religion; yet (albeit they raiſed many fictions) they had no probable argument to induce men ſo to thinke, but onely becauſe he alwaies honoured his mother as became him with a filial love, and made choice of thoſe for his neereſt Counſellours, who he knew bore his mother moſt good will.

Gowrie arraigned.

Earle Gowrie now was tryed by his Peeres at Sterlin; and this was the ſum of what was laied to his charge. That whereas the King had advanced him to honours, wealth, and places of high account, and dignified him with the title of Couſin, he notwithſtanding enterpriſed a new peece of treaſon againſt the Kings perſon, whom hee formerly had held priſoner. That hee held nightly conſultations with the ſervants of the Earle of Anguſe, about the taking of Perth and Sterlin. That with force and armes at Dundee hee reſiſted the Kings royall authoritie, concealed a conſpiracie tending to the deſtruction of the King and his mother; and laſtly, adviſed with one *Maclen* a Witch. Hee anſwering for himſelfe, made great profeſſion of his innocency and ſincere good will toward the King, acknowledged himſelfe highly obliged for the favours he had received, and in ſharpe manner girded the Earle of Arran as his adverſarie, and a bloudy minded man; making complaint that by his ſubtiltie he was apprehended and ſtaied, when he was about to leave the Kingdome: and that upon promiſe of life and pardon, he was brought to confeſſe thoſe things which now were layed to his charge, and therefore in equitie they ought not to bee brought againſt him. The cauſe of his reſiſtance, he ſaid, was for that he held the Warrant for his apprehending, written with the Earle of Arrans hand, to be of leſſe moment than the letters of protection which he had by him under the Kings Great Seale. That he had concealed for a while the conſpiracy againſt the King and his mother, was not ſo blameworthy as the revealing of it at length was commendable. Finally, he proteſteth his hatred againſt Witches and Wizards, and openly profeſſed, that if there were any ſuch creatures, he beleeved they were in Princes Courts. His Peeres firſt taking a formall oath, that they miniſtred no matter of accuſation againſt him to the Kings Atturney, pronounce him guilty of high treaſon, and at night hee was beheaded: but his ſervants ſowing his head to his body committed his body to the grave.

Throckmortons treaſon.

About this time likewiſe, ſome traiterous perſons herein England with as ill ſucceſſe conſpired againſt the Queene, on the behalfe of the Queene of Scots. The chiefe of theſe was *Francis Throckmorton*, eldeſt ſonne of *John Throckmorton* Juſtice of Cheſter; he came to be ſuſpected by reaſon of ſome letters ſent to the Queene of Scots, which were intercepted. As ſoone as he being in priſon began to diſcloſe ſomewhat, *Thomas* Lord *Paget*, and *Charles Arundell* privately ſtole away and got into France, who with others popiſhly affected made grievous moane, that through the wiles of Leiceſter and *Walſingham* the Queen was alienated from them; that they were unworthily and diſgracefully handled, and that by new inventions, and ſlie deviſes, they were ſo circumvented, that doe what they could, they muſt be brought within the Acts of treaſon

ſon, and that in their owne Countrie no ſafety was to be expected. And indeed in theſe dangerous times great cunning was practiſed to find how men ſtood affected; counterfeit letters under the Queen of Scots and others names privily left in the houſes of Papiſts; Spies ſent forth to gather up rumours, and ſnatch at words; all tales received, and divers for ſmall cauſe ſuſpected: *Henrie* Earle of Northumberland, and *Philip* Earle of Arundell confined to their owne houſes, his wife given to the cuſtody of Sir *Thomas Shirley*, *William Howard* the Earles brother, and *Henry Howard* their Uncle, brother to the Duke of Norfolke, examined about letters from the Queene of Scots; and ſuch like ſtratagems ſet on foot, dangerous to particular perſons, but neceſſarie (as ſhould ſeeme) for the Queens ſafety and ſecurity. Certaine it is, that now the malice of Papiſts againſt the Queene brake forth more than ever: for in printed books they ſtirred up the Queens ſeruants, to attempt the like upon the Queen that *Judith* did on *Holofernes*. The author was not found, but the ſuſpition lay upon one *Gregorie Martin* ſometime of Oxford, one well skilled in the Greek and Latin tongues: but one *Carter* a Stationer, which procured the bookes to be printed, ſuffered for it. And whereas the Papiſts every where traduced the Queene for cruelty; ſhee, deſirous alwaies to leave a bleſſed remembrance behind her, grew extremely offended at the Commiſſioners for Popiſh cauſes, taxing them of ſauage crueltie: Inſomuch that they were faine in a printed declaration to purge themſelves; wherein they proteſted, that they dealt more mildly with the Prieſts themſelves than they deſerved, that they queſtioned no man for his Religion, but only for dangerous attempts againſt the Queen and State. That *Campian* himſelfe was never ſo racked, but that hee could preſently walke up and down, &c. But all this gave not the Queen ſatisfaction, for ſhe commanded the Commiſſioners to forbeare tortures, and the Judges other puniſhments: and not long after, whereas ſeuenty Prieſts were taken, of whom ſome were condemned, and the reſt in danger of the Law, ſhee cauſed them to be ſhipped away out of England. The cheife of them were *Gaſpar Heywood*, the great Epigrammatiſts ſon, the firſt Jeſuit that ſet foot in England, *James Boſgrave*, *John Hart*, and *Edward Riſhton*, &c.

1584.

The malice of the Papiſts toward the Queen.

The Queens mercy toward them.

Edward Stafford ordinarie Embaſſadour in France, diligently watched the Lord *Paget* and *Arundell* in France, after their arrivall, to ſpie what deſignes they tooke in hand, and dealt with the French King to have them ſent for England: but that could not be granted.

Now was *Mendoza* the Spaniſh Embaſſadour thruſt out of England, and arrived in France; fretting & chafing that he was diſhonourably uſed, whereas he was deſervedly ſent away: for hee joyned himſelfe with *Throckmorton* and others that wrought Treaſon againſt the Queene, and upon gentle expoſtulation concerning the ſame, brake forth into immodeſt ſpeeches, upbraiding the Queen with the Genueſes mony deteined, her ſupplies lent to the Low-Countries, the Duke of Anjou, and *Anthony* of Portugall, againſt the Spaniard, &c. Nevertheleſſe, that the King of Spaine might have no juſt ground of offence, Sir *William Waad* was diſpatched thither with inſtructions, to ſhew how ill *Mendoza* had diſcharged the office of an Embaſſadour here in England. Withall to make

1584. make proffer of amitie and courteſie. But when as the Spaniard vouchſafed not to admit *Waad* to his preſence, and give him a perſonall hearing, but put him off to his Counſellours, he, taking the ſame in great diſdaine, boldly ſaid, that it was a received cuſtome among Princes (though in the heat of warre) to give Embaſſadours audience: and therefore ſtourly refuſed to declare his Embaſſage; and after long attendance, but all in vaine, returned into England unheard.

The greateſt matters which he had to lay to *Mendoza's* charge, were gotten out of *Throckmortons* confeſſion. For when hee was in danger to be apprehended, he ſent away to *Mendoza* a box of ſecret matters; and when his other Cheſts were ſearched, there were found two ſcroules; one with the names of the Ports of England, and in the other, the names of the Nobilitie and Gentrie in England, which favoured the Romiſh Religion. Theſe when he ſaw brought forth, he ſaid they were counterfeited, and never ſeene before by him, but made purpoſely to worke his deſtruction: and thus much he averred upon the very racke. But being brought to the rack the ſecond time, he readily anſwered to what was asked him, as farre as his own knowledge: and being queſtioned about the ſcroules, and for what purpoſe they were written, hee made this anſwer: *That when he was at the Spaw a few yeeres paſt, he conſulted with one* Jenney, *and* Inglefield, *by what meanes beſt a forrein enemie might invade England; thereupon he wrote the names of the Ports, and the Popiſhly affected perſons amongſt the Nobilitie. That* Morgan *by letters out of France had given him intimation, that the Catholike Princes had decreed to invade England, and to free the Queene of Scots with the helpe of the Duke of Guiſe; that nothing now was wanting but money and aide in England; and that to procure this laſt,* Charles Paget *under the counterfeit name of* Mope *was ſent into Suſſex, where the Duke of Guiſe intended to land. That he had imparted the matter to* Mendoza, *and intimated the names of the Ports and Nobles, who knew thus much from the Confederates long before. Beſides, he denied not that he promiſed his owne aſsiſtance, and withall nominated to* Mendoza *ſome of the Nobilitie, with whom he might have farther conference, being a publike perſon, which hee being a private man could not doe without danger; and that he adviſed with him how ſome eminent Catholikes, as ſoone as the forrein forces were come, might muſter up ſouldiers in the Queenes name, and joyne with thoſe ſtrange forces.*

Throckmortons confeſſion.

But when he was arraigned at Guild-Hall in London, he preciſely denied theſe particulars; ſaying, they were fictions of his owne braine, becauſe hee would not be racked againe; openly accuſing the Queene of credulitie, and his torturers of falſhood: and by a vain diſtinction thought to elude the force of the Law, but it would not be for all this. Notwithſtanding the fatall ſentence of death was pronounced againſt him. Afterward, he was perſwaded to flie to the Queenes mercy, and in writing confeſſed in a manner what we have before related, all which at the Gallowes againe he went about to denie.

Sir *William Waad* returning from Spaine, was employed to the Queen of Scots about a Treaty begun two yeers before, but broken off, as wee have ſaid. To him the diſtreſſed Queene ſincerely profeſſed, how ſhee was deſirous to devote her ſelfe, and her ſervice to the Queen of England,

A new Treatie with the Qu. of Scots.

land, and to depend wholly upon her: if this her proffer might be honourably and lovingly accepted. Moreover, she made solemne promise, that if the former Treatie might goe on, she would mediate to the King her sonne, and likewise bring it to passe, that he should receive into favour the Earle of Angus, and other Scottish Nobles; as also that the Bishops of Rosse and Glasco her Agents in France, should plot nothing against the Queen or Kingdome of England, nor have any thing farther to doe with the English rebells and fugitives. 1584.

This the Queene heard gladly, and the Earles of Angus, Marre, and *Glames* being at that very time fled into England; she catching at the present opportunitie, sent *Beale* to the Queen of Scots, who joyntly with the Earle of Shrewsburie should signifie unto her, that if she continued still in the same mind as she had delivered to *Waad*, Sir *Walter Mildmay* should come out of hand, and treat concerning her libertie. In the meane while they should deale with her to intercede to the King her sonne, to restore those of the Scottish Nobilitie which were faine to flie out of Scotland; and finally to dive into her as well they could, and find out what projects the Duke of Guise had on foot. She like a prudent and wary Lady, answered: *She eagerly desired the treaty might proceed, the which she earnestly beggeth of the Queen her sister. That she made no proffer to Sir* William Waad, *but such as was limited with certain conditions, & so far she buildeth upon his integritie, that he will no otherwise relate it. Her perswasion she beleeveth will be very needfull to get the Scottish Nobles restored; neither should it be wanting; so she might be assured of some good to accrue to her and to her sonne thereby; and they submit themselves in humble manner to their King: otherwise she wisheth the Queene would adhere to her sonne rather than to them, that they might be brought to know themselves. Moreover, she dealeth plainely, that being sickly her selfe and infirme of body, she had committed her selfe and her sonne into the protection of the Duke of Guise her deare Cousin; of whose entendments she knoweth nothing, nor if she did know would she disclose them, unlesse she might be sure of her owne libertie: it being no point of good advice to forsake a certaine friend upon uncertaine hopes: She requesteth, that she being a free and absolute Prince, might not bee worse handled than was the Queen her selfe, when she was a subject, and kept in prison by her sister; and furthermore, that the treatie might be brought to an issue, &c.* These things had a hearing, but came to nothing, through their meanes, who were skilled in nourishing of enmitie between women at oddes. And a chiefe ground they tooke from certaine papers, which *Creighton* a Scottish Jesuite sailing for the Low-Countries, and being taken by some Dutch Pirats, tore and threw away. These torne Papers were throwne over-board, and by the wind blown into the ship againe miraculously (as *Creighton* himselfe said) the which Sir *William Waad* patching together with much labour and cunning, discovered new intendments of the Pope, the King of Spaine, and the Guises, about the invading of England. Upon this occasion, and divers other rumours, the better to prevent and defeat mischievous counsells, and to provide for the safety of the Queene (upon whom all other happinesse depended) a number of the Queens subjects (the Earle of Leicester being their foreman) men of all rankes and

Propositions to her.

Her answer.

con-

1584. conditions, bound themſelves mutually to each other by their oathes and ſubſcriptions, to perſecute all thoſe to the very death, that ſhould any waies attempt any thing againſt the Queene: which league of theirs they termed the *Aſſociation*.

The Queene of Scots, who quickly apprehended that this aſſociation was entred for her downfall, feeling her forepaſt miſeries very irkeſome, and fearing greater inconveniences for the time to come, maketh this propoſition by *Nawe* her Secretarie to the Queen and the Councell.

Propoſitions made by the Queen of Scots.

That if ſhee might have her libertie granted, and be aſſured of the Queens love and good will, ſhe would enter a ſtrict league of amitie and correſpondence with the Queene, and paſſing by all matters of offence, eſteeme and honour her above all the Princes of the Chriſtian World, laying no claime to the Crown of England, ſo long as the Queen ſhould live, nor directly or indirectly enterpriſe ought againſt her; utterly renounce the Title and Armes of England, which by the peremptorie command of *Francis* the French King her husband ſhee had aſſumed, as alſo the Popes Bull concerning her depoſing: yea, that (ſaving the ancient league betwixt France and Scotland) ſhee would be comprehended in the aſſociation and a league defenſive againſt all that ſhould goe about to injure the Queene. Yet ſo, that nothing in the Queens life time, or after her death, might be agreed on to her or her ſons prejudice, and her lawfull heires in the ſucceſſion, untill they may have a legall hearing in an aſſembly of the Engliſh Nobilitie. For aſſurance of all this, ſhe her ſelfe would for a time tarrie in England as an hoſtage, or give other hoſtages, if ſhe might have leave to depart out of the Kingdome. Furthermore, that ſhee would cauſe no alteration to be made in Scotland, in caſe that her ſelfe onely and her ſervants might have libertie to ſerve God according to the way which they had learned; yea, that ſhe would remit and forget all by-paſt injuries (but upon condition, that the lawes purpoſely made in Scotland to her infamie might be abrogated) commend to the King her ſonne ſuch Counſellours as were well affected toward the Engliſh, and as much as in her lay reconcile the Nobles that were fled out of Scotland, if ſo they would humbly acknowledge their offence, and the Queene paſſe her word to aſſiſt the King againſt them, if in time to come they chanced to revolt. That without the Queenes privitie ſhe would hold no treatie touching the marriage of her ſonne. And becauſe ſhe would doe nothing without making her ſonne acquainted, ſhe requeſteth that he may have notice, and be joyned alſo in this treatie, to make all things more ſure. As for the French King, and the Princes of the houſe of Lorraine, ſhe nothing doubteth but they will interpoſe and undertake for the performance of this agreement.

Now ſhe made earneſt requeſt to have a ſpeedy anſwer to theſe propoſitions, that no other inconveniences might intervene to diſſolve the treatie. And in the laſt place, ſhe deſireth a little more libertie, that thereby ſhe may ſee a token of the Queens good meaning toward her.

Hereupon the Queene was wonderfully pleaſed, and at that time had an inclination to grant her freedome, albeit ſome there were in England which invented new ſcar-crowes to hinder it. But the greateſt impediment

ment arole from the Scottish of the adverse partie, who with great importunitie exclaimed, that the Queene could be no longer in safetie if she were set at libertie, that both Kingdomes were utterly undone if she were admitted into the joynt government of the Kingdome of Scotland, and that the reformed Religion lay bleeding if the Popish were permitted within the Court walls. Nor was this all, but the Scottish Ministers in their Pulpits and the common streets laded the Queene of Scots with all manner of contumelies, slandered the King himselfe and his Councell in most bitter manner; and being cited to appeare before him, refused, saying, that the Pulpits were exempted from all Regall authoritie, and that Ecclesiasticall persons were not to be censured by the Prince, but by their owne Consistorie; directly against the Lawes made the yeere past in Parliament, whereby the Kings authoritie over all persons, whether Secular or Ecclesiasticall, was confirmed; and namely, that the King and his Councell were supreme Judges in all causes, and that whosoever refused to be tried by them, should be held guilty of High Treason: all Presbyteries and Lay conventicles forbidden, paritie of the Clergie taken away, and the authoritie of Bishops restored, whose calling the Presbyteries had condemned as wicked and Antichristian. And lastly, all scurrulous libells against the King and his mother prohibited, namely, the Scottish historie of *George Buchanan*, and his Dialogue *De jure Regni apud Scotos*.

1584.

The insolency of the Scottish Ministers.

Buchanans writings prohibited.

These proceedings so enraged the Scottish Ministers, that divers of them voluntarily forsooke their Countrie, and filled England with rumours and complaints, saying, the true reformed Religion was banished out of Scotland. But the Queene tooke no heed to these innovators, nor suffered them to preach at all within her Dominions; yet made use of them upon occasion. And now the Earle of Arran, who was the Kings neerest favourite in Scotland, proffering amitie and observance to the English, she laid hold on the opportunitie, to see that the Scottish Nobilitie who were in banishment might not be proscribed at the Parliament which now drew neere, and requested his aid in keeping the King in firme friendship with the English. Hereupon a conference betwixt the Earle of Arran and Hunsdon at the borders was appointed. But before that time came the Parliament was hastened, and the Nobles, with as many as had a hand in the businesse against the King at Sterlin, were outlawed, and the Earle of Arran in the conference presently after laid grievous imputations upon them; and amongst other things charged them to have conspired the Kings destruction. Nevertheless he solemnly undertooke to omit no good office wherein to give the Queene satisfaction, nor to doe any thing to her prejudice during the time that he continued in grace and favour with the King. Notwithstanding all this, the Scots dwelling neere the borders, within a moneth after, by the King of Spains procurement, endevouring to make her weary of aiding the Netherlanders, brake into Rhedesdale, there behaving themselves in hostile manner; which outrage of theirs the English soone after, using the same violence through Liddesdale, recompenced to the full.

Hereupon came out of Scotland Sir *Patrick Grey*, the chiefe of his house, a proper and no lesse conceited young man, on Embassage to the

1584. Queene: the heads whereof were, concerning the reſtraining of the violences at the borders, reſtitution of goods wrongfully taken by either part, and a demand to have the Scottiſh Nobles ſent back (according to the league) or elſe removed farther from the borders; for as much as they held daily conſultations with others of the Kings ſubjects in Scotland againſt the King. The better to find favour in theſe his demands, he offered to lay open ſome ſecret machinations againſt the Queene. For his firſt and ſecond demands he received ſuch ſatisfaction as he deſired. As for the ſending home of the Scots, the Queene made anſwer, *That ſhe was perſwaded for thoſe Noble men, that they had not ſo much as an evill thought in their breaſt againſt the King. What had lately happened in Scotland came not to paſſe out of any evill meaning towards the King, but proceeded from ſome diſcontents betweene the Nobilitie themſelves, ſuch as are wont to fall out ever in the minoritie of Princes; the which the King ſhould doe well to compoſe, and ſuppreſsing all factions, bind his ſubjects mutually to him.* Nevertheleſſe, to give the King ſome kind of ſatisfaction in his juſt requeſt, and the better to attaine to the knowledge of thoſe machinations formerly ſpoken of, the Queen gave command that the Nobles ſhould betake themſelves to ſome other place farther from the borders, to ſhun ſuſpition. Whatſoever thoſe matters were which he revealed, the Queene pretended that ſhe had formerly found them out; and divers laid an imputation upon *Grey*, that hee was bribed to ſpeake ſomething to the ſecret detraction of the King and his Mother, and to have been an occaſion that the Queene of Scots reaſonable propoſitions by *Nave* her Secretary were not hearkened unto. Whereupon ſhee having had her patience ſo long abuſed, grew into fury and indignation, and out of an itching deſire of gaining liberty, gave eare both to the treacherous advice of her adverſaries, and the pernicious counſell of her friends and well-willers: and ſhe grew the rather deſperate, both becauſe ſhe perſwaded her ſelfe that the aſſociation formerly mentioned was purpoſely entred againſt her life; and had heard alſo that by the ſlie devices of her adverſaries ſhee ſhould be taken from the Earle of Shrewsburies cuſtody (who being a man of integritie, would by no meanes favour their bloudie intentions) and delivered unto other keepers. For the more colourable carriage of which device, and conſerving of Shrewsburies fidelitie unſuſpected (for they were loth to detract openly from a Peere ſo unblameable as hee) they tooke upon them to ſuſpect that ſome plot was already on foot for the freeing of the Queen of Scots, taking a hint from certaine emblemes which went abroad, and were ſent to her. Which were, *Argus* full of eyes, and yet by *Mercuries* melodie laid a ſleep; with this Word, *Eloquium tot lumina clauſit: Mercurie* cutting off *Argus* head, who ſo ſtrictly watched *Iō*; a ſprig engraffed in a ſtock & chaind, with this Motto, *Per vincula creſco*: a Palme tree kept down and yet growing, &c. Likewiſe counterfeit letters were produced, as if they had beene intercepted, in which the friends of the captive Queene complained, that there was no hope of recovering her libertie, if once ſhe were committed to the cuſtody of Puritans. Upon this colour ſhe was taken from the Earle of Shrewsburie (who for his owne part had long deſired it) and delivered to the cuſtody of Sir *Ames Powlet*,

The heads of Greyes Embaſsie.

Snſpitions laid hold on againſt the Queene of Scots.

Powlet, and *Drugo Drurie*, and that on set purpose (as some were perswaded) to drive her into abrupt and desperate attempts. For the Earle of Shrewsburie for fifteene yeeres together had been so warie, that shee could not her selfe make any escape, nor any body else come to doe her hurt. Now then she waxed more importunate with the Pope and King of Spaine to hasten their intendment, whatsoever became of her; and Leicester (as some say) sent out Assassinates to make her away. But *Drurie* detested the villanie, and would grant them no accesse. Yet were many stratagems invented, and letters both authenticall and counterfeit sent purposely to ensnare her, and rush her upon her ruine, as hereafter shall be shewed. 1585.

To alienate the Queen utterly from her, they whisper her in the eare, that *Allen* for the Catholikes of the Clergie, *Ingleſield* for them of the Laitie, & the Bishop of Rosse for the Queen of Scots, with the consent of the Pope and King of Spaine, had joyntly combined to depose the Queen; and to barre the King of Scotland of his hereditarie right to the Crown of England; and to marrie the Queen of Scots to an English Noble man of the Romish Religion: and him the English Catholikes should chuse King of England, and the Pope confirme the election, and all this upon the credit of *Hart* the Priest. But who this English Noble man should be could not be found, though *Walsingham* were very busie to search it out. But the suspition lighted upon *Henrie Howard* the Duke of Norfolkes brother, who was a single man, a great Papist, and of high reputation amongst them.

This yeere died in exile and miserie *Charles Nevill*, who was in the rebellion of the North, the last Earle of Westmerland of this familie, a house from whence descended many Noble Personages; sixe Earles of Westmerland, two of the same sirname Earles of Salisburie and Warwicke, an Earle of Kent, a Marquesse *Montacute*, a Duke of Bedford, Baron *Ferrers* of Ously, the Lords *Latimers*, the Lord of *Abergavenny*, one Queene, and five Dutchesses (to let passe Countesses and Baronesses) an Arch-Bishop of Yorke, and a numerous companie of other Nobles. The death of the Earle of Westmerland.

In England died none of reckoning this yeere, but *Plowden* the famous Lawyer, and for honestie one that came behind none of his profession. But in France the Duke of Anjou died of griefe; and in Holland *William* Prince of Orange, shot into the body with three bullets by one *Balthasar Gerard* a Burgundian. Which the Queene of England so laid to heart, that she sent an Embassadour into France to signifie to the King how heavily she tooke the Duke of Anjous death, her deare and loving friend, and how deplored the state of the Netherlands was by the losse of the Prince of Orange; the King of Spaines greatnesse daily increasing, who had all the Princes of Italie at his becke, the Pope his great friend, all the Cardinalls at his command; in Germanie the house of Austria spreading it selfe, insomuch that he now waxed more terrible than the Emperour *Charles* the fifth his father, and if he recover the Low-Countries also, the rest of the Christian Princes must needs vaile to him, if some timely remedie be not thought upon. Of Plowden and others.

The Queene to tie the French King more neerely to her, whom the 1585. Reg. 28.

1585. yeere before ſhe had received into the number of the Knights of the Garter, ſent the Earle of Derbie into France with the Robes and Ornaments, to inveſt him according to the due ſolemnitie. He honourably accepted them, and was inveſted at Evening prayer (for the Engliſh would not be at Maſſe) and ſolemnely vowed to obſerve the Lawes of the Order in all points, in which they were not contrary to the rites of the Orders of the Holy Ghoſt and St. *Michael*, to which he was formerly ſworne.

Parrie ſtandeth for the Jeſuites.

At this very time a Parliament was aſſembled in England, and *William Parrie* a Welſhman, Doctor of the Lawes, when in the Lower houſe a Bill was read, and a Law in hand againſt the Jeſuites, he alone ſtood up, and exclaimed that it was *a cruell, bloudy, and deſperate law, and pernitious to the State and Kingdome.* Being willed to give a reaſon of his ſpeeches, he ſtoutly refuſed, unleſſe he were required thereunto by the Lords of the Councell. Hereupon he was ſent to the Gatehouſe; but upon his reaſons alledged, and ſubmiſſion made, he was received into the houſe againe. Soone after he was accuſed by *Edmund Nevill* (he who claimed the inheritance of the *Nevills* Earles of Weſtmorland, and the title of Lord *Latimer*, as the next here male) for holding ſecret conſultations about making the Queene away. This *Parrie* two yeeres ſince comming from Italie, to gaine the Queens favour and truſt, privately revealed what projects *Morgan* and other Engliſh fugitives had in hand againſt the Queenes life; pretending that he cloſed with them to no other end but to prie into their purpoſes, and thereby to procure the Queenes ſafetie. Hereupon ſhe gave no great credit to *Nevill* his accuſer; yet ſhe gave order to *Walſingham* to demand of *Parrie*, if he for triall ſake had not dealt with ſome diſcontented and ſuſpected perſon to that purpoſe. He plainly denied any ſuch matter, and though at other times he were crafty enough, yet did he not perceive how faire a way of eſcaping the Queens lenitie had in this opened unto him. For if he had but ſaid, that he had gone to work in that manner upon *Nevil* (whom he himſelfe had formerly intimated to the Queene to be a diſcontented and dangerous perſon) he had doubtleſſe been paſt all danger. But miſchiefe once conceived hoodwinketh the contrivers of it. Now *Nevill* having no witneſſe of his accuſation, *Parrie* and hee were brought together; and *Parrie* after ſome ſharpe words to and fro began ſomewhat to quaile, and being ſent to the Tower, there made this voluntarie confeſſion.

He is accuſed of Treaſon.

His confeſſion.

In the yeere (ſaith he) 1570. *I was ſworne one of the Queenes ſervants, and continued loyall to her Majeſtie till the yeere* 1580. *at which time I fell into great ignominie, and my life alſo was brought in queſtion.* (For he had ruſhed into Sir *Hugh Hares* chamber (in whoſe debt he was) & wounded him: whereupon by the Law he was condemned, but the Queene pardoned him.) *From that time I was in great diſcontent, and having gained leave travelled into France, with full purpoſe of mind not to returne againe into England, becauſe I was addicted to the Catholike Religion. At Paris I was reconciled to the Church of Rome; at Venice I had ſome ſpeech with* Benedict Palmes *a Jeſuite, concerning the diſtreſſed eſtate of the Catholikes in England: and I intimated, that I had found out a way to*

relieve

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vell of them, if the Pope or unlearned Divines would allow it as lawfull.
He commended this in me as a pious intention, and commended me to Cam-
pegio *the Popes Nuntio at Venice, and* Campegio *the Pope I requested let-*
ters of Pension to convey me safely to Rome, which the Cardinall of Colmo
sent me, but not so large and full as I desired: afterward larger were sent;
but I was then returned to Paris. There I lighted upon Morgan, *who told me,*
that we who expected I should do God and the Catholike Church some especi-
all service. I made answer, that I was resolved if need were to kill the
greatest Subject in England. And why not the Queene her selfe, said he?
Yes, but also (quoth I) if I were sure it were lawfull. For Watts *a Priest*
whom I consulted about it (concealing the persons) said it was not law-
full. Notwithstanding having tied my selfe by letters sent into Italie, and
by sirme promise also, would by no meanes goe back from my word, in case the
Pope would allow it, and grant me a plenary Indulgence; which I requested of
the Popes Nuncio in France. He commended my resolution, and wrote to Rome
concerning it. Upon my return into England I gained accesse to the Queene,
and not being present, disclosed the whole conspiracie; but couched it with
all the possible art I could. She heard my tale, and was nothing affrighted;
I in great feare departed from her, and cannot forget what shee then said;
That no Catholikes should be called in question, either concerning their Reli-
gion or the Popes Primacie, so they shewed themselves dutifull subjects. Now
at the same time that I was busie at the Court to gaine the mastership of St.
Katharines, *I received letters from the Cardinall of Como, wherein my*
resolution was highly commended, and I in the Popes name absolved. This
letter I shewed the Queene. How shee was affected therewith I know not,
sure I am it animated me, and removed all scruple out of my mind. Yet was
I not minded to offer any violence to her person, if she would by any meanes be
brought to deale more mildly with the English Catholikes: & because I would
not commit so bloudy a fact, I laid aside my dagger as oft as I went into her
presence. When I beheld her and her princely vertues, I was distracted with
several doubtings; but thus I reasoned within my self. She never deserved well
of me, she spared my life indeed, but in that cause it had beene tyrannicall to
have taken it. Hereupon in discontented pligh I left the Court. Afterward I
chanced to see a book of Doctor Alans, *written,* Contra Justitiam Britannicam;
wherein was declared, That Princes who were for heresie excommunicate
might lawfully be deprived of their life and Kingdome; which greatly pro-
voked me to goe on with my purpose. This passage I read to Nevill *(whom I*
entertained at my table) sixe moneths before he disclosed me. Afterward he
came to me; Come, saith he, let us venture upon somewhat, seeing we can get
nothing of the Queen; and some words he spake of freeing the Queen of Scots.
But I tooke him off, saying, But I have some greater worke in hand, which
will better helpe forward the Catholike cause. The next day he came to mee,
and laying his hand upon the Bible, swore he would keepe counsell, and reso-
lutely pursue any thing that might advance the Catholike cause: I also
swore in like manner. A purpose indeed we had to set upon the Queene with
halfe a score horsemen, and kill her as she rode abroad. All this Nevill
concealed till now, but hearing that the Earle of Westmerland was dead,
and presently swallowing the Earldome in hopes, he violated his oath and re-
vealed me. This was his confession before Baron Hunsdon, Sir *Christopher*

1585. *Hatton*, and Sir *Francis Walſingham*, as likewiſe in his letters to the Queene, the Lord Burleigh Treaſurer, and the Earle of Leiceſter, acknowledging his fault, and craving mercy.

Parrie arraigned.

Within a few daies he was called to the barre in Weſtminſter Hall, and his enditement being read, he confeſſed himſelfe guilty; but denied that he had at any time reſolved to lay hands on the Queene. Being willed to ſay if he could alledge any thing for himſelfe, wherefore ſentence ſhould not be pronounced againſt him, he made anſwer in abrupt manner, *I ſee I muſt die for that I have not been conſtant to my ſelf.* Being demanded what he meant, and to ſpeake in plaine termes his mind: *My bloud* (ſaith he) *be amongſt you.* After the ſentence of death was pronounced, he furiouſly cited the Queen to Gods Tribunal. Five daies after he was laid upon a hurdle and dragged through the City to Weſtminſter. At the Gibbet he made a vaine glorious boaſting how truſtily he was carefull for the Queene, and ſaid againe, that he was never reſolved to take away her life. In ſuch manner he died, not ſo much as in a word commending himſelfe to God, and was executed as a traitor in the great Palace at Weſtminſter, the Nobilitie and Commons being then aſſembled in Parliament.

He is executed.

Complaints in the Parliament againſt the Clergie.

In this Parliament ſome out of a deſire of reformation (or rather innovation) contrarie to the Queenes expreſſe command, began to picke quarrells at the Clergie, deſiring to paſſe lawes for the reſtraint of the Biſhops in their granting of faculties, conferring of holy Orders, Eccleſiaſticall cenſure, and the oath *ex officio*. They complained likewiſe of the non-reſidencie of Miniſters, and the like. But the Queene, who alwaies favoured moderate Church-men, and hated innovation, which for the moſt part changeth for the worſe, would give no eare hereunto: ſhe conceived likewiſe that theſe proceedings in Parliament derogated from her high Prerogative in Eccleſiaſticall affaires. But the *Aſſociation* which I ſpake of, was univerſally approved and enacted in this forme. *That twentie foure or more of the Queens Privie Councell, and Peeres of the Realme, ſhould be ſelected and authoriſed under the great Seale of England, to make inquirie againſt all ſuch perſons as ſhall attempt to invade the Kingdome, or raiſe rebellion, or ſhall attempt any evill againſt the Queenes perſon, to doe her any manner of hurt, for whomſoever or by whomſoever that laieth any claime to the Crowne of England. And that perſon for whom or by whom they ſhall attempt any ſuch thing, ſhall be altogether uncapable of the Crowne, ſhall be deprived of all manner of right thereunto, and perſecuted to the death by all the Queens loyall ſubjects, in caſe they ſhall by thoſe 24. men be found guilty of any ſuch invaſion, rebellion, or treaſon, and ſo publikely declared.*

Lawes alſo for the Queenes ſafetie were enacted againſt Jeſuites and Popiſh Prieſts, who upon the Bull of Pope *Pius Quintus* began to hatch treaſon here in England. Againſt them it was enacted, *That within forty daies they ſhould depart the Kingdome; they that came into the Kingdome afterward, or tarried beyond the time prefixed, ſhould be guiltie of treaſon. Whoſoever wittingly and willingly ſhall entertaine, conceale, or ſuſtein ſuch perſons ſhall bee guilty of felony. Thoſe of the Queenes ſubjects which are brought up in the Seminaries, if within ſixe moneths after warning they*

returne

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receyve not, and in the presence of the Bishop or two Justices of peace, submit themselves to the Queenes, shall bee guilty of treason. They which submit themselves, if for seaven yeares space they come to the Court or within seven miles of it, their submission shall be void. That no man may keepe a Student in these Seminaries with money, shall be in a Premunire. If any Peeres of the Kingdome breake any of these lawes aforesaid, they shall be tryed by their Peeres. They which know where any Jesuites or such like persons do remaine concealed, and within 12 daies discover them not, shall bee fined at the Queenes pleasure and imprisoned. If any one being suspected for a Jesuite or Priest submit not himselfe to triall, let him be imprisoned till he submit himselfe. They which send their children to those Seminaries, or any other Popish Colledges, shall be fined 200 pounds. Those which are sent shall have no right to inherit, or to enjoy any other good, by what meanes soever they fall unto them. If the Port-Masters suffer any, except Seamen and Merchants, to crosse the Sea without a licence from the Queen or five Privie Counsellers, they shall lose their places, the ship-maisters shall forfeit their ship and goods, and suffer imprisonment a whole yeare.

The Earle of Arundell attempteth to flie out of the land.

The severity of these lawes (which yet might seeme needfull for those times) so terrified the Papists, and amongst others *Philip* Earle of Arundell, the Duke of Norfolkes eldest sonne, that for feare he might be enstrared by them he purposed within himselfe to travell. Hee three yeeres since by the Queenes favour was restored to his bloud, and soone after by the secret undermining of some potent adversaries lost the Queenes favour; he secretly addicted himselfe to the Romish religion, and indeed led a very austere life. Once or twice he was cited before the Queens Privie Councell, and answered all objections; but was confined to his owne house. Sixe moneths after he was set at libertie, and came to the Parliament, but the very first day when the Sermon was, he withdrew himselfe from the assembly. At the breaking up of the Parliament (resolving to be gone) in letters to the Queene, which yet hee gave order should not be delivered till he were quite gone, he made a large and wofull complaint of the envie of his adversaries, whom hee was not able to match; reckoneth up the hard hap of his great grandfather and grandfather, the one condemned unheard, and the other for triviall matters, his father likewise circumvented by his adversaries and put to death, who yet never carried hostile affection toward his Prince or Country. That he for his owne part, unwilling to inherit his fathers unhappy fortune, and out of a desire to live retiredly for the service of God and his soules health, had now forsaken his Country, but not his loyall affection toward his Prince. Before these letters were delivered, he was gone into Sussex, and when he was about to take shipping at an obscure creeke (through his owne servants treachery, and the ship-maisters intimation) he was apprehended and laied in the Tower.

The Earle of Northumberland found dead.

In the Tower at that time lay *Henrie Percie* Earle of Northumberland, a man of a lofty spirit (brother to *Thomas* that was beheaded at Yorke) being suspected for secret consultation with *Throckmorton*, the Lord *Paget*, & the Guises, about the invading of England, and freeing the Queen of Scots, whose cause he ever highly favoured. But in the moneth of June he was found dead in his bed, shot into the body with three bul-

lets

1535. lets under his right pap, and the doore bolted on the inſide. The Coroners enqueſt being ſworne, viewed the body, conſidered the nature of the place, finding the dagge and gun-powder in the Chamber, examined the man which bought the dagge, and him that ſolde it, and finally pronounced that the Earle had murdred himſelf. Three daies after the Peeres met in the Star-Chamber, where *Bromley* Lord Chancellour of England in a ſucceinct Oration unfolded how the Earle had traiterous entendments againſt his Prince and Country, and perceiving that they were come to light, out of ſelfe-guilt laid violent hands upon himſelfe, to prevent the juſtice of the lawes. But for the ſatisfaction of the multitude (who are over-prone to beleeve the worſt) he commanded the Attorney Generall to declare the cauſes of his impriſonment, and manner of his death. Then began *Popham*, ripping up the rebellion of the North 16. yeeres paſt, how that he was conſcious of that, and the project for freeing the Queen of Scots: for which he was arraigned, and craving the Queenes mercie his life was ſpared, and a mulct only of five thouſand Markes ſet upon his head; which notwithſtanding the Queene graciouſly remitted, and when his brother was beheaded, advanced him to the Earledome of Northumberland. Yet did he enter new conſultations about freeing the Queene of Scots, invading England, rooting out the Queene and the Religion eſtabliſhed: That he conferred of theſe matters with *Charles Paget* in Suſſex, that went under the counterfeit name of *Mope*, as *Mendoza* the Spaniſh Embaſſadour, *Throckmorton*, and *Paget* himſelfe had declared, and out of the papers of *Chriſtton* the Scottiſh Jeſuite was evinced. After *Popham*, *Egerton* the Queenes Solicitour uſed likewiſe a prolixe Oration to the ſame purpoſe, and by many probable circumſtances gathered that the Earle muſt needs be guilty of treaſon. Then was the manner of his death declared, by the teſtimonie of the Jurors, the Lievtenant of the Tower, ſome of the Warders, and *Panton* that waited upon the Earle in his Chamber. And concluded it was that the Earle (out of feare leſt his houſe ſhould be utterly ruined, and hee come into perpetuall infamie) laid violent hands upon himſelfe.

The cauſes of his impriſonment.

A confederacie ſought with the Princes of Germanie.

The Queen knew well enough from whence theſe ſeeds of treaſon in England were brought, to wit, from the Duke of Guiſe and his adherents, whom ſhe formerly had evidently knowne to conſpire againſt the reformed Religion, againſt the King of France, and her ſelfe likewiſe. She on the other ſide to prevent miſchiefes, ſought to enter a league with the Princes of Germanie, for this end ſending Sir *Thomas Bodley* to the King of Denmarke, the Count Elector Palatine of the Rhene, the Dukes of Saxonie, Wittemberg, Brunſwick, Luneburg, the Marqueſſe of Brandenburg, and the Landgrave of Heſſia: and withall chargeth him to put the King of Denmarke in mind, that it behoved him more than the reſt to have an eye to the Guiſes, and prevent their deſignes; for as much as they laied claime to the Crown of Denmark on the behalfe of their Couſin the Duke of Lorraine, who thought it his due, as being ſon to the daughter of *Chriſtiern* the Second King of Denmarke; and that the Duke of Lorraine himſelfe, when he lately ſued to the Queene for marriage, did not ſticke to profeſſe ſo much.

In

In like manner, for feare ſome danger might come to England by Scotland (as at a backe doore) the Queen ſent thither Sir *Edward Wotton*, to let the King underſtand how ſincerely ſhe was bent toward him, and in what good part ſhe tooke it, that he had lately ſent to her *Patrick Grey* with the like proffer. He had alſo given him in charge to draw the King, if he could, to enter a league of mutuall defence and offence; laying before him to what imminent dangers the profeſſion of the Goſpel was expoſed, and commend to him the match with the King of Denmarkes daughter. Likewiſe to make earneſt interceſſion in the Queenes name, on the behalfe of the Scottiſh Nobles which remained in baniſhment here in England; who if they could be found guilty of the leaſt offence againſt the King, ſhe promiſed forthwith to ſend them home. *Wotton* found the Kings mind very inclinable to the motion of the league (albeit the Earle of Arran and ſome of the French faction oppoſed it) and the Nobilitie of Scotland were ready under their hands and ſeales to give their aſſent to the Treatie: Provided alwaies, that the Queene would give aſſurance, that ſhe would no wayes ſeeke to prejudice the King in his right of ſucceſſion to the Engliſh Crowne, ſo long as he continued in firme amitie with the Engliſh. But theſe matters were interrupted and delaied by the death of *Francis Ruſſell* ſon to the Earle of Bedford. For *Foſter* and *Carre* of Fernihurſt, Governours of the middle borders betweene England and Scotland, had appointed a meeting and conference the 27. of June, concerning the reſtitution of goods which the borderers had theeviſhly taken from each other; and a truce for the time of their parley being ſworne by both parties, that neither ſhould offend other in word, deed, or looke, and proclamation made, the Scots in armes diſplay their Flag, beat up drums againſt the cuſtome, and beyond expectation came thither at the leaſt three thouſand in number, the Engliſh not being above three hundred in all. The Governors were ſcarce ſet to heare what complaints could be brought, but upon a ſudden an Engliſh man being taken ſtealing, a tumult aroſe, and the Scots letting flie a ſhower of bullets, ſlew *Ruſſell* and ſome others, put the Engliſh to flight, and purſuing them foure miles in England, brought backe ſome of them priſoners. Who had ſlaine *Ruſſell* was not to be found. The Engliſh lay the fault upon the Earle of Arran, now Chancellour of Scotland, and Fernihurſt. The Queen demands the Aſſaſinates to be delivered up, and preſſeth it both by letters and meſſengers; alleaging that *Henrie* the Seventh, King of England, delivered up into the hands of *James* the Fourth King of Scots, *William Heron*, and ſeven other Engliſh, about the murder of *Robert Carre* of Ceſford, perpetrated upon a day of meeting: and *Morton* late Regent of Scotland ſent into England *Carmichael* a Scottiſh man, who had killed one *George Heron*. The King proteſting his owne innocency in this matter, proffered to ſend Fernihurſt in England; yea, and the Chancellour himſelfe, if it firſt appeared by evident proofes that they were any waies guiltie of the fact. *Fenwick* openly accuſed Fernihurſt, hee as ſtoutly denied it: there was no Scots man to bee found that would witneſſe, and an Engliſh mans teſtimony was of no valew, by vertue of a received law between the borderers, That none but an Engliſh mans teſtimonie againſt an Engliſh man might bee received,

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A tumult in the borders.

Ruſſell ſlaine, which hindreth the league.

ceived,

1585. ceived, nor other than a Scot againſt a Scot: ſo that if all the Engliſh there preſent had beheld the murder with their own eyes, their word had beene nothing worth. The Earle of Arran notwithſtanding was confined, and Fernihurſt lay in priſon at Dundee, where he afterward dyed: a man of valour and reſolution, and one that for the Queene of Scots and her ſonne ſtood ſo immoveably, that once or twice hee was caſt out of all, his goods confiſcate, and himſelfe baniſhed; yet patiently perſiſted encountring all misfortunes.

The enquiry touching *Ruſſells* ſlaughter being delayed, the Queen, who tooke the ſame in great diſtaſte, being perſwaded by the Scots the Earle of Arrans adverſaries, that he foſtered Jeſuites, and laboured what he could both in France and Scotland to hinder the league with the Engliſh, by way of connivence gave leave to the Scottiſh Nobles here, the Earle of Angus, and thoſe that during the time of their common baniſhment in England were reconciled to each other, the *Hamiltons*, *John* and *Claudius*, the Earle of Marre, Glames, and others, ſhould ſteale away into Scotland, ſupplying them with moneyes to maſter and ſubdue the Earle of Arran. For the Earle of Bothwell, Baron Humes, Coldingknolls, and others in Scotland had already promiſed them their aſſiſtance: but eſpecially *Maxwell*, who lately was made Earle of Bothwel, aſſuring himſelfe to goe ſcotfree for the Rebellion lately raiſed in Annandale, if they could but once cruſh Arran. Yea, in the very Court Sir *Patrick Grey*, Arrans great Rivall for the Kings favour, *Belenden*, and Secretarie *Maitland*, by *Wottons* craft were made againſt Arran.

The Scottiſh Fugitives ſent home.

Theſe men upon their firſt entry into Scotland, in a large declaration command all perſons in the Kings name to lend their aide for the conſerving of the truth of the Goſpel, freeing the King from corrupt Counſellors, and maintaining of amitie with the Engliſh: Fawkirk was appointed for the Rendez-vous, where about eight thouſand men ſhewed themſelves. The Earle of Arran (who upon the Kings commandement was confined at Keneil, on ſuſpition of the murder of *Ruſſel*) hearing this noiſe, makes haſt to the King, and accuſeth *Patrick Grey* as the author of theſe ſtirres; who ingeniouſly made anſwer in his owne defence. Now whiles Arran was making proviſion for the defence of the Towne, the enemies were come & ready to ſcale the walls. He being adviſed that his life only was ſought for (for moſt men could not endure him) ſecretly ſhifted for himſelfe through the bridge with one onely ſervant. The reſt forſooke the Towne, and betooke themſelves to the King in the Caſtle. The Rebells got into the Market place, and diſplayed their banners againſt the Caſtle. The King employeth *Grey* to enquire the reaſon of their comming. They make anſwer; *To ſubmit themſelves, and in lowly manner to kiſſe the Kings hands.* Hee proffereth reſtitution of all their goods, if they departed. They deſire to be admitted unto his preſence; which the King upon theſe conditions would grant; *That they ſhould not attempt any thing againſt his life, or thoſe whom he ſhould nominate, nor make any innovation in government.* They proteſt they are ready to ſacrifice their lives for the Kings ſafetie; and of any innovation they had no thought in the world: only they requeſt to have their adverſaries, and the fortifications of Scotland delivered up into their hands. Hereupon a

They ſeiſe on Sterlin and are reconciled to the King.

daies

daies consultation is held; but necessitie requiring, there being a great multitude in the Castle and no provision, they are at length admitted into the Kings presence. Forthwith the Earles of Mount-Rosse, Crawford, and Rothsay, Colonell *Stuart*, *Downes*, Arrans brethren, and others were delivered up. The Earle of Arran, who fled into the Western Iles, is called home. The assaulters were pardoned, as good subjects, and such as deserved well of their King and Countrie. *Hamilton* is set over Dunbriton Castle, *Coldingknolles* over Edenburgh, the Earle of Angusse commands Tantallon, the Earle of Marre Sterlin, and *Glames* is made Captaine of the Guard. 1585.

Now these men having fairely quitted themselves of the crimes, which by their adversaries were colourably laid to their charge, in an assembly of the Nobilitie, all Proscriptions and Out-lawries whatsoever against all persons, since the Kings Inauguration, were called in (save onely against the Archbishop of Glasco, the Bishop of Rosse, and Dumblan, and those that were proscribed upon the murder of the Kings father) and with an unanimous consent of all parties, the Treatie of a league with the Queen of England agreed upon, and Delegates nominated for the purpose. *Maxwell* onely abused this the Kings clemencie, and having thereby obtained pardon and impunitie for his outrages and bloudy murder committed upon the *Johnstones*, grew so bold, that in contempt of the lawes he set up the Masse at Dunfrise; a thing not permitted in Scotland, for 19. yeeres past. For which his insolencie hee was imprisoned three moneths.

Maxwell setteth up the Masse in Scotland.

Ireland likewise was in a combustion this yeere: for albeit the most of the Counties were quiet, yet a great rebellion was raised in Conaught, out of the inbred turbulency of the natives, and hatred against *Richard Bingham* the Governour, who (as they made complaint) was too severe and cruell in his Government. He perceiving the great ones of the Irish Nobilitie exercise such tyrannie over the vulgar sort, that they acknowledged no other Prince over them; for the restraint hereof, and to vindicate the Queens authoritie, he used his utmost endevour, though for his requitall he were frequently accused to the Queen and the Deputie of Ireland of crueltie. *Thomas Roeburke*, descended of the ancient family of the *Burroughs* in England, was the Ring-leader of the Rebells; who albeit he were cited to the Countie of Malo would not come. The Deputie concealed the matter a while; afterward commanded to lay hands upon him, and one or two more the prime of the faction. *Thomas* would not bee taken, but fought it out and died in the combate: *Meiler* and *Theobald Burke* were taken and hanged. And thus the Rebellion had beene stopt at the very beginning, had not the importunitie of some English hindred it, who being offended at the President, advised the residue to beware of him, and in no case to come neere him. They hereupon tooke heart, and perswaded the *Joyes* and *Clan-donells* (potent families in these parts) that they were like to taste of the same sawce that the *Burkes* had done. Now in the meane time that the President was away in Twomund, pursuing the Rebell *Mahon O-Brean*, whom he slew and tooke his Castle, the sonnes of *Edmund Burke* of Barrie-Castle, and *Richard Mac-Richard*, whom the Irish for his villanies sirnamed the Divells

Rebellion in Ireland.

1585. Divells hook, gathered together a great companie of rakeſhames, ſeized into their hands two Caſtles in Logh-Maſcie, and fortified them; from whence the Preſident ſoone frighted them, and drove them into the Woods and Mountaines: *Richard Burke* the brother of *Thomas*, who came in ſubmiſſe manner to crave pardon, he hanged up for a ſpie and Traitour.

The Deputy ſent downe a command to him not to purſue them any farther, but to take hoſtages and receive them into protection. Within a ſhort time, the Preſident being at Dublin, and forces a muſtring for the Low-Countries, they brake forth againe; and others alſo rebelled, which could not endure the Low-Countrie ſervice. The *Clan-Gibbons*, *Clan-donells*, and *Joies* combined together in great numbers: and being now growne ſomewhat ſtronger than before, they ſay plainely, that they will have a *Mac-William* of their own, one of the *Burkes* to rule them, or ſome other Lord out of Spaine: they will admit of no Sheriffe into their County, nor appeare before the Engliſh Courts of juſtice. Neither could their fury be allaied, or they entreated to be quiet, albeit the Archbiſhop of Tuam, *Birmingham* Baron of Athenrie and Dillon, being deſigned by the Preſident, proffered them very honourable conditions. But all on a ſudden they brake into the Countrie Villages on the plaine, harried all before them with fire and ſword, and threw downe the fortifications where they came. They ſent likewiſe to the Scottiſh Ilanders, inviting them to bring aide into Conaught, promiſing large poſſeſſions there, if they would come and defend them. The Depury hearing this newes, commanded the Preſident once againe to purſue the Rebells; who muſtered forces, and ſent the Earle of *Clan-Ricard*, the chiefe of the houſe of the *Burkes*, and *Birmingham* to Treat of peace: which when they utterly refuſed, he put the hoſtages to death. And without delay (wiſely perceiving that nothing was more inconvenient for the Engliſh, or more uſefull to the Iriſh than a ſlow warre) he and the Earle of *Clan-Ricard* with a troope of horſe defend the plaines from wrong; *John Bingham* the Preſidents brother, entring the Wood with a foot Companie, followed the Rebells at the heeles, and drave away at leaſt five thouſand head of Cattell, that after forty dayes they came out of their holes halfe ſtarved, and ſo pined, that they hardly knew one another, and in lowly manner giving up hoſtages, ſubmitted themſelves; onely the ſonnes of *Edmund Burke* of Barrie Caſtle (whom they intended to make their *Mac-William*) ſtood out ſtill in Rebellion, till at length their father *Edmund* was apprehended, by the Law convicted and executed, and his goods made confiſcate. At this time the Preſident had certaine intelligence, that two thouſand Scottiſh Ilanders were landed, and ready to breake into Conaught: whom he, taking the Garriſon ſouldiers and others, which he muſtered up in haſte, purſued night and day over the thickets and plaines, making narrow ſearch after them: but they ſheltered themſelves in the Groves neere Logh-Earne, and otherwhiles made croſſe journeyes to and fro, ſpending time, whiles he behind, before, and on all ſides of them waits for a convenient opportunitie to give them battell. At length under a colour he retreiteth, as though they were too many for him. They marching forthwith toward

The Hebridian Scots invade Ireland.

toward Ardnarie by the river Moin, proclaime themselves Lords of Connaught. The President being soone instructed by the Scouts which way they went, found them nigh unto Ardnarie: where they put themselves in battell array, blow their bag-pipes, and display their Colours. He for a while holdeth them play with skirmishes, till by retreating hee drew them from the bogs to firme ground, and his whole forces were ioyned together. Then hee assaulteth them in fierce manner, slayeth a great number, and driveth backe the rest to the river, where they were all lost saving fourescore, which swam over to Tirallie: and those who the day before were dispersed to drive away booties, afterward by *John Bingham*, and the dwellers in the Countie of Slego, were well nigh all discomfited. In this fight fell well nigh three thousand men; amongst whom were their chiefe Captaines, *Donell Gorme*, and *Alexander Gorme* (the sons of *James Mac-Conell*, who had long disquieted this part) and those *Burkes* which were the first authors of this expedition and Rebellion. Of the English not many were missing, but a great number wounded. This was a famous victorie for the good of the present and future times; wherein the name of the *Mac Wilkins* in Connaught was utterly extinct, and the insolent attempts of the Scottish Ilanders crushed; which was so great in times past, that it was treason to entertaine any of them: and *Perot* the Deputy to match their out-rages laied an imposition upon the Nobilitie of Ulster long since, for the training up of souldiers, which should be ready at all times to buckle with them. 1585.

The Scots and Irish overthrowne.

About this time, the States of the Low-Countries being very hard beset, held a consultation amongst themselves whither to flie for protection, to the French King or the Queene of England: for they knew that both these were at oddes with the King of Spaine, and yet jealous of one another. Nor could the French partie for the English, nor the English in regard of the French, endure that either should gaine an addition of power by accesse of the Belgicke Provinces. Mounsier *Prunie*, the French Embassadour in the Low-Countries, argued in this manner: That the English were remote and could not be ready to assist them upon all occasions; besides, their government was harsh & insufferable, for which cause they were expelled France, and were now in danger to be thrown out of Ireland: the succession also was much doubted in whom the right should be; and whether *Marie* Queene of Scots, or King *James* her son recovered it, they would doubtlesse yeeld up the Netherlands to the King of Spaine for their owne private convenience. But as for the French, their neighbourhood was convenient, their command mild and gentle; and the King of Navarre of their own Religion, the undoubted successour to the Crowne of France. Those of the English partie on the other side alleadged; That the English were not so farre distant, but their helpe would bee alwaies at hand, and none could hinder them: What manner of government the French exercised of old time in the Netherlands, their Histories might witnesse; and what of late yeeres, Dixmund, Dunkirk, Teneramund (all which were treacherously seized on) could testifie; likewise Bruges, Alost, Newport, and Antwerpe, furiously and treacherously assaulted by them. What their fidelitie is, let their edicts and promises so often broken, and their cruell massacres in the

The Estates of the Netherlands consult about chusing a Protector.

1585. Cities of France ſpeake for them. The ſucceſſion to the Crowne of England was undoubtedly in King *James*, a Profeſſor of the reformed Religion. Furthermore, the Engliſh were of the ſame religion with themſelves, due obſervers of the old Burgundian league; that their merchandizing had greatly enriched the Low-Countries; and their Haven Townes lay moſt convenient for the Netherlanders trading.

The States delayed by the French King, ſeeke the Queens protection.

All this notwithſtanding, the States by a magnificent Embaſſage implore the aide of the French King; by whom they were delaied & deluded, and ſo returned home againe: where conceiving good hope of the Queenes ancient good will, they determined to flie to her protection.

Hereupon in England likewiſe conſultation is held, whether it bee meet or not to protect them. The Councell was divided about it. Some were of opinion, that it was good to receive and aide them, leſt the Spaniard firſt conquering them, might have the better way to annoy England: Some againe thought they were to be held for no better than Rebells to their lawfull Soveraigne, and therefore unworthy of aſſiſtance. But they which ſtood thus affected were judged to favour the King of Spaine, and incurred highly the diſpleaſure of the militarie ſort of men.

The States Agents at their firſt approach to the Queene, earneſtly beſeech her to take upon her the Soveraignie of the Netherlands, and to receive into her perpetuall patronage the Low-Countrie men. She gave them a gracious hearing, but refuſeth to take them into protection, much leſſe to exerciſe Soveraignie over them. Nevertheleſſe to raiſe the ſiege of Antwerp, which was then in great diſtreſſe, being beleaguered by the Prince of Parma, ſhe bargaineth to ſupply them with foure thouſand ſouldiers, upon condition that the towne of Scluſe and the Ordnance belonging to it were given up into her hands. But whiles this matter was diſcuſſing, the towne of Antwerpe (the river Scald by admirable workmanſhip being ſtopped up) was faine to yeeld it ſelfe.

She receiveth them into protection.

The Queene deliberating a long ſeaſon what was beſt to be done in this matter, and pondering the Spaniards cruelty toward the Netherlanders, and his hatred of the Engliſh and the Proteſtant Religion; fearing alſo the growth of the King of Spaines power, determined at length within her ſelfe, that it were both Chriſtian pietie to helpe the afflicted of her owne Religion, and good policie likewiſe to prevent the malicious purpoſes of her enemies; ſeeing no affectation of glorie, but meere neceſſitie invited her. In the end therefore ſhe reſolveth to undertake the protection of the Low-Countries; all the Chriſtian world in the meane while beholding and wondring at a womans valour, that durſt as it were proclaime open war againſt the moſt mighty Monarch in Chriſtendome. In ſo much that the King of Sweden ſaid, that the Queen had taken the Crowne from her head, and laid it to ſtake, and the doubtfull chance of warre. Now the conditions of the league betwixt the Queene and the States were theſe. *The Queene ſhall ſend to the united Provinces a ſupplie of five thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, under a ſufficient Generall, one of qualitie and experience, and ſhall pay them during the warre; which money the States when there is peace ſhall pay backe againe: namely, the firſt yeare of the peace the expences of the firſt yeeres warre, and the reſidue within foure yeeres after. The meane time the Queen*

ſhall

shall have in caution or pledge delivered up Flushing, and the Fort of Rammekan, and the Town of Briel, with the two neighbouring Forts. The Governors of these places shall exercise no rule over the inhabitants, but the Garrison Souldiers onely, who shall pay all manner of taxes and impositions as well as the inhabitants. These places upon the payment of the money shall be given up to the States, and not to the King of Spaine, or any other enemie. The Governour, and two other English, whom the Queen shall nominate, shall be entertained into the States Privie Counsell. The States shall make no league or confederacie without the Queenes privitie; nor she, but the States shall bee made first acquainted, &c. This agreement was put forth in print. 1585

For the memorie of this to posteritie, the Zelanders in great joy and triumph coyned monyes with the armes of Zeland, to wit, a Lion recovering himselfe out of the floods, with this inscription on the one side, *Luctor, & emergo*; and on the other this, *Authore deo, favente Regina*. The Queen set forth a printed Declaration, wherein she sheweth that leagues and confederacies were anciently agreed upon betweene the Kings of England and the Princes of the Low-Countries apart. That the unbridled cruelty of the Spaniards toward the poore Netherlanders, and their bloody attemps against her owne person, who had so eagerly sought to compose all differences, extorted this at her hands: Nor had she any other intent in the sending of these supplies thither, but onely her own and her subjects securitie, and to conserve quiet trading betwixt both Nations.

The Zelanders are overjoyed with the former conditions.

But having made this beginning, shee was loth to sit at home expecting what the King of Spaine would doe. Wherefore to find him worke abroad, shee sent out Sir *Francis Drake* and *Christopher Carlile*, with a Navie of 21. ships (wherein were two thousand Voluntaries and Mariners) toward the West-Indies: who in the Iland of S. *Iago*, neere to *Cabo Verde*, on a sudden surprised the Towne of S. *Iago*, and there kept the anniversarie of the Queenes inauguration, to wit, November 17. shooting of Ordnance and making verie merry. The towne they pillaged; where they found not a jot of gold, but great store of meale, wine, and oyle. Fourteen daies after they quit the coast, and a great number of the men which kept watch by night dyed of Calentures. At the beginning of Januarie they came to *Hispaniola*, twelve miles from St. *Dominicks*, and landed the Souldiers safely in a place, which a Spaniard whom they had taken shewed them: then they marched in order toward the town, repelled 150. Spanish horsemen which met them, put to flight those which lay in ambush with fire-lockes, seized upon the Town, and the Inhabitants fled away. The English not being enow to defend the Towne for a long time, fortified it as they could, and tarried there a whole moneth. The Inhabitants offered a small sum of money to redeeme the Towne, which the English not liking of, fired first the Suburbs, and then some of the goodliest houses in the Towne, till at length they with much adoe made up a matter of 25. thousand Crowns to buy the residue. The booty which they got, excepting the Ordnance, meale, and sugar, was not great: for in those parts they had none but brasse money, and earthen Vessels. In the towne, amongst other Monuments, they found a figure of the King of Spaine his armes, and underneath,

The Queene sends a Fleet to divert the Spaniards intentions.

1585. deneath, the world, whereupon a horſe praunſing and lifting up his fore feet, with this inſcription, *Non ſufficit Orbis.*

Drake wins Carthagena.

From hence they ſaile toward the continent of America, and landed five miles from Cartagena. *Carlile* the generall of the land forces lead his forces by night along the ſhore, the meane while *Drake* ſet upon the Haven of the towne, but in vaine; for it was defended with a Fort and a chaine croſſe the Haven. A troope of horſe ſhew themſelves onely to *Carlile*, and give backe; he goes on ſtill, and at length through a world of danger he ſurpriſed the town, which alſo was ſtrangely fortified, put the Spaniards to flight, and the Indians who ſcattered their poiſoned darts, holding the towne for ſeven weekes, till the Spaniards redeemed it for a hundred and ten thouſand Crownes; which were paid down right, & diſtributed to the moſt needy of the Mariners and Souldiers. The other booty was very poore; for the Inhabitants having intelligence from *Hiſpaniola*, and conſidering their fortune, had before conveied all their ſubſtance of any worth into places farther off. Now the Calenture waxing hot againe, and diminiſhing their forces, they let goe their purpoſe of ſetting upon *Nombre de Dios*, and ſet ſaile homeward along the Iland of Cuba: where at Saint *Anthonies* Cape they repleniſhed themſelves with raine water out of the pits. Then coaſting by Florida they ſet upon two Townes, St. *Anthonies* and Saint *Helens*, which the Spaniſh Garriſons had abandoned, and fired them: and then ſailed along the ſhore till they lighted upon the Engliſh which were planted in Virginia (ſo called from the maiden Queen *Eliſabeth*) a Colonie which Sir *Walter Raleigh* (a man in great favour with the Queen, and one that cannot be ſufficiently commended for his induſtrie in diſcovering remote Countries, and advancing of Navigation, beſides other excellencies) had there placed. *Drake* falling into acquaintance with the Governour *Ralph Lane*, offered him a ſhip or two with proviſion and ſome men if he tarried there, or elſe to carrie him backe for England. But while they were bringing proviſion aboard, a ſtrange tempeſt ſo diſperſed them, that they never ſet eie on each other after till they were upon the Engliſh coaſt. Hereupon *Lane* and the reſt of his Colonie being in great povertie and want, and out of all hope of proviſion from England, unanimouſly requeſted of *Drake* to carrie them for their Countrie; which hee did. And theſe were they, who upon their returne brought firſt into England the Indian plant called Tobacco, which they were taught by the Indians to take againſt crudities of the ſtomacke. At this expedition were loſt about ſeven hundred men, who for the moſt part died of Calentures: their prey amounted to the value of threeſcore thouſand pounds ſterling, beſides two hundred and forty Ordnance of braſſe and Iron taken from the enemies.

He lands in Virginia.

Tobacco firſt brought into England.

Theſe exploits were done under the torrid Zone in America. And in the meane while Captaine *John Davis* with two ſhips (at the charges of *William Sanderſon* and other Citizens of London) found out a way to the Eaſt-Indies by the higher part of America under the frigid Zone. He held on his courſe Northward, and about fiftie leagues from the utmoſt Cape of Ireland ſet ſight on the ſhore of Greenland, but ſo environed with mountaines of ſnow, and a wall of ice two leagues off the land,

land, that he perceived it was utterly inacceſſible. Wherefore following this tract firſt Weſtward, then Northward, to the Latitude of 64. degrees, at laſt getting by the ice, he fell upon certaine greene Ilands, where he found Inhabitants of a middle ſtature, little eied, beardleſſe, and of a gentler diſpoſition than other Northren people. Hence ſailing into Caurus, and finding a Sea without ice; about the Latitude of 66. degrees he eſpied a ſhore by little and little Weſtward, and a Streight of equall breadth every where; the which he ſailed in for a matter of threeſcore leagues, and at the latter end of Auguſt in great hope of future diſcoveries ſet ſaile homeward. The next yeer he went within the Streit foureſcore leagues, and obſerved a number of Ilands in the Sea here and there, and returning found it very commodious for fiſhing. Hereupon hee tooke his Voyage againe the third time, with two ſhips for fiſhing, and another to find the paſſage, and ſailed to the Latitude of 83. degrees in the ſame Streit, and ſo returned. 1585.

Now was the covetouſneſſe of ſome private perſons reſtrained by Proclamation, which ſowed their fields, & choiſeſt paſtures with Woad, to the great inconvenience of Clothiers and Husbandmen, which for the moſt part lived upon milke and white meats. Whereupon they were prohibited to ſow Woad within eight miles of any of the Queens houſes, and foure miles off any Cities or Townes corporate, or others, where Clothiers inhabited. A Proclamation to prohibit the ſowing of Woad.

But for the more gainefull diſperſing of the Engliſh Clothes, a ſpeciall licence of trading into Mauritanie was granted to *Ambroſe* Earle of Warwicke and his brother the Earle of Leiceſter, *Thomas Starke*, *Gerard Gore*, and ſome other Merchants of London, for twelve yeeres, to make good their damage in Africke: and all others, ſaving theſe Barbarie Merchants, were forbidden to trade in thoſe parts. And theſe men the *Zeriff* received into his eſpeciall protection. The Company of Barbarie Merchants.

This yeere died *Edward* Lord *Clinton*, Lord High Admirall of England, whom the Queene in the yeere 1572. created Earle of Lincolne, and was buried at Windſore. His ſonne *Henrie* ſucceeded him in the Earldome, but in the Admiraltie *Charles* Lord *Effingham* Chamberlaine of the Queenes houſhold: him ſucceeded Baron Hunſdon Governour of Barwicke, after *Francis Ruſſell* the ſecond Earle of Bedford of this houſe, a man of Religion and proweſſe, who outlived his three ſonnes, *Edward*, *John*, and *Francis*, and left behind him onely one ſon, *William* Lord *Ruſſell* of Thornaugh, and three daughters married to three Earles, Warwicke, Bath, and Cumberland, and died of a Gangreene (the day after his ſonne (as I ſaid,) was ſlaine at the borders) and was entombed with his father *John* Earle of Bedford at Cheneyes in Buckinghamſhire. His ſucceſſor in the Earledome was his Grand-child by *Francis* his ſonne.

At the end of the yeere, the Earle of Leiceſter out of his owne ambition (which ſome that meant him little good wrought upon) was eaſily induced to undertake an expedition into Holland, under the title of Generall of the Queenes forces, and with a kind of command over the Admirall of England, and the Queenes Navie: whither he went in great pompe and glorie, accompanied with the Earle of Eſſex, the Lords The Earle of Leiceſter is ſent Generall into Holland.

1586. *Audley* and *North*, Sir *William Ruſſell*, Sir *Thomas Shirley*, Sir *Arthur Baſſet*, Sir *Walter Waller*, Sir *Gervaſe Clifton*, and others of Knights degree; beſides five hundred Gentlemen. At his departure the Queene gave him in eſpeciall charge, that he ſhould not have ſo much as a thought of doing any thing to her diſparagement, or his owne diſcredit in his place; and withall poſſible diligence to learne what device the States had in raiſing the valew of money, and letting it fall againe upon occaſion (in which way they are held very cunning Merchants;) what Garriſons they maintaine, and by what meanes. She willed him likewiſe to have a ſpeciall care to plague the Dunkirkers, which troubled the Narrow Seas, and to have a ſpeciall regard to the Prince of Oranges children.

1586. Reg. 29. Abſolute authority granted to the Earle of Leiceſter.

The Earle of Leiceſter landing at Flushing, was firſt by Sir *Philip Sidney* the Governour his nephew, and after by the Townes of Zealand and Holland, entertained in moſt magnificent and triumphant ſort: and comming to the Hague in Januarie, the States Generall by Patent committed to him the high command and abſolute authoritie over the united Provinces, with the titles of Governour and Captaine Generall of Holland, Zealand, and the confederate Provinces. And being now guarded with a great retinue, ſaluted by all perſons with the Title of his *Excellencie*, and puffed up with flatteries, he began to aſſume Princely ſpirits. But the Queen forthwith ſignified to the States her diſpleaſure for receiving him into ſo high honour, and with one letter to this effect ſoone cooled his courage in the middeſt of his jollitie.

The Queens letter.

How contemptuouſly you have carried your ſelfe toward Us, this Meſſenger, whom for the ſame purpoſe We have diſpatched towards you, ſhall let you underſtand. Verily We could not imagine, that a man whom We raiſed out of the duſt, and graced with more eſpeciall favour than others, could with ſo great contempt have violated Our royall command, eſpecially in thoſe things wherein We our ſelves, and our honour are ſo highly engaged. Of which, although you, contrary to what you are bound by fidelitie and allegeance, have no regard at all, yet would We not have you thinke Us ſo ſupinely negligent in vindicating the ſame, that We will let ſlip ſo great an injurie in ſilence and oblivion. Wherefore We command you, that all excuſe being laid aſide, by vertue of the allegeance which you owe Us, forthwith you put in execution the injunctions which you ſhall receive by Henage *our Vice-Chamberlaine, upon paine of further perill and our indignation.*

An expoſtulation.

In letters apart to the States Generall ſhe expoſtulateth, *That to her great diſparagement, they had caſt upon the Earle of Leiceſter her ſubject, the abſolute Command over the United Provinces, without her privitie, when as ſhee her ſelfe had utterly refuſed it, and by her declaration had given the whole Chriſtian World to underſtand that ſhe affected no Dominion or Soveraigntie in the Low-Countries, but onely lent her aide to poore diſtreſſed perſons.* Wherefore ſhe willeth them, *to deveſt the Earle of Leiceſter of that abſolute authoritie, whoſe bounds ſhe had ſet him; not becauſe ſhee tooke not their cauſe to heart, which by all meanes ſhe would maintaine, but onely to make proviſion for her honour, which ſhe eſteemed more precious than her life.* The States returne anſwer, *That they were heartily ſorry they ſhould incurre her diſpleaſure, by conferring upon the Earle that abſolute authority,*

authoritie not having first made her acquainted. But they beseech her that 1586.
she would weigh the necessitie thereof, and be thereby appeased, vsing this
for auoiding of confusion that authoritie must needs be vest in one sithe one or
other member was there in it any such great matter as the word Absolute
might seeme to import, for as much as the rule and dominion resided still
in the people. Yet if they should recall the authoritie which they had confer-
red, they must thereby vpon necessity hazard the fortunes of the Low Coun-
tries. By these letters from the States, and Leicesters owne writing, who had the length of the Queenes foot, and knew well enough with dissembled teares and sorrow to asswage the anger of a mercifull Prince, the offence by little and little quite vanished out of her remembrance.

He all this while receiveth contributions and rewards from all the Provinces, maketh martiall Lawes, and endevouring likewise to raise new Customes upon the merchandize, incurred great envie amongst the common people. Now the Prince of Parma by Count *Mansfield* had for certaine moneths together beleaguered the Greave, a Towne in Brabant upon the river Maes. To the reliefe whereof Leicester sent the Count *Hohenlow* a German, and *Norris* Generall of the foot forces of the English; who at the first onset endevouring to raise a worke neere the Town, by meanes whereof to relieve the besieged, the Spaniards set upon them, & made them give back: but soone after other supplies comming, they drave away the Spaniards, making a great slaughter among them, so that seven of their chiefe Commanders were wanting; yet *Norris* received but one small wound. Count *Hohenlow* a while after brake down their workes, and letting in a great sluce of water, with small boates carried men and provision into the Towne. But anon came the Prince of Parma himselfe, and plaied upon the Towne with great Ordnance, insomuch that *Hemart* the Governour, who was a novice in militarie affaires, before any breach was made, upon faire quarter for himselfe and the company, yeelded up the place. Leicester in this time scowred the Ile of Batavia or Betow of the Spaniards that were in it, and built a Fort for the defence of it. *Hemart* after for example sake lost his head.

Greave beleaguered by Count Mansfield.

The Prince of Parma, marching into Gelderland, pitched his Tents before Venlow; where *Shenkie* a Frieze-lander, and *Roger Williams* a Welshman, couragiously and boldly brake thorow, and made assault upon the Towne it selfe, killing some of the enemies, and at length came to the Prince of Parma's owne Tent, but failed of their purpose, and Venlow within a short time was delivered up. The meane while the Lord *Willoughby* Governour of Bergen-ap-zome cut off the enemies Convoies, and tooke away their victualls: on the other side Sir *Philip Sidney*, and *Maurice* the Prince of Oranges son, upon a sudden onset tooke Axale a Towne in Flanders. *Sidney* gathering courage from this successe, being inticed by some of the Garrison souldiers at Graveling, set upon it in the night; but was mocked, and having a few of his men slaine by *La-Mot* the Governour that laid the plot, came off safe with the rest: *William Pelham* Commander of the English horse rideth up and downe Brabant. The Prince of Parma leaving Venlow, directs

A bold assault upon Venlow.

his

1586. his courſe to Berke, where there were twelve thouſand Engliſh under Colonell *Morgan*: he notwithſtanding laid ſiege to the Towne, which the Earle of Leiceſter came to raiſe; but finding himſelfe unequall for number, ill provided of victualls, and the enemies Tents ſtrongly fortified, to draw him from that ſiege he himſelfe beſegeth Duisburg, and having battered downe ſome part of the walls, intended to aſſault it; but they came to termes of compoſition, and entred the Towne before the Prince of Parma could come from Berke to their reliefe. But hee now fearing leſt Zutphen a neighbouring Citie ſhould come into danger, commandeth victualls to bee carried thither; which the Spaniards carried along in a fogge, the Engliſh lighted upon them by chance. Here now happened a skirmiſh, and the Engliſh receiving a volley or two of ſhot from a fence of the Spaniards hard by, yet ſtood to it, vanquiſhed a troope of horſe ſent out under the conduct of *Creſitet*, whom the Lord *Willoughby* unhorſed and tooke him, ſlew *Hannibal Gonzaga*, and divers others. Not many of the Engliſh were wanting, but one who alone was worth a great number, Sir *Philip Sidney*, who having his horſe ſlaine under him, & getting upon another was ſhot into the thigh, and five and twenty daies after died in the flowre of his age, being lamented by all ſorts of people. The Earle of Leceiſter his Unkle, upon his returne into England, cauſed his funeralls to be ſolemnized in ſumptuous manner at S. *Paules* Church in London; *James* King of Scotland made his Epitaph, both Univerſities made funerall verſes upon him, and new Colledge in Oxford in honour of him framed an elegant trophie to him.

Sir Philip Sidney ſlaine.

All this, and more than this, the mans valour, ingenuitie, and rare learning, beſides other excellencies, did highly deſerve. Leiceſter, though overladen with ſorrow and griefe, yet fiercely aſſaulteth Zutphen, and to make the better way for his taking of it, firſt ſeized upon a ſmall river-Iland, and a Fort in it; then ſet upon another Fort, which by the valour of *Edward Stanley*, of the *Stanleyes* of Elford, he tooke likewiſe, who catching hold of a Spaniards Lance, which was brandiſhed at him, held it ſo faſt, that by it he was drawne into the very Fort; whereupon the Spaniards being affrighted forſooke the Worke. Leiceſter knighted *Stanley* for this his valour, gave him forty pounds in preſent money, and aſſigned him a yeerly penſion of a hundred Markes during his life. The night following the Spaniards left the great Fort, with all the munition, and betooke themſelves into Zutphen. And now Leiceſter thought it not meet to beſiege it any longer, becauſe it was already winter; and deemed the Engliſh Garriſons in the neighbouring Townes a ſufficient ſiege to it. For at Daventrie, within ſixe Engliſh miles from Zutphen Northward, was *William Stanley* with twelve hundred of Engliſh & Iriſh, in the fortifications of Zutphen neere Daventrie, *Rowland Yorke* with eight hundred foot and a hundred horſe; at Duisburg within ſixe miles Southward, *John Borroughs* with eight hundred foot and two hundred horſe; and Eaſtward, were Garriſon ſouldiers placed in Lockham, Sherenberg, and Doetick. Leiceſter now returned to the Hague, where all the States entertaine him with querulous expoſtulations, complaining that their money was not carefully husbanded, that he ſuffered his eares to be open to evill Counſellours, the number of the Engliſh ſupplies was not full, forrein

The valour of Edward Stanley.

ſouldiers

souldiers without the States consent levied, militarie discipline neglected, Wagoners and Enginiers forcibly taken up, the priviledges of the United Provinces set at naught, and new devises for contributions invented. Now they intreat him to provide some timely remedie for these evills. He having a secret purpose to goe for England, made them in friendly sort beleeve that all things should be amended. But upon the very day in which he was to depart, he committeth the Government of the Provinces to the deliberation of the States: and the same day made another private Instrument of writing, wherein he reserveth to himselfe the whole authoritie over the Governours of the severall Provinces, Cities, and Forts; yea taketh away the wonted jurisdictions from the States Councell, and Presidents of the Provinces, and came into England the third day of December. Thus passed the affaires of the Netherlanders this yeere. 1586.

The Earle of Arundell fined in Star-Chamber.

But in England *Philip* Earle of Arundell, who had lien in prison for a whole yeere, was at last brought to the Star-Chamber, and accused upon these points, *viz. That he had sustained Popish Priests contrary to the Lawes, held correspondence by private letters with* Alan *and* Parsons *the Jesuite, the Queenes sworne enemies; in a published rescript had derogated from the justice of the Kingdome, and offered to depart the Kingdome without licence.* He making answer for himselfe, made profession of all good respect to his Queene and Countrie, modestly excuseth himselfe out of ignorance of the Lawes and zeale to the Catholike religion, and submitted himselfe to the censure of that Court. They laid a fine on his head of ten thousand pounds, and imprisonment during the Queenes pleasure. But hereof more hereafter.

An Embassage about peace with Spaine.

At this time came into England an Embassadour from *Frederick* the second King of Denmark, called *Ramilie*, being clad in souldiers array, and attended with a company of Harquebuzers; who in copious manner declared his masters great well-wishing to the Queene, and the peace of Christendome, who promised to devote himselfe and his utmost endevours to procure a peace with the King of Spaine, very needfull, as he said, *That the enemie of mankind might no longer with Christian bloud water his field hee had sowne with the Low-Countrie warre.* The Queene gave him very favourable audience, held frequent conference with him, and highly commended the King of Denmarkes pious intentions. But for the matter of his Embassage shee returned this answer by the Lord Burleigh Treasurer, *Charles Howard* Lord Admirall, Baron Hunsdon Chamberlaine, and Sir *Francis Walsingham* Secretary; to wit, *That shee desired nothing in the world more earnestly than peace with her neighbouring Princes, such as might be free from dissimulation and treacherie; but having had good experience of the King of Spaines entendments towards her, shee could not doe lesse than provide for her owne safetie, defend the reformed Religion, and maintaine inviolate the league with her confederates and allies.* To like effect shee gave answer to *Bodellan*, whom the Prince of Parma sent into England upon an errand of peace likewise.

The Queens answer.

But all this notwithstanding, by Sir *Horatio Pallavicine* shee supplied with a large sum of money the King of Navarre, through whose side the

Guises

1586. Guiſes oppoſed the reformed Religion in Scotland. But the greateſt matter which buſied her thoughts, was how to unite England and Scotland in a ſolid friendſhip, and to agree upon a league defenſive and offenſive; thereby to fruſtrate her foreine enemies of ſupplies from Scotland, and to prevent the Queene of Scots deſignes and hopes from thence. For ſhe ſuſpected to be deepely offended, and to hatch ſome dangerous projects for the recovering of her libertie. But for the accompliſhing of the league, which ſhe began to treat of by *Wotton* (but was interrupted by the murder of *Roſſith*, and now alſo *Deſnevale* the French Embaſſadour in Scotland, and Monſieur *Cercelle* a fellow of a turbulent ſpirit, who of late was diſgracefully thruſt out of England, ſought to hinder it.) *Thomas Randolph* was employed, whoſe dexteritie in the Scottiſh affaires had gained him the eſteeme of a wiſe and fortunate man; albeit not very gracious with the King, in regard of the ſtirres which he had formerly made in Scotland. He made the ſame propoſitions to the King touching the league, which *Wotton* formerly had done. The King would have the articles touching the annuall penſion, and caution that nothing ſhould be done in prejudice of his right to the Crowne of England after the Queene, added and put into the league. The Embaſſadour (according to his inſtructions) undertooke, that thoſe particulars ſhould in a writing apart be made good, ſo long as he continued in firme amitie with the Engliſh. The King alſo, out of a love to his people, requeſted that the Scots might enjoy the ſame immunities in England which the Engliſh themſelves did. Hereunto the Embaſſador made anſwer, that that could by no meanes be brought to paſſe, but by authoritie of Parliament; and the Commons and Nobilitie, he thought, would hardly be drawne to grant it.

The French would hinder the league.

At laſt viewing the articles, and taking ſome time to deliberate on them, he yeelded his conſent thereunto, and gave order that copies ſhould be given to the Nobles of the Kingdome, that they alſo might ratifie them under their hands. The French Embaſſadour all this while murmured, ſaying, that the Queen ſought this league out of no good will to the King, but feare leſt ſhe ſhould be cruſhed by her enemies, that were in confederacie againſt her. Afterward he injected terrours and threats, that the league and amitie with the French, which had ever beene found very uſefull and beneficiall for Scotland, ſhould upon this bee broken off; but in the end fell to entreaties, that the King would doe nothing in this matter till the King of France were made acquainted.

The league agreed on in Scotland, againſt the French Embaſſadors conſent.

With the King notwithſtanding (who accounted lightly of theſe ſpeeches) all this could worke nothing to the hindrance or delaying of the Treatie. For hee wiſely perceived that the Engliſh had well ſtrengthened themſelves already by the Low-countrie Confederacie, and therefore to the French Embaſſadour he gave this ſerious anſwer: *That he for his part repoſed his confidence in the goodneſſe of Almightie God, and not in their friendſhip which were enemies of Gods glorie. Neither was it leſſe lawfull for him to conclude a league with the Queene of England, not making the French King acquainted, than for the French King, who had lately done the like with her, and given him no notice thereof.*

thereof. And albeit the Queene sent not altogether so great a sum of money as was expected, because shee would not be thought to purchase a league, and gave but slender caution for the matter of succession to the Crowne, hee nevertheless out of his zeale to Religion and affection toward her, also a desire of a future peace, gave order that the articles of the treatie should be drawn, and commanded the *Carres* to be sent into England, who were suspected about the killing of *Russell*: but the day before they should have beene sent they fled away. Within a while after, in the beginning of July, there met at Barwick *Edward* Earle of Rutland, *William* Lord Howard, and *Thomas Randolph* for the Queene of England; *Francis* Earle of Bothwell, *Robert* Lord *Boid*, and *Humes*, Delegates for the King of Scots, and there the league (which was called the league of strict amitie, for that the word offensive liked not the Scots) was in these words concluded.

The Delegates for the league.

For as much as the reigne and Government of these Princes is fallen upon these times, in which the neighbouring Princes boasting themselves in the name of Catholikes, and leaning to the See of Rome, have bound themselves in mutuall leagues and confederacies, for the rooting out of the true, pure, and Evangelicall Religion, not onely in their owne Territories and Dominions, but in other Kingdomes likewise: Lest they which professe the Gospell should seeme lesse solicitous for the defence and maintenance of the same, than they of the Romish combination are for the extirpation thereof, the said Princes are now seriously resolved, for the better securing of their own persons, upon whose safetie the welfare of the whole people dependeth; and for the preservation of the true, ancient, and Christian Religion (the which they now professe) to enter a more strict league of amitie and confederacie than was ever hitherto agreed on between the progenitors and predecessours of their severall Majesties.

The forme of it.

In the first place therefore (to the end this pious and necessarie purpose of both Princes in these turbulent times may attaine its due effect for the common benefit, and the propagation of the Gospell:) it is determined, agreed on, and concluded, that the said Princes in this strict and holy league of confederacie, shall provide for the maintenance and preservation of the true, pure, and Evangelicall profession, against all persons that shall devise, attempt, or do any thing against either of them, for the overthrow of the said Religion, and by all serious endevour shall doe their best to procure those other Princes who professe the same true Religion, to enter with them into the said so just and holy a league, and joyne their forces for the preservation of the pure worship of God in their Dominions; and likewise rule and defend their people under the said ancient, Catholike, and Apostolike Religion.

It is also determined, agreed, and concluded on, that this league and confederacy, for the defence and upholding of the Christian and Catholike religion, which at this time by both Princes is professed, and in their Realmes and Dominions by the goodnesse of Almightie God is professed and upheld, shall be a league defensive & offensive against whomsoever that shall hinder, or any way endevour to hinder the free exercising of the said Religion in their said Realmes and Dominions; notwithstanding all other treaties, leagues, confederacies, held by either of them with any forrein Princes, which are adver-

saries

1586. ſaſties and diſturbers of the ſame whatſoever. And if at any time hereafter it happen, that any Prince or State, of what condition ſoever, invade or moleſt the Realmes, Dominions, or Territories of either of theſe Princes, or any part of them, or doe any damage or wrong whatſoever to the perſons of their ſaid Majeſties, or their ſubjects; it is determined, agreed, and concluded on, that either of theſe Princes (being certified by the other, how it invaded or ſuffereth moleſtation) ſhall openly or ſecretly, directly or indirectly, give or afford any aide, counſell, or favour, at any time to the ſaid invaders or moleſters: all ties of conſanguinitie or affinitie, leagues of alliance and amitie, formerly concluded on, or hereafter to bee agreed upon, to the contrarie notwithſtanding.

It is determined, agreed, and concluded on, that the foreſaid Princes ſhall aide and aſſiſt each other in manner as followeth, viz. The King of Scotland (if the Kingdome of England be invaded or infeſted by a forren enemie in the parts remote from the Kingdome of Scotland) upon requeſt made by the Queen of England, ſhall without delay ſend two thouſand horſe and five thouſand foot, or ſome leſſer number, according to the deſire and requeſt of the ſaid Queen, and ſhall take care that the ſaid ſupplies be conveied from the borders of Scotland next adjoyning to England, into what part of England ſoever, at the Queenes coſt and charges.

Alſo that the Queene of England, if the Kingdome of Scotland happen to be invaded or moleſted by an enemie in the parts farre diſtant from England, ſhall upon requeſt made to her by the King of Scotland, ſend a ſuccour forthwith of three thouſand horſe and five thouſand foot, or a leſſe number, at the diſcretion and choice of the Kings of Scotland; and ſhall cauſe them to bee conducted from the borders of England next adjoyning to Scotland, into any other part of Scotland, at the coſt and charges of the ſaid King of Scotland.

Alſo it is determined, agreed, and concluded on, that if the Kingdome of England toward the Northern parts, chance to be invaded within threeſcore miles of the borders of Scotland, that the illuſtrious King of Scots, being required and called thereunto by the noble Queen of England, ſhall effectually and without delay muſter together all the forces and ſtrength which he ſhall be able to make, and joyne them with the Engliſh forces; and in all hoſtile manner purſue and charge upon the invaders of the Kingdome of England, their aſſiſtants and favourers whatſoever, for the ſpace of thirtie daies together: at the end of that time, the occaſion and neceſſitie ſo requiring longer, and for as long ſpace as the ſubjects of Scotland have anciently been wont to performe ſervice in the defence of their owne Kingdome of Scotland, or by law at this day are bound unto.

Alſo that the King of Scotland, being certified by the Queen of England of any invaſion or moleſtation whatſoever in the Kingdome of Ireland, ſhall interdict not onely the Countie of Argile, the Ilands, and places neere adjoyning to that Countie, and all other parts of the Kingdome of Scotland, from making any entrance, or ſetting foot in the Kingdome of Ireland: but alſo for time to come, whenſoever it ſhall happen that the inhabitants of any part of the Kingdome of Scotland doe ſet foot in any part of Ireland, with any extraordinarie or unwonted number of ſouldiers, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this Treatie, the ſaid King being by the Queene certified

tified

tised of any such entrance and impression made, shall by publike proclamation denounce and persecute those parties ranging up and downe after hostile manner in that kingdome, as rebels, disturbers of the publike peace, and traitors. 1586.

Also that neither Prince, for the time to come, shall afford any aide, favour, or assistance to any traitor or rebell, or other person of their subjects, that maketh publike revolt from his Prince, nor suffer any aide to be yeelded them by any others in any sort or manner, or suffer such person openly or secretly to make any abode in either their kingdomes. But they both, from the first time of notice or request made by that Prince from whom they have revolted, without any delay or procrastination, shall deliver or cause to be delivered the said traitors and rebels, according to the agreements expressed in our former treaties betweene us and our predecessors; or at leastwise shall compell them to depart from the bounds and limits of their Dominions and Territories. And moreover, as long as the said rebels or traitors shall abide in their said Dominions, shall make full satisfaction for all wrongs and damages procured and caused by the said rebels.

Also that for the composing of all and singular the injuries and controversies, which from the time that the illustrious King of Scotland tooke into his owne hands the government of the Kingdome, and for the space of foure yeares next before that time have happened in the borders, by reason of the borders, or betweene the borderers, the Princes of each side within sixe moneths to be reckoned from the conclusion of this league shall depute and authorize certaine Commissioners, men of understanding and peaceably minded, with sufficient instructions for the purpose, in some convenient place neere the bounds of each Kingdome, who shall make an honourable and friendly transaction of all and singular causes and controversies of that nature.

Also that neither of the said Princes shall contract any league or confederacie with any other Prince whatsoever, Republike, or Societie, to the prejudice of this league and union, nor enter any other league without the expresse consent of the other Prince confederate, by letter from the said Prince, either subscribed with their owne hand, or else confirmed by their Privie Seale, first had and obtained.

Also that both Princes, when either of them shall hereunto be duely requested by the Orators or Commissioners of either Prince, shall allow and confirme this sacred league of confederacie by their oath and great Seale; and furthermore, for the better confirmation of the same, at some certaine time (the which by the mutuall consent of both Princes shall be appointed) shall deliver or cause to be delivered their Royall grants or letters patents.

Also, that all former treaties of amitie, and agreements of confederacie betweene the Predecessors of the foresaid Princes, their Realmes, and Dominions, albeit they may seeme to be antiquated and gone, shall nevertheless continue in their full force, strength and vertue. And in like manner, that this present treatie of mutuall confederacie and stedfast friendship, shall in no wise derogate or detract from the former treaties and confederacies, entred by the said Princes with others their confederates and allies, or in any part diminish their weight and authoritie (the defence of the pure Religion, which the said Princes doe now maintaine in their Realmes and Dominions, only excepted)

1586. excepted) in which case this present league defensive and offensive shall continue in its strength firme and unmoveable.

Also that the King of Scotland when he shall be five and twenty yeers old, so soone as hee may conveniently doe it, shall by a publike assembly of his whole Kingdome allow and confirme, and cause to be allowed and confirmed, this present league. And also that her royall Majestie, by the Peeres and other States of her Kingdomes of England and Ireland, shall in a Parliament doe and performe, and cause the same to be done and performed.

A conspiracie against Queen Elisabeth.

The very same moneth that this league was agreed on, a most wicked and dangerous conspiracie against the Queene came to light: the originall and progresse whereof the gentle Reader shall have here set down out of the voluntarie confessions of the Conspirators themselves. Certaine Students in the English Seminarie at Rheimes, which had the Popes omnipotencie in admiration, beleeved that the Bull of Pope *Pius* the fift against the Queene was dictated by the very Holy Ghost; and perswaded themselves and others (which vaine-gloriously affected the Crown of Martyrdome) that it was a meritorious work to take away the lives of Princes excommunicate; yea, and very Martyrdome to spend their lives in that cause. These principles, *Giffard* Doctor of Divinitie, *Gilbert Giffard* and *Hodgeson* Priests, had so beaten into one *John Savage*, a man ready to attempt such villanies, that he freely and willingly vowed to kill the Queene. And at the very same time they wrote a booke (and that for no other end but to lull the Queen and her Counsell in securitie, and secretly to make way for their owne bloudy enterprises) wherein they exhorted the Papists in England not to attempt any thing against their Prince, but to encounter their adversaries with the weapons of Christians, teares, spirituall meanes, daily praiers, watching, fastings, and the like. And withall, by their instruments and tale-carriers they dispersed a rumor, that *George Giffard* one of the Queenes Pensioners had sworne the Queens death, and upon that pretence had circumvented the Duke of Guise of a great summe of money.

Ballard sent into England.

At Easter *Ballard* a Priest of the Seminarie of Rheims, who had visited most of the Papists throughout England and Scotland, and tried how they stood affected, returneth into France with *Maud* one of *Walsinghams* spies (a subtle fellow, and a deepe dissembler, that unawares put tricks upon him) and dealeth with *Mendoza*, at this time the King of Spaines ordinarie Embassadour in France, and with *Charles Paget*, who was greatly devoted to the Queen of Scots, about the invading of England, and that now was the fittest time, for that the Militarie men were absent in the Low-Countries. Neither could a more commodious opportunitie be met withall or hoped for, since the Pope, King of Spaine, Duke of Guise, and Prince of Parma, had decreed to set upon England, to divert them from the Low-Countrie warre. And albeit *Paget* made manifest proofe, that it would be altogether in vaine to attempt an invasion of England whiles the Queene lived, yet was *Ballard* sent backe for England, but first sworne to make speedy provision to procure aide for the invaders, and libertie to the Queene of Scots. At Whitsontide this silken Priest arrived in England in a souldiers habit, and by a counterfeit name called Captaine *Fosco*. At London hee dealt concerning these

matters

1586.

matters with *Anthonie Babington* a Gentleman of Dethick in Darbishire well defended of a good estate and dainty wit, well learned even above his yeares, who being addicted to the Romish Religion, a little before went privately into France without licence, where he fell familiarly acquainted with *Thomas Morgan* one of the Queen of Scots servants, and the Bishop of Glasco her Embassadour, who by continuall applause and admiration of the vertues and perfection of so great a Princesse, and promise of great honours, which he should obtaine by her, soothed up the ambitious young man, and when he had dreamed of it commended him by letters to the Queen of Scots. For as soone as he was come back into England she by sundry letters courteously saluted him, and *Morgan* used him as a meanes over and anon to convey letters to the Queene of Scots, till such time as she was committed to the custody of Sir *Amias Paulet*, for then the young man perceiving the danger left off. With this *Babington* (I say) *Ballard* the Priest conferred about the matters wee spake of. He thought directly that the invasion of England would come to nothing as long as the Queen lived. *Ballard* gave him intimation that that obstacle should not long be in the way, for *Savage* was already comming into England, who had vowed all this. But *Babington* disliked it, that a matter of so great consequence should be laid upon *Savage* alone, lest haply he might faile of his purpose, but rather advised, that five valiant Gentlemen should be chosen, of whom *Savage* should be one, for his more sake. Hereupon *Babington* writeth a new consultation, by what meanes the Kingdome might be invaded, concerning the Ports where they should land, the forces wherewithall, the freeing of the Queen of Scots, and the tragicall murder of the Queene.

He meeteth with Babington and acquainteth him with the plot.

Babington in the conspiracie.

Whiles hee was wholly bent upon these thoughts, a strange lad brought him letters from the Queene of Scots, in a part of that alphabet knowne onely to themselves, in which shee mildly taxeth him for his long silence, and willeth him to send her the packet of letters which *Morgan* had sent, and he received by the French Embassadours Page. The which hee did, and withall, by the same lad sent letters backe to her, wherein he excuseth his long silence, for that he was destitute of an opportunitie of sending, since the time that she was delivered to the custodie of Sir *Amias Paulet*, a Puritane, a meere Iebeusian, and a sworne enemie to the Catholike Religion.

Babington receiveth letters from the Queene of Scots.

He unfoldeth what conference he had with *Ballard*, telleth her that sixe Gentlemen were selected, which should commit the tragicall murder (for that name he still gave it) and that he with a hundred others at the same time would free her; requesting withall new Titles to these heroicall actors (for so he stiled them). To these letters of his 7. of July, she gave answer, highly extolling *Babingtons* good affection towards her and the Catholike Religion: but adviseth that they proceed warily and with consideration, and to enter an Association amongst themselves for feare of some Puritans in the company, and not to attempt any thing till they were sure the forrein supplies were at hand. Likewise to get some rebellion raised in Ireland, whiles the blow was given here: to draw to their party Arundell and his brothers, and the Earle of Northumberland, to cause Westmorland, *Paget* and the rest to acquire

Their vaine hope.

1586. privately into England. The way likewiſe of freeing her ſhe propounded; either by overthrowing a Coach in the gate, or ſetting the Stables on fire, or ſeizing upon her when ſhe was riding in the fields betwixt Chartley and Stafford to take the aire. In the laſt place, *Babington* was willed to engage himſelfe for the rewarding of thoſe fiue Gentlemen and the reſt.

Babingtons partners in the conſpiracie.

He by this time had gotten a knot of Gentlemen, fired with zeale to the Romiſh Religion; the chiefe were *Edward Windſor*, brother to the Lord *Windſor*, a young man of a mild diſpoſition; *Thomas Salisburie*, deſcended from a familie of Knights degree in Denbighſhire; *Charles Tilney*, anciently deſcended likewiſe, and of a noble parentage, the onely hope of his houſe, one of the Penſioners to the Queen, whom *Ballard* long before had reconciled to the Church of Rome; *Chidiock Tichborne*, of the Countie of Southampton; *Edward Abington*, whoſe father was Cofferer to the Queene; *Robert Gage* of Surrey; *John Travers*, and *John Charnock* of Lancaſhire; *John Jones*, whoſe father was of the Wardrobe to Queene *Mary*; *Savage* formerly ſpoken of; *Barnwell* of a noble family in Ireland; *Henrie Dunn*, a Clarke in the Office of firſt fruits and tenths. One *Pollie* likewiſe ſcrewed himſelfe into their compaine, a fellow throughly acquainted with the affaires of the Queene of Scots, and a profound diſſembler; who was thought to have revealed all their conſultations to *Walſingham* day by day; and to thruſt headlong the young men into miſchiefes, who ranne faſt enough of their owne accord; albeit *Nau* the Queene of Scots Secretarie adviſed them to beware of him.

Each mans part aſſigned.

To theſe Gentlemen *Babington* communicates his affaires, but not every particular to them in ſeverall; to *Ballard*, *Tichbourn* and *Dunn*, he ſheweth the letters which paſſed between him and the Queen of Scots; dealeth with *Tilney* & *Tichbourn* to be of the number of the Aſſaſinates. They at firſt ſeemed loth to pollute their hands with their Princes bloud; *Ballard* and *Babington* labour to make it good, that it was lawfull to make away Princes that were excommunicate; and if law and equitie might at all be violated, ſurely in no caſe ſooner than for the advancement of the Catholike cauſe. Hereupon they were partly perſwaded, and at length gave their conſent. *Abington*, *Barnwell*, *Charnock*, and *Savage* are ready and forward to ſweare to doe their utmoſt. *Salisburie* could by no meanes be drawn to be one of thoſe Aſſaſinates, but freely promiſeth his aſſiſtance in freeing of the Queene of Scots. *Babington* deſigned an Aſſaſinate above the number, one *Tichmor*, of whoſe fidelitie & fortitude he was well perſwaded, but he was now away in the Country. *Babington* chargeth them not to impart the matter to any, unleſſe they firſt bound him by an oath to ſecrecie. The Conſpiratours held conference ever and anon concerning theſe affaires in Saint *Giles* fields, in *Paules*, and Tavernes, where they oftentimes met and feaſted, being puffed up with hopes of great honours and dignitie; one while commending the valour of the Scottiſh Nobilitie, who a while ſince ſeized upon the King at Sterlin, and another time extolling the undaunted courage of *Gerard* the Burgundian that ſlew the Prince of Orange. Yea, ſo vaine and fooliſh they grew at length, that they cauſed thoſe that were deſigned for the

Their vaine hopes.

Aſſaſi-

Assassinates, to be pictured all togethter to the life, and *Babington* in the middest with this verse: 1586.

Hi mihi sunt comites, quos ipsa pericula ducunt.

But this verse was thought somewhat too plaine, therefore they caused another to bee put instead of it, *Quorsum hæc alio properantibus?* This Table they say was taken and privately shewed to the Queene, who knew none of them by face but *Barnwell* onely, who had oftentimes come to her in the causes of the Earle of Kildare, of whose retinue he was. Certaine it is, that the Queene one day walking along spied *Barnewell*, fearelesly beheld the man, and turning her selfe to *Hatton* and the rest, said, am not I well guarded, which have not so much as one man in the companie with a sword by his side? For thus much *Barnwell* himselfe told the rest of the confederacie, and how easie a matter it had been to have dispatched her at that time, if the rest had beene present. *Savage* also affirmed the same.

Babingtons care to get aid.

Now nothing troubled *Babington* so much, as feare lest the forrein forces should faile them. Wherefore, for the better assurance, he had a purpose himselfe to crosse over into France, and for that end had sent *Ballard* before hand, whom he furnished with money, and got him leave to travell under a counterfeit name. *Babington* likewise, to be free from all suspition (as he thought) by meanes of that *Ballie* whom we speake of insinuated himselfe into *Walsinghams* acquaintance, and earnestly laboured with him to get leave of the Queene for him to travell into France, promising great diligence in searching out the counsells and projects of the English fugitives, for the freeing of the Queene of Scots. *Walsingham* commended the advice of the young Gentleman, and promised not onely to get licence for him to travell, but to procure him greater matters, if he performed really what he undertooke. Nevertheless hee delayed him, till by his owne cunning, and the instruments which hee employed, he had learned their whole conspiracie, which they beleeved not the Sun himselfe was privie to.

Walsinghams policie.

Giffard the prime discoverer of these treasons.

But the prime discoverer of the plot was one *Giffard* a Priest. This *Giffard* was descended from a house of great Gentry at Chellington in Staffordshire, not farre from Chartley, where the Queene of Scots was kept prisoner; and now sent into England by the English fugitives in France, under the counterfeit name of *Luson*, to mind *Savage* of the vow which he had taken, and to serve as an instrument to convey letters between them and the Queene of Scots: for that they could worke neither the Countesse of Arundell, nor the Lord *Lumley*, nor Sir *Henry Howard*, nor Sir *Thomas Shirley*, to undertake that dangerous piece of service.

The fugitives, to make triall whether or not it were safe conveying of letters by *Giffard*, first sent a companie of blankes made up in manner of a packet, and finding by the answers that they were delivered, they grew now more bold, and ever upon occasion sent letters touching their owne affaires written in private Characters. But *Giffard*, whether pricked in conscience, or bribed by *Walsingham*, or dismaied in mind, out of feare of danger, or howsoever, came before time to *Walsingham* privately,

1586. privately, revealing himselfe who he was, and for what end sent into England, promised his utmost endeavour for the good of his Prince and Country; and to impart to him whatsoever letters he should receive either from the English fugitives or the Queene of Scots. *Walsingham*, that knew how to lay hold upon a good occasion when it was offered, courteously entertained the man, sent him down into Staffordshire, and withall wrote to *Powlet* to connive at *Giffard*, while he dealt under hand with some or other of his servants. *Powlet* unwilling, as he said, that any of his servants should play the traitour, though in jest, yet with much adoe suffered him to corrupt a Brewer or an Oate-meale-man, which dwelt hard by. *Giffard* with a few Crownes bribed the Brewer, and soone gained his helpe, and the matter was contrived, that by a hole in the wall, in which a loose stone was put, he should give in and receive forth letters; the which by messengers purposely laid by the way evermore came to *Walsinghams* hand; who brake them open, copied them out, and by the rare cunning of one *Thomas Phillips* found out the meaning of the private characters, and by the singular art of *Arthur Gregorie* sealed them again so cunningly, that no body would imagine them to have been opened, and ever sent them to the parties to whom the superscriptions directed them. In like manner were those former letters of the Queene of Scots to *Babington* intercepted, his answers, and others to him backe againe (whereunto was cunningly added a postscript in the same character, that he should set downe the names of the sixe Gentlemen which should act the murder upon the Queens person) as also other letters written at the same time to *Mendoza* the Spanish Embassadour, *Charles Paget*, the Lord *Paget*, the Arch-bishop of Glasco; and *Francis Inglefield*; all which were copied out and sent away in like manner.

The meaning of those characters found out.

The Queen, as soone as she understood by these letters that such a horrible tempest hanged over her head, both at home and from abroad, for the timely frustrating of the conspiracie gave command to apprehend *Ballard*: whereupon he is taken on a sudden in *Babingtons* house, at the very point of time when he was ready appointed for his journey into France. *Babington* hereupon in great suspence of mind and carefull thoughts, and casting with himselfe a thousand severall waies what to doe, betaketh himselfe to *Tichbourn*, and asketh his advice what were best to be done. He gave counsell that the complices should divide themselves, and shift every one for himselfe. But *Babington* thought it the better course to send *Savage* and *Charnock* out of hand to do the deed upon the Queene; but first to get some more gentile and courtly apparell for *Savage*, that he might gaine the freer accesse: and concerning this hee conferred with them the same day in S. *Pauls*. Straightway his mind altered, and concealing his inward gripes, by letters and importunate entreaties to *Walsingham* (who was now away following the Court) urgeth him to procure his licence to goe into France, withall intercedeth on the behalfe of *Ballard* for his libertie, alledging, that he was to make speciall use of him in the businesse in hand. *Walsingham* with faire promises drives him off from day to day. For the apprehending of *Ballard*, hee laieth the fault upon *Young*, one that made narrow search every where for Papists, & upon the Apparitors; and in friendly sort admonisheth *Babington*

Ballard apprehended.

The fault put on Young.

to

to beware of that generation of men; and craftily perſwadeth him (which hee ſoone gave eare unto) that for a ſmall ſpace, till he got the Queen to ſeale his licence to travell, and he himſelfe could returne to London, he would lodge in his houſe at London, to the end they might have more ſecret conference between themſelves of matters of ſo great moment, and no ſuſpition bee laid upon him by the fugitives when hee came into France, for his frequent recourſe to him. 1586.

In the meane time *Scudemore*, *Walſinghams* ſervant, had great charge given him to obſerve *Babington*, and watch him narrowly, and to accompanie him in everie place whitherſoever he went, under pretence of ſecuring him againſt the Apparitors. Walſinghams ſervant attends Babington.

This web *Walſingham* himſelfe had ſpun hitherto, and none of the reſt of the Queenes Counſell were made acquainted; and he would have drawne the threed out longer yet: but the Queene was unwilling, *Leſt* (as ſhe ſaid) *by not avoiding a danger when ſhe might, ſhe might ſeeme rather to tempt God than truſt in him.* Whereupon *Walſingham* from the Court ſent a note to his man to looke carefully to *Babington*. This ſchedule was not ſealed, but delivered in ſuch manner, that *Babington* ſitting by at table when the man read it, overlooked him and read it likewiſe. Hereupon hee being conſcious to himſelfe, and ſuſpecting that all was diſcovered, the next night he, *Scudamore*, and one or two beſides of *Walſinghams* ſervants ſupping at a Taverne; and being very merry, hee made an excuſe that he muſt needs ſtep aſide, and roſe up, leaving in pledge his cloake and ſword; & ſo made haſt through the dark to Weſtminſter; where *Gage* and he changed apparell, the which *Gage* ſtraightway put off in *Charnocks* chamber, and put on *Charnocks* clothes, and they together withdrew themſelves into St. *Johns* Wood neere the Citie; whither *Barnwell* alſo and *Dun* betooke themſelves. In the meane ſpace they are proclaimed Traitors all over England. They lay lurking in Woods and by places, having ſought to borrow money of the French Embaſſadour, and horſes of *Tichbourne*, but could not obtaine their deſire: then they cut and ſhave *Babington*, diſfigure the native beautie of his countenance with the huskes of greene Walnuts, and when they were halfe ſtarved went to the houſes of the *Bellamies* neere Harrow on the Hill, who were great Papiſts. There they were hid in barnes, foſtered, and put into a Countrie habit. But notwithſtanding all this, they were found ten daies after, and brought to London, where the Citizens expreſſed great rejoycing, in ringing the bells, making bonfires, and ſinging of Pſalmes; inſomuch that the Queen gave them great thanks and commendations. Babington eſcapeth. He lurketh in Woods.

The other Complices were ſhortly taken, moſt of them in the Suburbs of the Citie; *Salisbury* in Cheſhire, his horſe being killed under him by thoſe that purſued him, and *Trauerſe* with him, after they had ſwam over the river Wever; and *Jones* in Wales, who not being ignorant of the intended invaſion, harboured them in his houſe after that he knew they were proclaimed Traitors, and had furniſhed *Salisbury* in his flight with a horſe, and his man (which was a Prieſt) with a cloake. *Windſor* onely was never heard of. Many daies were ſpent in the examination of theſe Malefactors, who cut one the others throates with their The reſt of the conſpirators taken.

owne

1586. owne confeſſions, concealing nothing that they knew.

All this while the Queene of Scots and her ſervants are ſo narrowly looked to by *Powlet*, that ſhee knew nothing of all theſe paſſages, albeit they were familiar and current throughout England. As ſoone as they were taken, *Thomas Gorge* was diſpatched to let her underſtand the matter: which he purpoſely did, ſhe thinking nothing, when ſhe was got upon horſe-back to rideon hunting; neither was ſhe ſuffered to returne, but in ſhew of courteſie was carried up and downe to ſee the houſes of the Gentry thereabours. In the meane while *John Manners*, *Edward Aſton*, *Richard Bagot*, and Sir *William Waad* (who knowing nothing of theſe matters, was a good while ſince ſent into theſe parts, by authoritie under the Queenes hand and ſeale) tooke *Nave* and *Curle* the Queene of Scots Secretaries, and the reſt of her ſervants, and delivered them to keepers apart, that they might have no ſpeech betweene themſelves, nor with their Lady the Queene of Scots. And they breake open all doores; and ſuch deskes and boxes as they found with any papers in them, they ſet their ſeales upon and ſent them to the Court. Then *Powlet* upon eſpeciall command ſeized upon all the money that could be found, that ſo ſhe might bribe no body; but paſſed his word that it ſhould be ſafely reſtored.

The Queene of Scots Secretaries apprehended, and her papers ſent to the Queen.

When the boxes were broken open before the Queene, a number of letters from forrein parts were found there, the copies likewiſe of letters ſent to ſeverall perſons, abridgments, and threeſcore Alphabets at the leaſt of private Characters, as alſo letters to her from ſome of the Engliſh Nobilitie, containing great proffers of love and ſervice. Which the Queene notwithſtanding tooke no notice of, but paſſed over in ſilence, according to her Motto (*Video, taceo*, *I ſee, and ſay nothing.*) But theſe great perſonages ſmelt it out, and from that time, becauſe they would not ſeeme to favour the Queen of Scots, ſet themſelves tooth and naile againſt her.

Giffard now, who had all this while ſerved their turne, is baniſhed into France; but ere he went hence, left an Indenture with the French Embaſſadour here in England, with inſtructions that he ſhould deliver no letters from the Queene of Scots or the fugitives in France, but to him that exhibited an Indenture matching with that, the which he ſent under hand to Sir *Francis Walſingham*.

Giffard ſent into France.

The thirteenth of September, ſeven of the fore-named Complices were arraigned, and pleading guilty were condemned of high Treaſon.

Two daies after ſeven others were called to the barre, who pleaded *Not guiltie*, but according to the cuſtome put themſelves upon their Countrie: who notwithſtanding were found guilty by their own confeſſions, and condemned; *Pollie* only, though he were privie to all paſſages, yet becauſe he ſaid he had diſcloſed many things to *Walſingham*, was not called in queſtion.

The traitors arraigned, and executed.

The twentieth day of the moneth, the firſt ſeven, in S. *Giles* fields where they were wont to meet, a Scaffold and a paire of Gallowes being ſet up for the purpoſe, were hanged, cut downe inſtantly, their privie members cut off, and themſelves yet living and beholding it were bowelled and quartered in cruell manner; to wit, *Ballard* the firſt inventer

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inventer and deviſer of this villanie; who craved pardon from Almighty God, and from this Queen, with this condition, if he had offended her. *Babington* (who undaunted beheld *Ballards* execution, whiles the reſt turned away their faces, and fell to prayers upon their knees) ingenuouſly acknowledged his offences, and being cut downe, and about to be quartered, cried out in Latine with a loud voice, *Lord Jeſus have mercy on me. Swaige*, the rope breaking, fell downe from the Gibbet, and was preſently taken by the hangman, his privie members cut off, and bowelled while he was yet alive. *Barnwell* ſought to extenuate his offence under colour of Religion and conſcience. *Tichburne* in lowly manner acknowledged his great wickedneſſe, & moved the multitude to great pitty. *Tilney* alſo did the ſame, a man of a gentle ſpirit & proper perſon. *Abington* being of a ſturdy ſpirit caſt forth threatnings and terrible ſpeeches, touching much bloud that ſhould ſhortly be ſhed in England.

The next day the other ſeven were drawne to the ſame place, and executed after the ſame faſhion, but in more gentle manner, by the Queens ſpeciall charge, who deteſted the former cruelty. For they hanged all of them till they were quite dead, ere they were cut downe and bowelled. *Salisburie* was firſt, who ſhewed himſelfe wonderfull penitent, and exhorted the Catholikes not to attempt the bringing in of the Religion by any violent meanes. The like did *Dun* which followed him. *Jones* made proteſtation that he diſſwaded *Salisburie* from the enterpriſe, and utterly diſallowed the high and heidſtrong diſpoſition of *Babington*, together with the purpoſe of making an invaſion in England. *Charnock* and *Travers* applying their devotions, commended themſelves to God and the Saints. *Gage* making profeſſion of the Queenes great bountie toward his father, & deteſting his own unthankfulneſſe toward ſo well deſerving a Prince, tooke his death patiently. *Hierom Bellamie*, who had concealed *Babington* after he was proclaimed Traitor (whoſe brother being guiltie of the ſame fact had ſtrangled himſelfe in priſon) in confuſed and ſilent manner cloſed this tragicall ſcene.

The Queen of Scots Secretaries examined.

When theſe men were executed, *Nave* the Frenchman, and *Curle* a Scottiſhman, Secretaries to the Queen of Scots, were examined concerning the letters, the copies of letters, and privie characters found in the Queene of Scots Cloſet; and under their owne voluntarie ſubſcriptions acknowledged that they were their owne hand-writings, dictated in French by the Queene her ſelfe, taken by *Nave*, turned into Engliſh by *Curle*, and copied out in ſecret characters. Neither denied they that the Queene of Scots had received letters from *Babington*, and that they themſelves by her appointment had written back to him in manner aforeſaid. Whether they were bribed or not to make this confeſſion may not be affirmed: but this was evidently found out by their letters, that *Curle* about this time preſſing *Walſingham* to be as good as his word, *Walſingham* checked him as one unmindfull of extraordinarie favour ſhewed him, for as much as he had confeſſed nothing, but what his fellow *Nave* ſtanding by, and urging him to, he was not able to deny.

An Embaſſadour ſent into France.

Now was *Wotton* out of hand ſent into France, to unfold unto the French King the order of the treaſon, and to exhibite the copies of the Queene of Scots and divers other letters, confirmed by the teſtimonies of

1586. of ſundry of the Engliſh Nobilitie; that the French King might hereby perceive, how great and dangerous plots by the devices of *Morgan*, *Charles Paget*, and the reſt of the Engliſh fugitives, were contrived againſt the Queen of England.

Different opinions what ſhould be done with the Queen of Scots.

What ſhould bee done with the Queene of Scots the Counſellors were not all of one mind. Some conceived that it were not good to take any rigorous courſe againſt her, but only hold her in faſt cuſtodie; both for that ſhee was not author of this treaſon, but onely conſcious to it, and becauſe ſhe was crazie and not like to live long. Others, not of care to the Religion, were of opinion to have her forthwith arraigned and put to death according to the Lawes. Leiceſter thought it better to poyſon her, and ſent a Divine to *Walſingham* to prove to him the lawfulneſſe of it. But *Walſingham* proteſted that he was ſo farre from allowing of any violent courſe, that he long agone brake the necke of *Mortons* advice, who would have had her ſent backe into Scotland and killed at the borders. A difference likewiſe aroſe amongſt them by what law to proceed againſt her; whether by the law of the 25. of *Edward* the Third (in which they are pronounced guilty of treaſon which plot the deſtruction of the King or Queene, raiſe warre in his Dominions, or cleave to his adverſaries) or by that of the 27. of this Queene, enacted 3 yeere ſince. Their advice bore the ſway at laſt, which thought it meet to proceed againſt her by vertue of this latter ſtatute, as being in this caſe provided. Wherefore a great number of the Lords of the Queenes Privie Counſell, and others of the Engliſh Nobilitie, were authoriſed by the Queens letters, and appointed by vertue of that law lately enacted, to enquire and paſſe ſentence againſt all ſuch as raiſed rebellion, invaded the Kingdome, or attempted any violence againſt the Queene.

The Commiſſioners meet at Fotheringay.

The greater part of theſe upon the eleventh day of October repaired to Fotheringay Caſtle in Northamptonſhire, where the Queene of Scots was then held priſoner. The next day they ſent to her *Walter Mildmay*, *Powlet*, and *Edward Barker* publike Notarie; the which perſons delivered her the Queenes letters: and having read the ſame with a ſtayed comportment and Princely Majeſty, ſhe ſpake as followeth.

She anſwereth them.

It troubleth me exceedingly, that the Queene my deare ſiſter is evilly informed touching me; and that I have lien neglected for ſo many yeares, kept cloſe priſoner, and fallen lame, notwithſtanding ſo many faire conditions which I proffered to regaine my liberty. And albeit I forwarned her of many imminent dangers, yet was no credit given unto me, but I have alwaies been deſpiſed, though allied to her in a neer bond of kindred and conſanguinitie. When the Aſſociation was entred, and an act of Parliament paſſed upon the ſame, I foreſaw that whatſoever danger from forrein Princes, or diſcontented perſons at home, or for the matter of Religion, ſhould happen here in England, would bee layed upon my backe; for as much as I have in Court many cruell and potent adverſaries. I muſt needs, & that not without good ground, take it in evill part that a league ſhould bee concluded with my ſonne without my privitie. But I let paſſe matters of that nature. As for theſe letters, it ſeemeth to me a ſtrange and uncouth matter that the Queene ſhould lay her command upon me to hold up my hand at the barre, as though I were a ſubject. I am an abſolute Queene, nor will doe any thing which may derogate

from

1586

from Princely Majestie, or be prejudiciall to Princes of my degree and qualitie, or to my sonne the King of Scotland. My spirit is not yet utterly lost, neither will I shrinke for feare of danger. I refer my selfe to my protestation made before Bromley *now Lord Chancellour, and the Lord Laware. The lawes and statutes of England are strange to me: I am destitute of Counsellours, and who should be my Peeres I am utterly ignorant: my papers and instructions are taken from me, and no man dares appeare in my defence to plead my cause. I am free from any offence committed against the Queene; I have stirred up no person against her, neither can I be accused, except by my owne words or writings, which cannot be produced against me. Yet can I not deny but I have commended my selfe and my cause unto the forreine Princes of the Catholike religion.*

The next day *Powlet* and *Barker* returned to her in the name of the Commissioners, who told her that this answer of hers was put into the Register, and demanded if she continued in the same minde. When shee had heard it read distinctly, shee commended it as being well and truely taken, and said, she would still stand to the same. *But one thing* (saith she) *I had forgotten, which I would have added. To that which the Queene writeth, that I am subject to the lawes of England, and must be judged by them, because I have lived under the protection of the same. I answer, that I came into England to implore aide, from that time hitherto have been held prisoner, and could enjoy no benefit nor protection by the lawes of England; no nor could ever learne by any one hitherto what those lawes be.*

She addeth to her former answer.

After dinner some selected persons of the Commissioners, with others skilled in the Imperiall and Canon-lawes, went to her. The Chancellour and Treasurer declared their authoritie granted by the Queens letters Patents, and told her that neither the prerogative of princely Majestie, nor her being held prisoner could exempt her from answering in this Kingdome; in faire speeches exhorted her to heare the objections brought against her; otherwise they plainely threaten her, that according to the lawes they could, and would proceed against her, though she were absent. She made answer, *That she is no subject, and would rather die a thousand deaths than so acknowledge her selfe: for by this acknowledgment, shee should both bring prejudice to the height of princely Majestie, and confesse her selfe bound to all the lawes of England; yea, even those which concerne Religion. Nevertheless in a free and full Parliament she would be ready to answer all allegations; for as much as she cannot tell but this meeting might be packed, and assembled onely for a colour, whereas shee knew she was already forejudged and in their prejudice condemned before shee were heard. Wherefore she admonisheth them to have a regard to their consciences, and to remember that the Theater of the World is of farre wider extent than the Kingdome of England.* Then she began to make complaint of the injuries which she suffered, and the Treasurer taking her off, reckoned up the many kindnesses of the Queene toward her, namely, that she had punished some for impugning her right of succession to the Crowne of England, and would not give way to the Parliament to condemne her for seeking to conferre with the Duke of Norfolke, the rebellion in the North, and other matters. But of this she made light reckoning; so they left her.

She refuseth to appeare before them.

A few

1586. A few houres after, by *Powlet* and the Queenes Solicitor they exhibited the heads of the Commission, and the names of the Delegates, that she might perceive that they intended to proceed fairely and legally, not cunningly and disorderly against her. She opposed no exception to the Delegates, but inveighed bitterly against the new law lately made, whereupon the whole force of their Commission was founded: to wit, that it was unjust, devised and framed purposely against her, the like had never beene knowne, and that for her part shee would never submit herselfe to it. She demanded according to what law they would proceed; if according to the Civill or Canon-lawes, shee said they must fetch Interpreters from Pavie in Italie, Poictiers in France, or some other forreine Universities, for in England there were no skilfull professours of those sciences. She added furthermore, that it was manifest by the Queenes expresse words in her letters, that she was already proclaimed guilty of the crime in all peoples mouthes, before she were heard speake in her owne defence, and therefore there was no reason why she should appeare before them. She required likewise satisfaction to some scruples in those letters, which shee said she had noted confusedly and hastily by her selfe apart, but refused to tender them copied out; for it stood not with the royaltie of a Queene, as she said, to performe the office of a Clerke.

The Queen of Scots exceptеth against the new Law.

Touching this matter those selected Commissioners went to her againe: to whom she said that she throughly understood not the meaning of those words, *Seeing she is under the Queenes protection.* The Chancellour made answer, *That thus was evident enough to any intelligent person; yet it appertained not to them which were subjects to make an interpretation of the Queenes meaning, neither were they sent to that end.* Then shee requested to see the protestation which shee made long agoe, and to have it allowed. They answered, that it never was allowed, neither could it be allowed at this time, it being derogatorie to the Crowne of England. She demanded, by what authority they would proceed. They answer, by authoritie of their Commission, & the Common Lawes of England. *But* (quoth she) *you make lawes at your pleasure, whereunto there is no reason why I should submit my selfe, for as much as the English long since refused to subject themselves to the Salique Law of the French. If they would proceed according to the Common Lawes of England, let them shew a President, in as much as that Law consisteth for a great part of it, upon Presidents, Customes, and ruled Cases: But if they would goe on by the Canon Law, then must the makers of it be the interpreters, and they would hardly admit of the Popes authoritie.* Answer was made, that they would proceed neither by the Civill Law nor Canon Law, but according to the Common Lawes of England. Nevertheless, they could prove both by the Imperiall and Canon Lawes that she ought to appeare before them, if shee would not refuse to heare it. And indeed she was contented to heare them, but by way of communication (as shee said) not judicially.

She requireth to have her protestation admitted.

Hereupon she fell off into other speeches; namely, that she never had a thought of any evill toward the Queene, but was highly offended by reason of injuries and indignities offered; that she should prove a stone of

offence

offence if she were thus unworthily dealt withall: that by *Neve* her Secretary shee had made proffer of her service to get the Popes Bull called backe; that shee was desirous by letters to speake in defence of her owne innocency, but this could not be granted her: finally, that for twenty yeares all her proffers of courtesie and good will had beene neglected. 1586.

In these digressions shee went on, enlarging her selfe, but they called her backe, and entreated her to tell them plainly if she would answer before the Commissioners: Whereunto she replyed, That that authority of theirs was founded upon a new law, purposely enacted to ensnare her; that her stomacke could not digest the Queenes lawes; and there was good cause why she should hold them suspected; that shee, who had hitherto beene courageous enough, would not now commit a thing to the dishonour of her Ancestors the Kings of Scotland, in acknowledging her selfe a subject to the Crowne of England: for this were no other, but openly to professe them to have beene Rebells and Traitours. Yet shee would not refuse to answer, so she might not be brought into the ranke of a subject; but she had rather die a thousand times than answer as a malefactor.

Hereunto *Hatton* Vice-Chamberlaine to the Queene replyed: *You are accused (but not condemned) to have conspired the destruction of our Soveraigne Lady and annointed Queene: You say you are Queene: Bee it so; but the height of Princely dignitie is neither exempted by the Imperiall nor Canon Law, neither by the Law of Nations, nor the Law of Nature, from answering in a crime of this nature. For all justice would languish, yea, be laid under foot, if such kinds of facts might passe unpunished. If you bee innocent, you doe your reputation a great deale of wrong in shunning a triall; you protest you are innocent, but the Queene thinketh otherwise, and that not without cause, and verily to her griefe. Wherefore for a triall of your innocencie, she hath deputed honourable, prudent, grave, and upright persons, who will give you an equall and favourable hearing, and will bee heartily glad if you can quit your selfe of this crime. Trust me, the Queene her selfe will rejoyce exceedingly; for at my departure from her shee said, that no sadder accident could have befallen her, than that you should bee suspected of a crime of this nature. Wherefore laying aside that superfluous privilege of Majestie and Princely Royaltie (which at this time will doe no good) yeeld your selfe to be tried, lest by declining a judiciall triall you draw suspition upon your selfe, and bring an everlasting blot on your good name.*

Hatton perswadeth her to appeare.

I refuse not (quoth she) *to answer in a full Parliament, before the States of the Kingdome lawfully assembled, so that I may be declared the next in right of succession to the Crowne: yea, before the Queene and her Councell, in case my protestation be admitted, and I acknowledged the next in bloud to the Queen. But to a tryall by my adversaries, with whom I know a defence of my innocency will availe nothing, I plainely deny to submit my selfe.* The Chancellour asked her, whether or no she would answer if the protestation were admitted. *Never* (quoth she) *will I submit my selfe to the new Law mentioned in the Commissioners Patent.* Hereupon the Treasurer inferred; *We nevertheless will proceed to morrow in the cause,*

She desireth to answer in a Parliament, or before the Queene and Councell.

1586. *though you be abſent and continue contumacious. Examine your conſciences* (quoth ſhe) *have regard to my honour, God requite you and your heires according to your proceedings againſt me.*

The morrow, which was the fourteenth day of the moneth, ſhe ſent for certaine of the Delegates, and requeſted that the Proteſtation might be admitted and allowed. The Treaſurer asked her if ſhe would condeſcend to a triall, in caſe the Proteſtation were received and put into the Regiſter, without the approbation. She conſented at laſt, but with much adoe, for feare (as ſhee ſaid) of doing a thing derogatorie to her predeceſſors or ſucceſſors; but very deſirous ſhee ſeemed to quit her ſelfe of the crime laid to her charge, being perſwaded by *Hattons* reaſons, which ſhe had diligently weighed.

The forme of the Seſsion.

By and by the Delegates, as many as were preſent, came together in the Preſence Chamber. A chaire of Eſtate was ſet for the Queene of England at the upper end of the Chamber under a Canopie: beneath over againſt it was placed a chaire for the Queene of Scots; cloſe to the walls on both ſides of the Cloth of Eſtate ſtooles were ſet, upon which on the one ſide ſate the Lord Chancellour of England, the Lord Treaſurer of England, the Earles of Oxford, Kent, Darby, Worceſter, Rutland, Cumberland, Warwick, Pembroke, Lincolne, and Viſcount Mountacute; on the other ſide the Chaire of Eſtate ſate the Lords of *Abergavenny*, *Zouch*, *Morley*, *Stafford*, *Grey*, *Lumley*, *Sturton*, *Sands*, *Wentworth*, *Mordant*, the Lord *St. John* of Bletſho, *Compton* and *Cheney*. Next to theſe ſate the Knights which were Privie Counſellors; Sir *James Croſt*, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, Sir *Francis Walſingham*, Sir *Ralph Sadleir*, Sir *Walter Mildmey*, and Sir *Amis Powlet*. Forward before the Earles ſate the two chiefe Juſtices, and the Lord cheife Baron of the Exchequer: on the other ſide, the two Barons, the other Juſtices, *Dale* and *Ford* Doctors of the Civill Lawes: at a Table in the middeſt, *Popham* the Queenes Attorney generall, *Egerton* the Solicitor, *Gaudie* the Queenes Serjeant at Law, the Clerke of the Crowne, and two Notaries.

The Lord Chancellors ſpeech.

When the Queen of Scots was come, and had placed her ſelfe, ſilence being bidden, *Bromley* the Chancellour turning himſelfe to her, made a ſhort ſpeech to this effect. *The moſt illuſtrious Queene of England being certified and informed (to her great griefe and ſorrow) that you plotted her ruine, the ruine of the Kingdome of England, and the overthrow of the Religion eſtabliſhed, out of duty to God, her ſelfe, and her people, and no malice or evill meaning, hath authoriſed theſe Commiſsioners to heare what can be laid to your charge, how you are able to anſwer the objections brought againſt you, and in what ſort you will demonſtrate and defend your owne innocency.*

Her anſwer.

She, riſing up, ſaid, *That ſhee came into England to implore the aide which was promiſed her, and had ever ſince been kept priſoner. She proteſteth that ſhee is no ſubject to the Queene of England, but was and is a free and abſolute Queen, and could not be compelled to appeare before the Delegates, or any other Judge, for any cauſe whatſoever, but before God alone the ſupreme Judge of all the world: which were derogatorie to her owne Princely Majeſtie, to her ſonne the King of Scots, her ſucceſſors and all other abſolute Princes.*

Princes. Nevertheless, she did now present her selfe to refute all crimes that could be laid to her charge. Now shee willed her servants to beare witnesse of the same. 1586.

The Chancellour not taking notice of any aide that was promised, made answere; *That their Protestation was in vaine; for whosoever, of what degree or condition soever they bee, shall offend against the Lawes of England in England, must bee subject to the same, and bee examined and judged by the latest and newest made Law. Wherefore that Protestation being prejudiciall to the Lawes and the Queene of England, might in no wise be admitted.* The Delegates notwithstanding commanded, that both her Protestation and the Chancellors answer should be registred. The Lord Chancellour speaketh to her.

Then the Patent, which was founded upon the Law often mentioned already, being openly read, shee resolutely interposed a Protestation against that Law; namely, that it was enacted directly and purposely against her; and therein she appealeth to their honestie.

Hereupon the Treasurer made answer, That all persons within this Kingdome were bound by the Lawes, though never so new or lately made; neither ought shee to detract from the Lawes in such manner: and the Commissioners would passe sentence according to that Law, whatsoever Protestations or Appeales she interposed. Then at last shee said, that she was ready to heare and answer concerning any fact committed against the Queen of England.

Gaudie now opened every parcell and specialtie of that Law, averred that she had transgressed it; and here began an historicall natration of *Babingtons* conspiracie, and concluded, that sheewas guilty of it, had approved it, assented to it, promised her assistance, and laid down the way and meanes of effecting it.

She in lively manner answered, *That she knew not* Babington, *that she had never received any letters from him, neither had she written to him; that she had never plotted the Queens destruction; and for the evincing hereof they must produce some subscription written with her owne hand. She never had so much as heard tell of any such thing:* Ballard *she knew not, nor ever had she fostered him; but by some she understood that the Catholikes in England tooke many things very grievously, and thus much she had let the Queene understand in her letters to her, and besought her to take some pity of them. A great number also (whom shee knew not) had proffered her their endevours for her enlargement, but shee had excited no person to any wicked designe: and that shee being kept in prison, could neither know nor hinder their attemps.* She denieth the things objected. Copies of letters produced.

Hereupon shee was urged with *Babingtons* confession, that correspondence by letters had passed betweene her and *Babington*. She acknowledged that she held correspondence by letters with divers persons, yet it followed not thereupon that she was privie to all their wicked designes. She requited her owne hand-writing to be brought against her, and demanded what hurt it was if shee sent for letters which had beene kept from her almost a whole yeere. Then were the copies of *Babingtons* letters to her read, wherein the whole conspiracie was set downe.

As for these letters, it may be (saith she) *that* Babington *wrote them; but let it bee proved I received them. If* Babington *or any others affirme so much,*

1586. *much, I say plainely that they lie. Other mens faults must not be laid upon me. A packet of letters indeed which was detained almost a whole yeere came to my hands, but who sent it I know not.*

She is urged with the confessions of Babington, Ballard, &c.

To prove that she received *Babingtons* letters, were read out of *Babingtons* confession the heads of the letters, which *Babington* voluntarily confessed that she had written backe to him. In which when mention was made of the Earle of Arundell and his brothers, and the Earle of Northumberland, bursting forth into teares, she said; *Alas for me, what and how many miseries for my cause hath that noble familie of the Howards suffered?* And a while after, wiping her eyes, she answered; Babington *might confesse what hee listed, but it was a manifest lye that shee had invented any such meanes to escape. The private Characters which shee used in writing to others, her adversaries might easily get, and therewithall write many false and fained things. And it was not likely that shee should use the helpe of the Earle of Arundell, who shee knew was laid in prison, or of Northumberland, who was a very young man and not known to her.*

In like manner were read those things that were gathered out of the confessions of *Ballard* and *Savage*, who confessed that *Babington* shewed them letters which the Queen of Scots had written to him.

She affirmed, *That* Babington *received none from her, yea, that shee was offended at others who secretly advertised her of a purpose to invade England, and she advised them to beware what they went about.*

And her owne letters to Babington.

Now were those letters produced, in which *Babingtons* treason was commended and approved. She desired to see the copy of them; then she averred, "That they came not from her, but it might be from her Alphabet of secret characters in France: she, as every one by the instinct of nature will doe, was earnestly desirous to regaine her libertie, and dealt "with her friends to procure it: yet to some (whom she would not name) "that offered their assistance to free her, she gave not so much as a word "in answer. Nevertheless shee had a great desire to turne away the "storme of persecution from the Catholikes, and this she earnestly be-"sought the Queen for. She would not willingly gaine the Kingdome with "the bloud of the meanest of the people, much lesse with the Queenes: "many there were that tooke dangerous enterprises in hand, which shee "knew nothing of; and that some in letters which she lately received, had "asked pardon of her if they should take any matter in hand without ma-"king her acquainted. It was a very easie matter to counterfeit the cyphers "and secret characters of others, the which a young man lately did in "France, who tooke upon him to bee her sonnes bastard brother. She "feared likewise that this might be *Walsinghams* device against her, who "(as she had heard) plotted against her owne and her sonnes life. She pro-"testeth that shee had not so much as in thought conspired against the "Queenes life; that she would willingly lay downe her life, rather than for "her cause, and in hatred toward her, the poore Catholikes should bee "thus miserably vexed, and hurried to lamentable executions: and withall she wept abundantly.

She taxeth Walsingham.

But (quoth the Treasurer) *no person that behaved himselfe as a dutifull subject, hath beene put to death for his religions sake; but some indeed for treason, while they maintained the Popes authoritie, and his Bull against the Queene.*

But

But I have been told so the cause (say (saith she) and have read it in printed bookes. 1586.

The Treasurer replied; *True indeed, so the writers of those bookes write that the Queene hath had all priviledges of princely dignities.*

Walsingham (who perceived himselfe girded erewhile) laid hold upon the occasion, rose up, and making protestation that hee concealed no rancour in his breast: *I call God to witnesse (saith he) that as a private man I have done nothing unbeseeming an honest man; nor any thing which suited not well in my place, considering the publike charge I beare. I confesse, that being verie carefully solicitous for the safetie of the Queene and Kingdome, I have searched somewhat curiously to find out the machinations against her. If Ballard had proffered me his helpe I would not have rejected it, but have requited his paines also. If I plotted or devised any thing with him, why revealed he it not to save his life?* He defendeth himselfe.

She was satisfied (she said) with this answer: *She requested him moreover not to be offended that she spake freely what had beene told her, and that he would give no more beliefe to those that slandered her, than shee would to them which traduced him: spies and agents of that nature, as commonly men not to be trusted, for they will thinke one thing and say another: and that he would in no case believe that she gave any consent to hurt the Queene.* Now againe she burst forth into teares, and said, *Never would I hazard my own soules health by conspiring the destruction of my dearest sister.*

The Lawyers answered, This by sufficient testimonies wee shall evince anon. Thus it went on before dinner.

In the afternoone, to make it good, the copie of the letter was produced which *Charles Paget* wrote, and *Curle* one of her attendants had testified that she received the same, touching the conference betweene *Ballard* and *Mendoza* about the invading of England, and setting her at libertie. A letter of Charles Pagets produced.

She made answer, *This was nothing to the matter, nor did it prove that she consented to the overthrow of the Queene.*

The Lawyers proceeded, and went to prove that shee both knew of the conspiracie, and consented to the murdering of the Queene, out of *Babingtons* confession, and letters which passed betweene her and *Babington*; wherein he saluted her by the name *of his most gracious Queene*: and by the way made mention that they advised concerning the making over the Kingdome of England to the Spaniard. She acknowledged that a Priest came to her and told her, *That both her selfe and her sonne would be excluded from the inheritance of the Crowne, unlesse she interposed*: the said Priest shee would not name, but said he added further, *That the King of Spaine claimed a right to the Kingdome of England, and would give place to none except her selfe.* And of Babingtons.

Now againe they presse her with the testimonies of *Nave* and *Curle* her Secretaries, with *Babingtons* confession, and the entercourse of letters betwixt her and *Babington*: and the whole strength of their proofes rested in the testimonies of those two servants of hers, and yet they were not in person brought forth. *Curle* shee granted was an honest man, but no sufficient witnesse against her; *Nave* was sometime Secretarie to the Cardinall of Lorraine, commended to her by the King of France, and

1586. might easily be drawn either by reward, or hope, or feare, to beare falſe witneſſe, (for he would ever & anon bind himſelf with very raſh oathes) and held ſuch a hand over *Curle*, that he had him at his becke, to write what he would have him. It might be that they inſerted paſſages into her letters which ſhee never dictated; it might bee alſo that thoſe letters might come to their hands which ſhe never had ſeene. And then ſhee brake forth into theſe words, *The Majeſtie and ſafetie of all Princes will be prooden under foot, if they hang upon the writings and teſtimonies of their Secretaries and ſervants. I did diſtaſte nothing to them, but what nature inſtinct did lead to me, by what meanes at length to regaine my libertie: neither am I to be convinced, but either by my owne word or handwriting. If they for their parts wrote any thing which was derogatorie to the Queene my ſiſter, they did it without my privitie, and in Gods name let them ſmart for their inconſiderate raſhneſſe and boldneſſe. I am certainly aſſured, that if they were here preſent they would quit me from all blame in this cauſe and matter: and I, if my papers were by me, ſhould be able to give a preciſe and punctuall anſwer to theſe objections.*

The Queen of Scots is accuſed of conveying the Kingdome to the Spaniard.

Amidſt this heat of arguing, the Treaſurer objected, That ſhee had a purpoſe to ſend her ſonne into Spaine, and to transferre to the King of Spaine the right and title which ſhe challenged in the Kingdome of England.

Her anſwer.

Whereunto ſhe replied: *That ſhe had no Kingdome to beſtow: howſoever, what was her owne ſhe might diſpoſe of according to her owne mind, and render no man an account of her doings.*

Now when as the Alphabet of private Characters ſent to *Babington*, Doctor *Lewis*, and *Carre* of Fernihurſt, were laid to her charge, and *Curles* teſtimonie ſtill alledged to make good the ſame; ſhe denied not *but ſhee had written ſeverall copies, and amongſt others, that for Doctor* Lewis, *when as ſhe commended him and another to a Cardinalls place; and without offence (as ſhe wel hoped) for that it was no more blameable in her to treat with perſons of her owne religion, & hold correſpondence with them by letters, than for the Queen of England to do the like with thoſe of a contrarie Religion.*

She is urged with the teſtimonies of her Secretaries.

Then they preſſed her againe in eager manner with the teſtimonies of *Nave* and *Curle*, which agreed between themſelves, though ſeparated from each other; and ſhe in like manner either repeated her former anſwers, or preciſely made denial to the objections, making proteſtation againe, that ſhe knew neither *Babington* nor *Ballard*.

Here the Treaſurer ſtepped in, and ſaid, that ſhe knew *Morgan* well enough, who ſent *Parrie* into England to be the Queenes Aſſaſinate, and allowed him a yeerely penſion.

She replied, *That ſhee knew not whether* Morgan *did ſo or no, but ſhe knew that* Morgan *for her ſake had loſt all his meanes of livelihood, and therefore ſhe was bound in honour to relieve him: neither was ſhe tyed to revenge an injurie done to the Queene, by one that was a friend and had deſerved well at her hands; yet did ſhee alwaies deterre him from taking ſuch bloudy enterpriſes in hand. Howſoever* (ſaith ſhe) *yeerely penſions were allowed out of England to Sir* Patrick Grey, *and other Scottiſh-men my adverſaries, and to my ſonne alſo.*

The Treaſurer made anſwer: *The revenues of the Kingdome of Scotland*

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being much impayred by the negligence and ill husbandry of the Regent and Vice-Roys, the Queene yeelded all honourable assistance to the rest assisting the King her sonne, and her owne kinsman.

Afterwards were produced the heads of her letters to Inglefield, and the Lord Paget, and moreover divers Memorials of the Spanish Embassadour touching fortune tellers. Then shee replied, That the matter of the Queenes destruction, and if any forreine Prince or person would endeavour to procure her enlargement, that was not to be laid to her charge; and that she had sometimes plainly intimated to the Queene, that she would take the best advice she could for her owne liberty. This farre they proceeded the first day; the rest was deferred till the morrowe.

A letter of Charles Pagets brought forth.

The Lord Treasurer answereth.

The next day she iterated her former protestation, requested it might bee registred, and a copy of the same delivered to her. Then brake shee forth into a lamentation, "That the most honourable and reasonable "conditions that might bee, which shee had often propounded to the "Queene, were alwaies rejected; yea, those also wherein she offered to "give her own sonne and the Duke of Guises son for hostages, to secure "the Queen and the Kingdome of England from damage. Long before "she saw that there was no hope for her to regaine her liberty, but now "she is over and above most unworthily handled, her honor and reputa-"tion being called into question before Common Lawyers, which draw "and wrest every circumstance to their owne conclusions; whereas "Princes anointed and consecrate ought not to bee subject to the same "lawes whereunto common persons are liable. Moreover, whereas "their authoritie extendeth onely to the examination of matters against "the Queenes person, nevertheless the matter is so handled, and her "letters so set upon the rack, that the very religion which shee profes-"seth, the priviledge and majestie of forreine Princes, and the private "commerce and correspondence betwixt Princes allied to each other, is "called into question; and she her selfe, to the great prejudice of prince-"ly Majestie, cited as a Malefactor before a Judgment seat: and all "this for no other end, but to exclude her from the Queens favour, and "her owne due right to the succession; whereas she came thither on "her owne accord, to answer the objections brought against her, and to "defend from staine her honour and reputation. She called to mind also "how Queene *Elisabeth* her selfe was called in question for *Wiats* treа-"son, when shee notwithstanding was most free and innocent: affirming "with an asseveration, that albeit she bore hearty good will to the wel-"fare of the Catholikes, yet did she not desire it to be brought to passe "with the blood of any person whatsoever. She had rather be like un-"to *Hester* than *Judith*, to urge Almightie God by prayers on the be-"halfe of the people, than to take away the life of the meanest of them. "She tooke it in grievous part, that her enemies should divulge abroad "that she was of no Religion: the time was (saith she) when I would "gladly have beene informed in the Protestants Religion, but then they "would not suffer me to be instructed, as though it made no matter what "became of my soule. And now (closing up her speech) when you have "done all against me that you can, and barred me of all priviledges, yet "will your hopes and cause perchance faile you. And withall making

She reneweth her former protestation, and complaineth of her hard usage.

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1586. appeale to Almighty God, and the Princes her allies, and repeating againe her former protestation, shee requested that another meeting might be appointed concerning these matters, and that she might have an Advocate or Attorney allowed her to pleade her cause; and for as much as shee is a Prince, that credit might be given to the word of a Prince. For she saw plainely that it would be extreme folly to stand to their sentence, who she saw were armed and possessed with prejudice against her.

A letter of Charles Paget bearing date.

The Lord Treasurer answereth.

Hereunto the Treasurer replied. "For as much, saith he, as I represent a twofold person, the one of a Commissioner, the other of a Privie "Counsellour, be pleased to heare a few words from me in the person "of a Commissioner. Your Protestation is registred, and a copy of it "shall be delivered you. Authoritie is given us under the Queenes hand "and great Seale of England, from which there is no provocation. "Neither are wee come hither armed or possessed with prejudice, but "with a resolution to proceed according to the exact rule of justice. The "Lawyers have no other aime but to have the truth appeare, how farre "forth you have offended against the Queens person. We have plenarie "power allotted us to heare and determine the matter, albeit you were "absent, yet desired wb your presence, because woe would not seeme "to detract at all from your honour. Neither had wee a purpose to lay "any thing to your charge, but what you attempted or consented unto "against the Queenes person. The letters were read to no other end, "than for the unfolding of the attempt against the Queens person, and "the circumstances tending thereunto, which were laid so close to "other matters, that they could not be dis-joyned. And therefore the "letters themselves were openly and fully read, and not parts and par-"cels of them onely, because the circumstances thereof make proofe "concerning what matters you dealt with *Babington*.

She interrupteth him.

She here interposed. "Circumstances (quoth she) may happely bee "proved, but the fact never; my integritie dependeth not upon the word "and memorie of my Secretaries, though I know they bee ingenuous "and honest. Nevertheless, if for feare of torments and tortures, hope "of impunitie and reward, they have confessed ought, the same is not to "be admitted, for just reasons which at some other time I will make "known. The minds of men are subject to be carried diversly, according "as they are led by affection or passion; and they would never have "confessed such things, but either out of hope or feare. Letters might "be carried to others to whom they never were written, and many "things which shee never endited were oftentimes put into them. If her "papers had not beene taken from her, and she had a Secretarie at hand, "she could in better manner refute the allegations.

"But (quoth the Treasurer) nothing shall be laid to your charge but "what hath passed since the 19. day of July: nor will your papers do you "any good; for your Secretaries, and *Babington* himselfe, being never "brought to the Racke, affirmed that you sent those letter to *Babington*: "which albeit you deny, and persist in the same, yet let the Commissio-"ners judge whether credit is rather to bee given to an affirmation or "a denyall. But to returne to the matter, what I now speake, I speake in

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"the person of a Counsellour. Many propositions you have made con-
"cerning your libertie, if they wanted successe the fault was in your
"selfe, or the Scots, not in the Queene. For the Nobles of Scotland
"plainely refused to deliver up the King for an hostage. And when the
"last treatie for your libertie was in hand, *Parrie* was sent hither by
"your Client *Morgan* to murder the Queene.

Alan (quoth she) *you are my enemie.* Yea (quoth he) *I am an enemie of* Her letters are brought forth.
Queene Elisabeths *adversaries.* But enough of this, let us proceed to our
proofes. Hereupon she refusing to heare any more, *But we* (saith he) *will*
heare them. And I likewise will heare them (quoth she) *in another*
place, where parialitie of nothing worth, and shall there defend my life.

Now againe her letters to *Charles Paget* were read, wherein shee
shewed that there was no other way for the King of Spaine to recovir
his Dominion over the Low-Countries, but by constituting a Prince in
England that might bee ready and usefull to him; her letters to the
Lord *Paget*, to hasten the forces which were intended for the invading
of England: the letters of Cardinall *Alan*, wherein he saluted her by the
name of his most gracious and dread Soveraigne Lady, and intima-
ted that the businesse was committed to the Prince of Parma's care.

As these letters were reading, shee thus bespake the Commissioners:
"*Babington* and her Secretaries had accused her to excuse themselves;
"that she had never heard of the five Assassinates, & the rest made nothing
"to the matter. Cardinall *Alan* shee esteemed as a reverend Prelate;
"shee acknowledged no other head of the Church but the Pope of
"Rome. In what account she was with him and other forein Princes
"she was not ignorant, nor could shee hinder them, if in their letters
"they would salute her by the name of Queen of England. To her ser- She impeacheth the credit of her Secretaries.
"vants and Secretaries no credit was to be given, in as much as they had
"gone against their oathes, vowes, and faithfull protestations made to
"her. They that have once forsworne themselves, are not to be be-
"leeved againe whatsoever asseverations they make. Neither could
"shee thinke that any oath could oblige their consciences, for that they
"had first sworne silence and secrecie to her, and besides, were no sub-
"jects of England. *Nave* oftentimes wrote otherwise than she endited,
"and *Curle* would write whatsoever *Nave* would have him. But for
"her owne part she would stand for them in any thing, but when her
"honour was like to suffer. They also (it might be) to save themselves
"harmelesse confessed these things, thinking they could not greatly hurt
"her by their confessions, for that she being a Queene should be gently
"dealt withall as they might thinke. Of *Ballard* shee had never heard
"any thing, but of one *Hallard* that offered her his service, but shee re-
"fused it, hearing that *Walsingham* made use of him.

Afterward, when certaine collections out of her letters to *Mendoza* She is accused againe of conveying the Kingdome to the Spaniard.
the Spanish Embassadour, which *Curle* acknowledged that he had copied
out in private characters, were read, and she pressed therewithall, for
determining to transferre her right in the Kingdome to the Spaniard,
and that *Alan* the Cardinall and *Parsons* attended now at Rome to dis-
patch the matter; she complaining of her Secretaries perjury, trecherie,
and unfaithfull dealing, gave this answer.

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1586. *Being a distressed prisoner, and languishing with care, without all hope of regaining my libertie; and besides, there being no hope that I now growing in yeeres and my health decaying, should perfect those things which a great number expected from me, it seemed good unto some that the succession to the Kingdome of England should be confirmed to the King of Spaine, or some other Catholike Englishman of the Nobilitie: and a booke was sent and tendred me, in which I should conferre my right upon the King of Spaine; which I not admitting, incurred the displeasure of some persons. But now that there is no hope of curtesie to be expected in England, I am resolved not to reject forrein assistance.*

The Queenes Solicitor advised the Commissioners to consider, what should become of them, their honours, fortunes, and posteritie, if the Kingdome should be translated and given away in this manner. But the Treasurer *Burleigh* shewed him, that the Kingdome of England could not be passed away, but descended alwaies by the right of succession according to the Lawes. Then he demanded of the Queen of Scots, if she would any thing more.

She making answer, requested to bee heard in a full Parliament, or that the Queene (who she hoped would have regard to the honour of a Queene) would permit her to speake for her selfe before her and her Privie Councell. And now rising from her Chaire in great Majestie and confidence, shee exchanged a few words with the Treasurer, *Hatton*, *Walsingham*, and the Earle of Warwicke apart. And being now come to this issue, the meeting was prorogued till the 25. day of October, at the Star-Chamber in Westminster.

Sentence pronounced against the Queene of Scots.

At the day appointed all the Commissioners met (except the Earles of Shrewsburie and Warwicke, who were then something crazie) and when as *Nave* and *Curle* had constantly affirmed in their presence, that the severall letters and copies of letters formerly produced were most true and authentike, and confirmed the same by their oath and asseveration, *Viva voce*, willingly and voluntarily, without hope or reward; sentence was pronounced against the Queen of Scots, ratified by the Seales and subscriptions of the Commissioners, and put into the Record in this forme of words, viz. *By their unanimous assent and consent, at the day and place last mentioned, they pronounce and declare this sentence and judiciall verdict, and say, that after the end of the foresaid Session of Parliament specified in the Commission aforesaid, to wit, after the first day of June in the seven and twentieth yeere of the reigne of our Soveraigne Lady the Queene aforesaid, and before the date of the said Commission, divers matters were compassed and imagined in this Kingdom of England by* Anthonie Babington, *and others, with the privitie of the said* Marie *Queene of Scots, pretending title to the Crowne of the Kingdome of England, tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of the Royall person of our said Soveraigne Lady the Queene. And furthermore, that after the first day of June aforesaid, in the seven and twentieth yeere abovesaid, and before the dating of our Commission aforesaid, the foresaid* Marie *pretending Title to the Crown of this Kingdome of England, hath compassed and imagined within this Kingdome of England, divers matters tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of the Royall person of our Soveraigne Lady the Queene, against the*

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forme of the statute specified in the Commission aforesaid.

Concerning this sentence, which is depended wholly upon the truth and honestie of her owne Secretaries, and they also not brought forth face to face, according to the first statute of the 13. yeere of the reigne of Queene *Elisabeth* her selfe, many and divers reports passed up and down; some thinking that credit was to be given to them, others againe believing that they were no competent witnesses, nor their asseveration any thing worth. *Naves* Apologie written to King *James* in the yeere 1605. (to mention thus much onely by the way) is to be seene, wherein he purgeth himselfe by grievous protestations, and excuseth himselfe, that he was neither the author, nor abettor, nor gave the first intimation of this device against the Queene of Scots, nor had beene remisse in his dutie either by negligence or over-sight; yea, that at this day he stiffely gainsaied and opposed the heads of the accusation against his Lady the Queene of Scots. And yet this appeareth not by the publike records. This very day, notwithstanding their proceedings hitherto, declaration was made by the Commissioners and Judges of the Kingdome, That this sentence did no way derogate to *James* King of Scots in right or honour, but that he continued in the same place, right and honour, as if that sentence had never beene passed.

The Secretaries credit questioned.

After a few dayes passed was held a Parliament at Westminster, the which was begun by authoritie from the Queen derived to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Treasurer, & the Earle of Derbie, & the same not without some former presidents. At this Parliament the proscription of the Lord *Paget*, *Charles Paget*, *Francis Inglefield*, *Francis Throckmorton*, *Anthony Babington*, *Thomas Salisbury*, *Edward Jones*, *Chediocke Tichborne*, *Charles Tilney*, and the other complices was confirmed, and their goods and possessions adjudged confiscate. Also the Peeres of the Kingdome (who by their suffrages had allowed the sentence passed upon the Queene of Scots, and confirmed the same by their seales and subscriptions) now by unanimous consent exhibite a petition to the Queene by the Lord Chancellour of England, wherein they make earnest request that for the preservation of the true religion of Christ, the tranquility of the Kingdome, the safety of the Queene, themselves, and their posterity, the sentence passed against *Marie* Queene of Scots might according to law be promulged. Reasons to perswade the Queene they fetch from dangers imminent to the religion, the Queenes person, and the whole Kingdome, from her that was nuzzled up in the Popish religion, and sworne to the holy-league for the extirpation of the Protestants religion, and had now a long time arrogated and assumed to her selfe the right to the Kingdome, while the Queene is yet alive; yea, and held it a most just and meritorious act, to oppugne her and bereave her of life, standing under the Popes excommunication. That she had overturned the flourishing families of the Kingdome, and given fuell to all the machinations and tumults in England. To spare her were nothing else but to destroy her owne people, who will not endure that she should passe away with impunitie, and cannot thinke themselves quitted from their oath of Association unlesse she be taken away. In the last place they put the Queene in mind how fearefull example of Gods judgements are extant

A Parliament called.

The Traitors proscription confirmed.

1586. extant in Scripture, upon King *Saul* for ſparing of *Agag*, and *Ahab* for not putting *Benhadad* to death. Thus ſpake the Peeres in Parliament.

The Queene ſpeech in the Parliament.

To The Queene, in great Majeſtie of ſpeech and countenance, anſwered them as followeth. "The immenſe goodneſſe of Almightie God "toward me is ſuch and ſo great, that I doe not onely take notice of his "high favour, and ackowledge the benefits I have received, but with "admiration behold them as miraculous, becauſe in ſpeech I know not "how to utter them. Although there be no mortall creature which is "more bound to the Almightie than I my ſelfe, who have beene ſo of- "ten, yea, and that miraculouſly ſnatched out of danger; yet am I high- "ly indebted, if for no other thing than this, which I eſteeme a mira- "cle alſo; namely, that as I came to the Crowne and tooke upon me "the government of the Kingdome with the applauſe and good will of "my ſubjects, ſo now that eight and twenty yeeres are gone and paſt, "I perceive ſtill as great if not greater good will amongſt them; the "which if I once chance to loſe, I may perhaps draw breath, but to live it "is impoſſible. But now although ſnares have often been laid for my life, "yet nothing ſo much affecteth mee, as that ſhe ſhould come into the "ſame crime, who is of the ſame ſexe, a Prince of my own ranke and "qualitie, of the ſame ſtocke, and indeed in bloud neerely allied to mee. "And ſo farre was I from bearing malice toward her, that when ſome "of her endevours againſt me began to dawne and ſhew themſelves, I "wrote privately to her, that if ſhee would confeſſe the ſame in a letter "betwixt her and me, they ſhould be wrapped up in ſilence. Nor ve- "rily did I write with a purpoſe to enſnare her, for I knew already as "much as ſhee could confeſſe. Nevertheleſſe, albeit the matter bee "brought to this iſſue, yet would ſhe be but truely reclaimed, no perſon "ſhould need to take up her cauſe againſt me; and did my life alone, and "not the ſafetie of my whole people depend hereupon (farre be it from "me to lie) I truely would gladly pardon her. Yea, if England by my "death might obtaine a more flouriſhing eſtate, and a better Prince, I "would willingly lay down my life. For, for you and my people, not for "my ſelfe doe I deſire to live. Neither is their any reaſon, I having "ordered my life accordingly, wherefore I ſhould either deſire to live "or be afraid to die. I am not ignorant of both conditions of living, I "have obeyed, I have commanded; I have had good and bad neigh- "bours; I have found treacherie where I repoſed truſt; I have ſome- "times beſtowed good turnes undeſerved, and for doing well have been "evill reported. When I call to mind theſe things paſt, behold the pre- "ſent, and expect what may happen in time to come, I account them "moſt happie which goe ſooneſt hence. Yet againſt all ſuch miſchiefes "I aſſume a manly courage, that whatſoever happeneth death may not "take me unprovided.

"As for theſe treaſons committed, I will not ſo farre derogate from "my ſelfe, or the lawes of my Kingdome, as to think that ſhe (the Archi- "tect of this treaſon) had not tranſgreſſed the ancient lawes, although "this late Law had never beene enacted; which nevertheleſſe was not "enacted to bring her within compaſſe of treaſon, which ſome that were

"ready

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"ready to favour her, have ſuſpected: ſo farre was it from being enacted "to enſnare her, that contrariwiſe, it was made to forewarne and deterre "her from attempting any thing againſt it. Notwithſtanding, ſeeing it "hath now the force of a Law, it was thought meet to proceed againſt "her by vertue thereof. But you Lawyers are ſo curious in diſcuſſing the "nicetie of the Law, and adhering to plat-formes, rather than to the "right interpretation of the Lawes, that according to your direction, "ſhe ſhould have beene arraigned in Staffordſhire, and there holding up "her hand at the barre, ſtand to the verdict *de facto* of twelve men: A "goodly way truely of proceeding againſt a Prince! For the avoiding "of theſe abſurdities, I held it the wiſeſt courſe, to referre the examina-"tion of ſo weightie a cauſe to the Peeres and Judges of the Kingdome: "and this too is hardly ſufficient; for we Princes are ſet as it were upon "an open Stage, and all eyes fixed upon us, ſo that in us the leaſt ble-"miſh and ſmalleſt imperfection is eſpied afarre off: ſo that wee muſt "looke narrowly to it, that we doe nothing unworthy or diſhonourable. "But you have driven mee into a ſtreit by your late Law, that I am en-"forced to decree her puniſhment, who (as I ſaid) is a Prince very neer-"ly allied to me, and whoſe deſignes againſt mee have ſtricken me with "ſo deepe griefe, that becauſe I would not encreaſe the ſame by hearing "more of it, I would gladly have abſented my ſelf from this Parliament; "and not out of feare of lyers in waite for me, as ſome do imagine. Ne-"verthleſſe I will diſcover now one ſecret (who at other times am not "wont to be very open) with theſe ſame eyes have I ſeene and read an "oath, in which ſome have bound themſelves to kill mee within a "moneth. From this doe I foreſee in my ſelfe your danger, and will "be carefull to provide againſt it.

"Your Aſſociation for my ſafetie I have not forgotten, which I "had not once a thought on, before I had a number of hands and "ſeales ſhewed me. That verily hath for ever tied my heart and affe-"ction to you in moſt ſure bands, who for mine owne part take no ſo-"lace, but in your love and the good wiſhes of my people. But for as "much as the matter now in hand is a thing of rare example, and very "weightie conſequence, I hope you expect not that I ſhould now de-"termine any thing. For it is my wonted uſe, even in matters of the "leaſt moment, to deliberate long before I reſolve. I will pray unto Al-"mighty God, to enlighten my mind with the beames of his illumina-"on, that I may perceive what is beſt to bee done for the good of his "Church, the Common-wealth, and your ſafetie: yet that there may "be no danger in delay, I will in due time ſignifie my mind unto you. I "would have you in the meane time expect from me, whatſoever good "ſubjects may looke for from a gracious Prince.

Twelve dayes after, having deeply pondered the matter in her mind, diſtracted with doubtfull thoughts, and in a manner over-maſtered with the difficultie of it, ſhee ſent the Lord Chancellour to the Peeres, and *Puckering* to the reſt in the Lower houſe, and entreated them to adviſe againe more diligently concerning ſo weighty a matter, and bethinke themſelves of ſome wholſome remedie; that the life of the Queen of Scots might be ſpared, and their ſecuritie alſo provided for.

Queen Eliſabeth deſires ſome other remedy, than the death of the Queene of Scots.

1586. When they had a long time in moſt ſerious manner deliberated thereof, and conſidered that the hurt or welfare of their Prince appertained to them all, at laſt with one voice and mind they agree upon this verdict; and that for theſe cauſes. *That the Queenes life could not be in ſafetie while the Queene of Scots lived, unleſſe ſhee either ſeriouſly repented and acknowledged her crimes, or were kept in faſt cuſtodie, or bound by her oath, and obligations likewiſe, or gave hoſtages, or departed the Kingdome. Repentance in her they hoped for none, who had evill requited the Queen, that preſerved her life, and would not yet ſo much as acknowledge her ſelfe faulty: Cloſe impriſonment, obligations, her oath, and hoſtages, they accounted as nothing; for all theſe were vaniſhed if the Queens life were once taken away. Then, if ſhe departed the Kingdome, they feared ſhe would ſtreightway goe about to invade it againe.*

The States urge the publication of the ſentence.

Theſe things the Lord Chancellour, and *Puckering* (the Speaker of the lower houſe) unfolded to the Queene more at large; urging to have the ſentence put in execution, *for as much as it were injuſtice, to deny the execution of the lawes to the meaneſt ſubject that required it; much more to the whole body of the Kingdome, with one mind and one voice making ſuch earneſt requeſt for the ſame.* Hereupon the Queene, making a ſhort pawſe, at laſt beſpake them to this effect.

The Queenes anſwer to them.

"That muſt needs be a tedious journey, which at the going out, in the "progreſſe, and at the end of it, yeeldeth nothing but trouble and diſ- "comfort. I am this day in as great a conflict as ever, whether I ſhould "ſpeak or be ſilent. If I ſhould ſpeake and not complaine, I ſhould but "diſſemble: if I bee ſilent, your labour is loſt. Againe if I complaine, it "muſt needs ſeeme ſtrange and unuſuall. Yet I muſt needs confeſſe, my "chiefe deſire hath been, that for your ſecuritie, and my owne ſafetie "withall, ſome other way might be deviſed, then what is now propoun- "ded. So that I cannot chuſe but complaine before you, though not of you, "underſtanding by your petitions, that my ſafetie dependeth wholly up- "on anothers deſtruction. If any ſhall think that I purpoſely deferred the "time, diſſemblingly to obtaine ſome opinion of clemencie, they do me "great injurie; which hee beſt knoweth that ſearcheth the moſt in- "ward thoughts of all hearts. If any ſhal imagine, that the Commiſſioners "for feare of diſpleaſing me, or becauſe they might provide for my ſafe- "ty, durſt pronounce no other ſentence than what is given, they doe un- "worthily burden me with unſufferable wrong. For either my Miniſters "have beene undutifull, or elſe they ſignified to the Delegates in my "name, that my will and command was, that every one ſhould pro- "nounce freely according to his owne perſwaſion; and what they were "unwilling to make open profeſſion of, they ſhould privately impart "to me. But ſince it is now evident and certaine, that my ſafety without "her deſtruction is in a moſt deplored eſtate, I am moſt grievouſly affe- "cted with inward griefe and ſorrow, that I who have pardoned ſo ma- "ny Rebels, have neglected ſo many treaſons (either by connivence or "ſilence) ſhould now at laſt exerciſe crueltie upon a Prince ſo neerely "allied unto me.

"Since I firſt ſate at the helme of this Kingdome, I have ſeene many "ſcurrulous libels publiſhed againſt mee, traducing me as a Tyrant.

"Good

1586.

"Good lucke have the authors of them: I beleeve they had a meaning "to acquaint the world with some strange matter; and strange indeed it "appeared to me, that I should be branded for a tyrant: I would it were "as strange a matter to heare of their villanie & impietie. What will they "now forbeare to publish in their writings, when they shall heare that "I consented that the hangman should embrew his hands in the bloud "of my neerest kinswoman? So farre am I from crueltie, that for the "preservation of my owne life should offer her no violence, nor was I "ever so carefully solicitous to draw out the thred of mine life alone, "as for the preservation of hers and mine together: and that this cannot "be, I grieve intolerably. I am not so void of understanding, but that I "see to what dangers I am exposed; nor so cowardly, that I will sharpen "a knife to cut mine own throat; nor so supinely careless, as to have no "regard of my life. But this I thinke with my selfe, that many there are "who for another Princes life will expose their own life to hazzard and "danger, I professe my selfe to be none of their number. This varietie of "thoughts hath at other times exercised me. But for as much as many per-"sons have sharpened their tongues, & brandished their pens against me, "give me leave to make some kind of defence for my selfe, that you may "know what manner of woman she is, for whose safetie you have been "so carefull and vigilant: for mine owne part, as I doe willingly and "thankfully call to mind your watchfulnesse for my welfare, so shall I "never sufficiently requite the same, if I had as many lives as you all here "present.

"When I first tooke the Scepter into my hands, not unmindfull of "God the bestower of the same, I began my reigne with his service, and "the Religion in which I was born, educated, and shall die, as I trust. Al-"beit I was not ignorant how many perills would beset me at home in "regard of the change of Religion, and how many Princes of the con-"trarie profession abroad would beare an hostile mind toward mee, yet "was I not a whit moved. For I knew that God, whose onely glorie I "regarded, would defend both me and my cause. From hence issued "out against mee so many attempts and conspiracies, in so much that I "wonder I should bee now alive, but that the aide of the Almightie be-"yond hopes was alwaies at hand. Now, that I might make the better "progresse in the art of government, I imployed my thoughts a long "time to find out what best beseemed Princes, and I perceived it was "more than necessarie they should be well appointed with those choice "vertues, of Justice, Temperance, Wisedome, and Fortitude: These two "latter, for that they bee altogether manly, my sexe permits mee not to "assume to my selfe. But for those two former and more gentle habits "of vertue (farre be ostentation from me) thus much I dare boldly say, "I have contained the highest and the lowest within the compasse of the "same law: I have advanced no man, but who I thought was well wor-"thy; my eares have not beene too credulously open at any time; I have "not blinded judgement with prejudice before I heard the cause. Yet I "cannot say but it may be truely alledged, that in many things, and upon "occasion, I have seemed through favour to have beene carried away

1586. "with partialitie. *For a good and warie Prince is oftentimes bought and* "*ſold*, when he cannot heare all particulars. Yet thus much I will con- "fidently ſpeake; My judgment (ſo farre as my underſtanding led me) "alwaies waited upon truth. And as He admoniſhed his friends not to "give an anſwer till he had runne over the Alphabet, ſo have not I raſh- "ly or haſtily determined of any thing.

"Wherefore as for your conſultations and counſells, I acknowledge "them to bee ſober, adviſed, and wholſome, tending to my preſervation, "and flowing from hearts ſo upright and devoted to me, that it will be "my part to employ my utmoſt endevours, that at laſt I appeare not un- "thankefull toward thoſe that deſerve ſo well at my hands. As for your "petition, I pray and beſeech you to reſt in an anſwer without an an- "ſwer. I approve your ſentence, I conceive your reaſons, yet I pray you "hold excuſed the doubtfull care and thought, which doth ſo much tor- "ture and trouble me. Take in good part my thankfull mind towards "you, and this anſwere, if ſo be you thinke it an anſwer. If I ſay I will "not grant your petition, happely I ſhall ſay what I meane not: if I "ſhould ſay I will grant it, then caſt I my ſelfe into deſtruction headlong, "whoſe ſafetie you ſo earneſtly deſire: and that I know you in your "wiſedomes would not I ſhould doe, if you ſeriouſly conſider the cir- "cumſtances of place and time; beſides the ſeverall diſpoſitions and "inclinations of men.

After this the Parliament was prorogued.

Notice of the ſentence given to the Queene of Scots.

Then were the Lord Buckhurſt and *Beale* ſent to the Queene of Scots, to let her underſtand that ſentence was paſſed againſt her; and that the ſame, as moſt juſt, was allowed and confirmed by authoritie of Parliament, and that the execution of the ſame was earneſtly deſired by the Nobilitie and Commons: and therefore they perſwaded her, that before her death ſhe would make acknowledgment of her offences againſt God and the Queene: intimating, that if ſhee lived, the religion received in England could not ſubſiſt. Hereupon ſhe was taken with a kind of unwonted alacritie, and ſeemed to triumpth for joy, giving God thanks, and gratulating her owne felicitie, that ſhee ſhould be accounted an inſtrument for the eſtabliſhment of the Religion in this Iland: and very vehemently ſhe requeſted that ſhe might have ſome Catholick Prieſt, to informe her for her ſoules health, and to adminiſter the Sacrament to her: but it was denied her; which ſome deemed not inhumane only, but tyrannicall and heatheniſh. The Biſhop and the Deane, whom for this purpoſe they commended to her, ſhe utterly rejected, and girded the Engliſh Nation, ſaying, *The Engliſh were ever and anon wont to murder their owne Kings, ſo that it is no wonder they ſhould now thirſt after my deſtruction.*

She beareth it ioyfully.

Mounſieur *L'Aubeſpine* the French Embaſſadour, by his interceſſion ſtaied the publication of the ſentence for a while: but ſome of the Courtiers labouring the matter eagerly, in the moneth of December it was proclaimed through London firſt, the Lord Maior, the Aldermen, and chiefe of the Citie being by, and afterwards over all the Kingdome. In the Proclamation, the Queene ſeriouſly proteſted, that this promulgation of the ſentence was extorted from her, to her great griefe of mind,

The ſentence proclaimed.

our

out of a kind of necessitie, and by reason of the earnest entreaties of the State and body of the Kingdome, albeit some there were which thought this but a womans tricke, who though they desire a thing, yet had rather seeme to be forced to it. 1586.

The promulgation of this fatall sentence being told the Queene of Scots, she was so farre from being dejected in mind, that with a settled countenance, her eyes and hands lifted up to heaven, shee gave God thankes; and although shee were stripped of all dignitie by *Powlet* her keeper, and used like a woman of the lowest and meanest condition, yet did shee beare it with great content and constancie of mind. But at last, with much adoe obtaining leave of *Powlet* to write, shee framed a letter to the Queene, bearing date the nineteenth of December. In which shee disclaimeth *all malice or hostile affection towards her: for the sentence of condemnation she giveth thankes to Almighty God, who is pleased to set a period to her sorrowfull pilgrimage in this life. She beseecheth her that for these kindnesses hereafter mentioned shee might bee beholding to her alone, for from the Puritan Zelots, which held the chiefe place and authoritie in England, she could expect no good. In the first place, when her adversaries shall be satisfied with her innocent bloud, that her body may be borne by her servants into some holy ground, but rather into France, where her mother resteth in peace: for that violence hath beene offered to the ashes of her Ancestors in Scotland, and the Churches either demolished or prophaned; nor could she hope for buriall in England amongst the ancient Kings, her Ancestors also, according to the rites of the Catholike Religion. So let her body rest at length, which being joyned to her soule never rested. The second request (because she feared the secret tyrannie of some persons) was, that shee might not bee privately put to death, the Queene unacquainted, but her servants, and others standing by, which might beare true witnesse of her faith in Christ, her obedience to the Church, and her manner of departure out of this life, to quell the false rumors which her adversaries had spread abroad. The third was, that her servants might have leave to depart freely and in peace whither they would themselves, and enjoy the goods which by her last Will and Testament she had bequeathed them. These things doth she beg and intreat in the name of JESVS CHRIST, by her neere alliance in bloud, by the death and precious memorie of King Henrie the seventh their common progenitor, by the honour of a Queene, which sometime she carried.* Then she complaineth, *that all attendance befitting a Prince was taken from her, at the command of certaine Privie Counsellors; their malice she guesseth will breake forth into greater outrages.* She addeth furthermore, *that if they had without fraud exhibited her letters and papers which were taken away, it would manifestly appeare, that there is no other reason wherefore shee should die, but the over-carefulnesse of some persons for the Queens safetie. In the last place, she earnestly beggeth that the Queene in a few words under her owne hand would returne her an answer.* But whether this letter ever came to the Queenes hand no body can tell.

The Queen of Scots constancie.

A letter sent by the Queene of Scots to Queene Elisabeth.

But now divers speeches and censures passed up and downe concerning this matter, according as men stood severally affected and inclined; to omit the vehement declamations and exclamations of Ecclesiasticall persons on both sides.

1586. There were ſome wiſe and indifferent eſteemers of right and wrong, which thought ſhe had too harſh meaſure ſhewed her; for that ſhe was a free and abſolute Princeſſe, over whom God alone had authoritie; that ſhe was allied to the Queene in a neere bond of kindred and conſanguinitie; who alſo (when ſhe was caſt out of her own Kindgome by rebellious ſubjects, and arrived here in England) by Sir *Henry Middlemore* promiſed her largely in the word of a Prince all humanitie and courteous uſage, and protection as befitted an honourable gueſt, and yet contrariwiſe detained her in priſon, and violated the ſacred lawes of hoſpitalitie. That at the worſt ſhe could be held in no worſe condition (if an enemie) than as one taken in warre, and that it is lawfull for thoſe that are taken in warre, to uſe any meanes for freeing themſelves and recovering their libertie. That ſhe could not commit the crime of treaſon, becauſe ſhee was no ſubject, and Peere over Peere hath no authoritie. Then, that the judiciall ſentence of the Emperour againſt *Robert* King of Sicilie was of no force nor validitie, becauſe he was no ſubject to the Empire. That Embaſſadors, the miniſters and agents of Princes, if they conſpire againſt thoſe Princes to whom they are employed on Embaſſie, are not held liable of treaſon, much leſſe Princes themſelves. And that a deſire to doe miſchiefe, unleſſe an effect followed the ſame (at leaſt in a perſon of her qualitie) ought not to be puniſhed. Moreover, that ſhe was condemned contrarie to divine Law, the Civill Law of the Romans, & the Common Law of England; yea, contrarie to the firſt Statute of the Parliament holden in the thirteenth yeere of the reigne of Queen *Eliſabeth* her ſelfe; wherein it was enacted, that none ſhould be called in queſtion concerning treaſon plotted againſt the life of the Queen, but by the teſtimonie & oath of two lawfull witneſſes, which were to be brought face to face before the partie delinquent: whereas in this triall no witneſſe was openly produced; but the Queen of Scots was oppreſſed with the teſtimonie of her own Secretaries, who alſo were abſent. It was alſo diverſly debated, what weight and force was in the teſtimonie of ſervants of parties impriſoned, who for feare or favour might give falſe witneſſe; and of the validitie of domeſticke teſtimonies. That alſo of *Adrian* the Emperour, the dictate of right reaſon, and a rule in the Civill Law, was by ſome highly extolled, *Teſtibus non teſtimoniis credendum*; Not the witneſſe, but the witneſſes themſelves muſt be produced.

Judgements concerning the Queen of Scots cauſe. Some are for her.

Theſe men alſo privately made complaint, that Spies and Inſtruments were ſuborned, who by diſſembled carriages, counterfeit letters, and cunning deceits, drew into inconvenience a diſtreſſed Lady, liable to injuries and ſoone abuſed, for that ſhe was deſirous of libertie: and ſo prevented her owne purpoſes, and drew her into worſe attempts, whereof ſhe would not once have dreamed had ſhee beene kept as ſhee ought to be, and ſuch ſubtle underminers not purpoſely ſent forth to entrap her. Alſo, that it was no newes that Courtiers in all ages knew how to ruſh the moſt innocent perſons upon treaſon, if they were offended at them, were they themſelves never ſo warie; & that innocency once enſnared & laid in priſon, might by treacherie be quickly drawn into capitall danger. And by the way, it would not bee omitted how *Giffard* the Prieſt (of whom we formerly ſpake) who was the Architect of this treacherie, and

decei-

deceiving the truſt committed to him, went to *Walſingham*, and became his agent to enſnare the diſtreſſed Queene, returning into France was within a few moneths caſt in priſon for his lewd and uncleane life, and ſuſpected for theſe carriages, died in miſerable manner, and his papers afterward diſcovered his proceedings. 1586.

This was the cenſure of thoſe that ſided with the Queene of Scots. Others were as hot on the contrarie part, and with more importunitie, but leſſe judgement, reaſoned on this manner. That ſhe was not a free and abſolute Prince, but onely a titular Queene, becauſe ſhe had yeelded up her right in the Kingdome, and at her firſt comming into England ſubmitted her ſelfe to the Queen of Englands protection: and as ſhee enjoyed the benefit of the Lawes when ſhe did well, ſo by doing evill ſhee ſubjected her ſelfe to the equitie of the ſame; according to that ſaying of the Lawyers, *He deſerveth not the benefit of the Law, who violateth the ſame*; otherwiſe, better were the condition of a forrein Prince tranſgreſſing in anothers Kingdome, than his that ruleth well. They alſo thought ſhee was a ſubject, though not originally, yet temporarie, becauſe two abſolute Princes, at leaſt according to regall authoritie, cannot be at one time in the ſame Kingdome: That this is a received maxime amongſt the Civilians, *A King without his owne Territories (unleſſe in an expedition of warre) is a private perſon, and can therefore neither conferre nor exerciſe royalties*. Beſides, that ſhe by her delinquiſhing had loſt her Soveraigntie, and that ſubjects though by reaſon onely of abode and ſojourning may come within the compaſſe of treaſon. As for kindred and conſanguinitie, no alliance is neerer than our Countries: that is another Deitie to us, and our firſt and higheſt parent. For the promiſes of humanitie and hoſpitalitie, they cannot priviledge one to commit outrages with impunitie. Promiſes muſt ever be underſtood with a ſecret limitation, *Things continuing in the ſame ſtate, and not altering*. Whoſo hath committed a crime, deſerveth not to have the benefit of ſecuritie and protection, though it were promiſed: And the Lawes of hoſpitalite truly are ſacred, but thoſe of our Countrie more ſacred than they. Princes as well as the Pope never bind their owne hands; and all perſons are tyed more ſtrictly to the Common-wealth than to their owne promiſe. Againe, if ſhe were to be dealt withall as one taken priſoner in warre, they objected out of I know not what authors, That thoſe priſoners onely are to be ſpared from whom we can ſuſpect no diſturbance of the publike peace, but no others. A Peere hath power over a Peere, as often as he ſubjecteth himſelfe to his Peere, either expreſſely in word, or in a ſilent contract, or by offending within his Peeres juriſdiction. The Pope made voyde the Emperours ſentence upon *Robert* King of Sicilie, becauſe the fact was not committed in the Emperours, but in the Popes territories. Embaſſadours by the law of Nations have indulgence to be untouched, becauſe of the neceſſity of their employment: but the ſame law of Nations doth not priviledge Kings, taking unlawfull enterpriſes in hand within the territories of another Prince. Finally, that in treaſon, and crimes of that nature, the deſire is puniſhable though ſucceſſe be wanting; and to plot the Princes deſtruction, yea to be privie to it and not to reveale it, is ranked amongſt the crimes of high treaſon. That many Kings have been condemned

Judgements againſt her.

1586. demned and put to death in times past, as *Rhesemporis* King of Thrace by *Tyberius* the Emperour, *Licinius* and *Maximianus* by *Constantine* the great, *Berward* King of Italie, *Conradine* of Sicilie &c. Lastly, which is all in all, the safetie of the people is the highest Law, and no Law more sacred than the preservation of the Common-wealth from danger. This Law *Jove* himselfe made, That whatsoever is for the good of the Common-wealth shall be held lawfull and just. Yea, that the very Popes, for their owne, not the publike securitie, have taken away Ecclesiasticall Princes; as *Boniface* the eighth caused *Celestine* the fifth, that was deposed from the Popedome, to be made away, for feare that in regard of his singular pietie hee might at length bee againe installed: *Urban* the sixth caused five Cardinalls to be sowed in Sackes and throwne into the Sea; and beheaded others, and dried two of their bodies in a Furnace, which he would have in terror set upon Mules and carried up and down. Besides, Secretaries were not to be reckoned amongst common servants; and domesticke testimonie is to bee admitted for matters committed at home and in secrecie. And it was subtilely disputed and canvassed, whether witnesses voluntarily sworne, and themselves guiltie of the fact, should be brought forth in causes criminall. In the last place, that no great example was extant any where, which had not in it some transgression and deviation from the strict Law of Justice. These and such like disputes were then frequent in mens mouthes.

The King of Scots maketh intercession for his mother.

The King of Scots all this while, out of his pious and naturall affection toward his mother, was greatly solicitous on her behalfe, and made earnest suit for her life by *William Keith*, not omitting any course that might beseeme a wise and godly Prince to take. But without any successe at all, seeing the Scots were rent into factions amongst themselves, and more sided with Queene *Elisabeth* than with the imprisoned Queene; insomuch that some of them under-hand solicited the Queene by letters to hasten the execution: and the Scottish Ministers being commanded by the King to commend unto God the safetie of his mother in prayers throughout the Churches, out of hatred to the religion shee professed, obstinately refused. Hee notwithstanding, as formerly by frequent messages and letters he interceded with the Queen, so now more ferquently and vehemently than ever. And in his letters he made bitter complaint, *That it was a most unjust and unworthy thing, that the Peeres, Counsellours, and Subjects of England, should passe a sentence upon the Queene of Scots, who was borne of the English bloud Royall: and no lesse unjust, so much as to thinke that the States of England could by authoritie of Parliament exclude the true and undoubted heires from their right and lawfull inheritance. For some, to terrifie him, ever and anon buzzed in his eares these threatning speeches.*

Some in Scotland solicite against the Queene of Scots.

Grey and Melvin sent to the Queen from the King of Scots.

He sent also *Patrick Grey* and *Robert Melvin*, to signifie to the Queen, *That he, by reason of his neere alliance, could not but thinke that she who had every where gotten her selfe high honour and reputation by her marvellous vertues, and by her clemency more than all, would preserve the same from any spot or staine of cruelties, and would in no case pollute the same with the death of his mother, who was of the same Royall ranke and condition, of her owne sexe, and of her owne bloud; and whom he (for as much as a mothers*

bloud

blond carrieth in it a great tie of neereneſſe and religion) could in no wiſe forſake, or leave to their mercileſſe crueltie, who for a long time thirſted after his owne blond as well as his mothers. In other letters, beſides theſe; having firſt laid open at large, with how many doubtfull thoughts and troubles of mind he was diſquieted concerning ſo weightie a matter, which touched him ſo neerely, and bound him both in nature and honor to looke to it; and into what danger his reputation would come here at home, if any violence were offered his mother; out of his inward greife of mind, and feeling of filiall affection, hee propounded theſe ſpecialties to the Queen, beſeeching her to take them into her ſerious conſideration, and maturely to weigh the ſame. "How much his honour was enga-
"ged, who was both a King and her ſonne, if his deare mother (who
"alſo is an abſolute Queene) ſhould be put infamouſly to death by her;
"who is neerly allied to her in a bond of alliance & conſanguinitie. Whe-
"ther according to the Law of God they might be put to death, whom
"God Almightie had conſtituted as the higheſt Miniſters of juſtice?
"whom hee hath named gods upon earth; whom hee hath anointed,
"and forbid any perſon to touch his anointed? and whether it were pro-
"bable he would let the ſame goe unrecompenced? How prodigious a
"thing it is to ſubject an abſolute Prince to a triall by ſubjects? how pro-
"digious a thing it were for an abſolute Prince to lead the way, and for
"ſuch a pernicious example to be extant, for their owne Crownes, and
"the Diadems of other Princes? Furthermore, what ſhould urge her to
"this ſeveritie? honour or utilitie? if honour, ſhe ſhould obtaine grea-
"ter honour by ſparing her: for ſo by her praiſe-worthy clemencie, ſhee
"ſhould bind to her in thankfulneſſe himſelfe and the reſt of the Chri-
"ſtian Princes, whom otherwiſe ſhe muſt needs alienate from her; and
"beſides, with the hazzard of her reputation procure to her ſelfe a blot
"of crueltie and unmercifulneſſe. But if utilitie be regarded, let her con-
"ſider whether any thing could be profitable, if the ſame bee not juſt
"and honeſt. He concluded, beſeeching the Queene to give his Embaſ-
"ſadours ſuch an anſwer as might befit her ſo pious a Queene, and not
"diſcontent him, who is a King and her neere kinſman. But the Em-
baſſadors intermingling threatning ſpeeches with their entreaties, proved ſomewhat troubleſome; and within a few dayes were diſmiſſed with very ſlender hopes to ſpeed in their requeſt.

Bellievre, who for this purpoſe alſo was ſent Embaſſadour from the French King, firſt of all came to the Queene, accompanied with *L'Aubeſpine de Chaſteau-Neuf*, the Embaſſadour here in Ordinarie, & in a few words ſignified his meſſage: Into how contrarie parts the King of France was diſtracted, on the one ſide out of ſingular regard to the Queene, and on the other, conſidering the neere alliance betwixt him and the Queen of Scots; afterward, tendred her in writing theſe or ſuch like propoſitions.

The French King intercedeth for the Queene of Scots.

"That it neerely concerned the moſt Chriſtian King of France, and
"other Kings, not to ſuffer a Queene, a free and abſolute Princeſſe, to be
"put to death.

Bellievr his reaſons for her.

"That Queene *Eliſabeths* ſafetie by the death of the Queen of Scots
"would be caſt into greater danger than by her life: for if ſhe were ſet at
"libertie

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1586. "libertie, ſhe could attempt no great matter againſt the Queene, being "ſickly and crazie, and having but a very ſhort time to live. That ſhe "had arrogated and aſſumed to her ſelfe the title of England, was "not her fault, but ought to be aſcribed to her tender yeeres and evill "Counſellors. That ſhe came into England in the way of a ſuppliant, "and therefore was unjuſtly deteined hitherto, and now at length either "ought to bee ranſomed and diſmiſſed upon reaſonable conditions, or "elſe in cuſtodie be gently entreated. Beſides, an abſolute Prince ought "not to bee called into queſtion, much leſſe condemned; inſomuch that "*Tully* ſaid: *It is ſo ſtrange a matter for a King to bee guiltie of a capitall "crime, that hitherto the like hath not beene heard.* If ſhe bee innocent ſhee "ought not to be puniſhed; if nocent, ſhe ſhould be ſpared; for this will "prove more honourable and more commodious, and will for ever be "a memorable example of the clemencie of England: remembring for "the purpoſe the hiſtorie of *Porſenna*, who ſnatched the hand of *Mutius "Scævola* out of the flames, and let him goe, who had conſpired his life. "A prime rule of good government it is to ſpare bloud-ſhed; for bloud "cryeth for bloud: To exerciſe ſeveritie againſt her muſt needs ſeeme "bloudy and cruell. That the French King would withall his might "endevour the quelling of treaſon and machinations of all ſorts a-"gainſt the Queene; and that the Guiſes, the Queene of Scots Couſins, "ſhould ſweare thereunto, and confirme the ſame by their deeds and "obligations; who if ſhee ſhould be put to death, would take it in "hainous part, and it might bee not ſuffer the ſame to paſſe unrevenged. "In the laſt place, they requeſted that ſhe might not be proceeded a-"gainſt after ſo rigid and extraordinarie a manner of triall; if otherwiſe, "the French King muſt needs take it in very evill part, howſoever other "Princes ſtood affected.

An anſwer to the Embaſſadours reaſons.

Theſe propoſitions of the French Embaſſadour were ſeverally anſwered, in the margine of the ſame writing wherein they were tendered. *viz.* "That the Queen of England hoped that the Chriſtian King of France "would have as great reſpect to her as to the Queene of Scots, which "plotted the deſtruction of an innocent Princeſſe, her neereſt kinſwo-"man, and an allie and confederate to the French King. It was moſt ex-"pedient for Kings and Common-wealths, that malefactors, againſt "Princes eſpecially, ſhould not goe unpuniſhed. That the Engliſh, who "acknowledge the onely ſupreme authority of Queen *Eliſabeth* within "her Dominions and Realmes, cannot acknowledge two ſupreme, free, "and abſolute Princes at one time in England; nor endure that any other "perſon ſhould bee equalized to her in England, ſo long as ſhe liveth. "Nor truely did they ſee how the Queen of Scots and her ſon (who at "this day beareth the Government) could at one and the ſame time be "held to be both ſupreme and abſolute Princes. Whether or no the "ſafetie of the Queene will be expoſed to more perils, the Queene of "Scots being taken out of the way, dependeth upon future events, which "are uncertaine: the States of England having ſeriouſly weighed the "matter thinke otherwiſe. For if ſhe be ſuffered to live, there will never "be wanting occaſions of attempting miſchiefe, eſpecially, the matter "being now come to that paſſe, that there is no hope of the one, un-

"leſſe

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"lesse the other be extinguished: and this thought commeth often in the "way, *Aut ego illam, aut illa me*; Either I must take away her, or shee will "prevent me. The shorter her life is like to prove, the more speed will "the Conspirators make to worke the Queenes destruction. The right "which she arrogated to the Kingdome of England, hitherto she would "not renounce, and hath therefore most justly beene detained in prison; "and ought so to be held till she doe renounce it, although shee came "into England in forme of a Suppliant. And those crimes which in pri-"son shee hath committed, she ought to suffer for, upon what pretence "soever she were first cast in prison. The Queene had formerly spared "her in most mercifull manner, when by unanimous consent of the State "and Kingdome, she should have beene condemned for the rebellion "in the North, raised to make way for her marriage with the Duke of "Norfolke. No man knoweth not that saying of the Civilians; *Delin-*"*quens in alieno territorio, & ibi repertus, punitur in loco delicti, nullâ habi-*"*tâ ratione dignitatis, honoris, aut privilegii*; that is: He that offendeth in "the territories of another, and is there found, is punished according to "the qualitie of his offence, without regard had of his dignitie, honour, or "priviledge. And that the same is right and allowable, both by the "Lawes of England, and by the examples of *Licinius*, *Robert* King of "Sicilie, *Bernard* King of Italie, *Conradine* of Sicilie, *Elisabeth* Queen of "Hungarie, *Joane* Queen of Naples, & *Deiotarus*, is made manifest; for "whom *Tully* pleading, said not that it was an unjust thing that a King "should bee made guiltie of a capitall crime, but onely that it was unu-"suall. For thus the words goe: *Quod primum dico de capite fortunisque* "*Regis, quod ipsum etsi non iniquum est, in tuo duntaxat periculo, tamen est* "*ita inusitatum, &c.* She may bee punished who is found guiltie upon "triall, for as much as that which is just is honest, and what is honest "wanteth not it's utility. The historie of *Porsenna* agreeth not well "with the present matter, unlesse one take it, that there is a long "troope of conspirators lying in wait for the Queene, and would per-"swade that the Queene of Scots should bee let goe out of feare, and "some regard to her honour, but none at all to her safetie; as *Porsenna* "dismissed *Mutius Scævola*, when hee affirmed that three hundred such "as himselfe had conspired his death. Besides, *Mutius* in warlike de-"fiance set upon *Porsenna*, and *Mutius* being let goe, *Porsenna* perswaded "himselfe that all the danger was over. Bloud ought to be spared; 'tis "true: But what? Innocent bloud: This God hath commanded. The "voice of innocent bloud cryeth for bloud againe; and this France can "well testifie, both before the Massacre at Paris, and since also. Death "justly inflicted cannot seeme cruell or bloudy, no more than a medi-"cine rightly prepared and applied can be thought violent. In what "kind soever the Guises, the Queen of Scots Cousins, doe take the mat-"ter; yet it stands the Queen greatly upon, to lay to heart her owne "safetie, and the safetie of the people of England, whereupon her securi-"tie dependeth wholly, rather than the offence of any persons whatsoe-"ver. The matter is now come to that up-shot, that the old by-word used "concerning the two Princes, *Conradine* King of Sicilie and *Charles* of "Anjou, may be used and truely applied to the two Queens: *Mors Maria*

vita

1587. "*vita Eliſabethæ, vita Mariæ mors Eliſabethæ.* The Queen of Scots life "is the Queene of Englands death, the Queene of Scots death is the "Queene of Englands life. The promiſes of the French King or the "Guiſes cannot ſecure the Queene and Kingdome, much leſſe can they "make good the Queens life if it be taken away. The French King can-"not find out or hinder ſecret machinations againſt himſelfe at home, "much leſſe againſt the Queene of England: for Treaſon walketh in "the darke, and is therefore unavoidable. If the fact be once committed, "what good will it be to require the promiſes undertaken? How can "the death of an incomparable Prince be made good? and what remedie "is there for the Common-wealth to bee found, which will die at once "in a ſad confuſion and deſtruction? The obligations and oaths of the "Guiſes, of what great moment are they, who hold it meritorious to "kill thoſe that oppoſe the Biſhop of Rome, and can ſo eaſily obtaine "diſpenſations for their oaths? And who amongſt the Engliſh, when the "Queens life is once taken away, and the Queene of Scots of the Guiſian "family advanced to the height of Princely dignitie, ſhall accuſe them of "Parricide? or if any one accuſe them, what will it availe? can they "thereby bring a dead Queene to life againe? But whereas the Em-"baſſadours ſay, this tryall was rigid and extraordinarie, they ſpake "ſomewhat inconſiderately, for as much as they never ſaw the procee-"dings nor the proofes, and have taxed more ſharply than beſeemed "them the States of the Kingdome of England, the choiſeſt perſons for "nobilitie, vertue, wiſedome, and pietie, that could be found. Yea, that "they were very raſh to utter ſuch words in the French Kings name, as "if they meant to threaten the Queen and the State. The Engliſh are not "wont to bee terrified with the threats of the French, that they ſhould "not deviſe a way for the ſtabliſhing of their own ſecuritie, when they in "the meane while point out none ſufficient for the propugning of dan-"gers and miſchiefes imminent.

1587. Reg. 30. The French Embaſſadour practiſeth againſt the Queene.

Whiles theſe matters are thus debating accurately and copiouſly, according to mens ſeverall judgements, and as they were led by favour and liking, *L' Aubeſpine* (the French Ambaſſador in Ordinarie here in England) who was wholly devoted to the Guiſes faction, thinking it the beſt way no longer by reaſons, but by evill ſtratagems, to redeeme the Queene of Scots out of priſon, firſt dealeth covertly with *William Staffford*, a young Gentleman, and prone to embrace new hopes (whoſe mother was of the Bed-chamber to the Queene, and his brother at that time Lieger Ambaſſadour in France) and afterward more openly by *Trap* his Secretarie, to murder the Queene: He promiſed him, that if hee would undertake the fact, hee ſhould not onely gaine a great ſumme of money and infinite glory, but alſo be taken into high grace with the Pope, the Duke of Guiſe, and all Catholikes. *Stafford* not daring to attempt ſuch a villany, refuſed to act it, yet commended he to him one *Moody*, a homicide and a reſolute fellow, who if money were given him, would without all doubt couragiouſly doe the deed: hee was now in a common Goale in London. *Stafford* doeth him word that the French Embaſſadour would ſpeake with him; he returned anſwere, that he ſhould be very glad thereof, ſo that he might be ſet at libertie; in the meane time hee re-

requesteth to have *Cordalion* (another of the French Embassadors attendants, with whom he was well acquainted) sent to him. The next day *Trap* was sent thither, and *Stafford* beareth him company; hee (*Stafford* stepping aside) conferreth with *Moody* by what meanes to make away the Queen. *Moody* propoundeth poyson, or a bag with twentie pounds of gunpowder to be laid under the Queens bed, and fired upon a suddain. This liked not *Trap*, but he would have such a man as was the Burgundian, that dispatched the Prince of *Orange*. 1587.

Stafford reveileth the conspiracie.

These passages *Stafford* discovereth out of hand to the Lords of the Councel: thereupon *Trap*, who was now bound for France, was apprehended, & being examined hereupon, confessed what hath beene said. Upon this the Embassador himselfe was sent for to *Cecils* house the 12. day of Januarie: About the evening he came thither, where by the Queenes appointment met *Cecil* Lord Burleigh Treasurer of England, the Earle of Leicester, Sir *Christopher Hatton* Vice-chamberlaine to the Queen, & *Davison* one of her Secretaries. They intimate, that they had sent for him to give him an account for what cause they had apprehended his Secretary *Trap*, when he was going for France: and then they unfold every particular, which *Stafford*, *Moody*, and *Trap* himselfe had confessed. The Embassador (who impatiently bending his browes heard all this) when they commanded them to be brought forth to witnesse thus much before him, rising up in anger, said, he would not in derogation to his King, and the priviledges of Embassadors, heare any accusation whatsoever. But when they answered, that those men should not be brought forth as accusers, but that he might see this was no feigned matter, and hee might freely convince *Stafford* of untruth, he was satisfied. As soone as *Stafford* was brought in and began to speak, he interrupted him, & reviling him, made asseveration that *Stafford* first propounded it; & that he threatned him, unlesse he disisted, to send him bound hand and foot to the Queen. But he spared him indeed, out of singular love & respect to his mother, sister, and brother: *Stafford*, falling upon his knees, made fearefull imprecations, that the Embassadour first propounded the businesse. When the Embassadour now began to be vehemently moved, *Stafford* was commanded to goe aside, and *Moodie* was not brought forth at all.

The Embassador denieth it.

Burleigh lightly rebuketh him.

Now Burleigh in gentle manner (both from the Embassadours owne words, and *Traps* confession), arguing that the Embassadour was acquainted with the matter; he made answer, If he had knowne any such thing, yet being an Embassadour, he ought not to give notice of it, but to his owne King. When Burleigh interposed, that it is belonged not to an Embassadour (which yet is questionable) to give notice when the safetie of a Prince is by wicked meanes brought into danger; yet is it the part of a Christian to avert such injuries, not only from a Prince, but on the behalfe of any other Christian. He stiffely denied it; and withall told him, how the French Embassadour in Spaine not long since finding out a machination against the King of Spaines life, intimated the same not to the Spaniard, but to his owne King, and was therefore commended by the King and his Councell. But Burleigh gravely admonished him, to beware how he offended hereafter against the Queens Majestie, and not be unmindfull of the dutie of an Embassadour, and the Queens clemencie

1587. at this time; who by letting evill Embaſſadours paſſe with impunitie, would not give the good bad example; and let him know, that he is not quitted from the offence, howbeit at this time he goe ſcot-free.

Upon this treaſon, the Queen of Scots enemies catched an occaſion to haſten her death; and great care they tooke (knowing that in great dangers feare excludeth all pitty) to terrifie the Queene: which they ſought to doe by ſcattering of falſe rumours daily every where throughout England, viz. *That the Spaniſh Navie was now already come to Milford Haven, That the Scots brake into England, That the Duke of Guiſe with a great armie was landed in Suſſex, That the Queene of Scots was eſcaped out of priſon, and had gotten to her a company up in armes, That the North was up in Rebellion, That new aſſaſinates had conſpired to murder the Queene, and ſet fire on the Citie of London, And that the Queene her ſelfe was dead*; and many other reports of the ſame ſtampe, which crafty or terrified people are apt to frame, and Princes curiouſly credulous are ready to beleeve.

Rumors ſpred to excite the Queen againſt the Queen of Scots.

With theſe and the like skar-crowes, and arguments full of terrour and amazement, they drew the Queen (whoſe mind was full of doubt and care) to this, that at length ſhe ſealed letters for the executing of the ſaid ſentence againſt the Queene of Scots: and one of her greateſt perſwaders thereunto (as the Scots reported) was *Patrick Grey* a Scottiſhman, ſent from the King of Scotland to diſſwade the Queene from putting his mother to death; who would often ſound that in the Queenes eares, *Mortua non mordet, When ſhe is dead ſhe cannot bite.*

The Queen notwithſtanding, who was ſlow by nature, began to weigh within her ſelfe, whether it were better advice to rid her out of the way, or to ſpare her. That ſhee ſhould not take away her life, theſe reaſons came in the way: "Her owne inbred clemencie; that it might ap-
"peare cruell and tyrannicall to exerciſe ſeveritie toward a woman, the
"ſame being a Prince and her neere kinſwoman, feare of being infamous
"in hiſtories to the after ages, and of dangers like to happen both from
"the King of Scots (who now would raiſe his hopes higher toward the
"Crowne of England) and alſo from the Catholike Princes abroad, and
"deſperate perſons at home, who would now boldly attempt any thing.
But if ſhee ſpared her, ſhee perceived no leſſe dangers imminent on the other ſide. "That the Peeres which had paſſed ſentence againſt the
"Queene of Scots, might ſecretly inſinuate themſelves with her and her
"ſonne, to the Queenes great damage; the reſt of her ſubjects, who were
"moſt carefull for her ſafetie, ſeeing their labour loſt, would take it
"in very evill part, & from henceforth it might be neglect her; a number
"would depart to the Romiſh Religion, and take up great hopes to
"themſelves, ſeeing her fatally as it were kept to enjoy the Crowne at
"laſt: that the Jeſuites and Seminarie Prieſts, which have their eyes
"wholly fixed upon the Queen of Scots, ſeeing her ſickly, and fearing ſhe
"cannot live long, will leave no ſtone unturned (as the proverb is) for the
"haſtning of the Queens death, and the reſtoring of their owne Religion.

The Courtiers perſwade her by reaſons.

Thoſe likewiſe about the Court unceſſantly poſſeſſed the Queene with theſe and the like arguments. "Wherefore ſhould you ſpare her, a
"guilty perſon, and juſtly condemned, who ſubſcribed the Aſſociation

entred

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"entred for your preservation, and yet straightway went about to mis-
"chiefe your selfe, an innocent person; and your destruction being
"brought to passe, would use all manner of tyrannie over the Peeres,
"the people, and Religion it selfe. Clemencie indeed is a princely vertue,
"but not to bee shewed toward persons void of clemencie and mercie.
"Let a vaine shew of pitie give place to wholsome severitie. Take heed
"your mercie turne not to your mischiefe. It is sufficiently praise-wor-
"thy that you spared her once already: to spare her againe, were no
"other but to pronounce her innocent, to condemne the State of Eng-
"land of injustice, to adde courage to her Ministers to hasten their wic-
"ked purposes, and to quell the spirit of loyall subjects, studying for the
"preservation of the Common-wealth. Religion, the Re-publike, your
"owne safetie, the love of your Countrie, the oath of association, and the
"regard to posteritie, doe all with joynt entreatie urge you hereunto,
"that she which would ruine all, may out of hand bee taken out of the
"way: unlesse they prevaile in their request, it is not possible this King-
"dome should be preserved; and the Historians shall make knowne to
"the succeeding age, that the bright sun-shine daies of England, under
"the reigne of Queene *Elisabeth*, ended in a darke and duskie evening;
"yea, were shut up in an everlasting night. Posteritie shall wonder at our
"wisedome, who (which is an accumulation of miseries) could foresee
"dangers, but not prevent them; and shall impute the number of ensuing
"mischiefes, not so much to the malice of the adversaries, as the su-
"pine carelesnesse of these times. Let not the life of one woman,
"and she but a titularie Queene, weigh downe the safety of all England.
"There is no place for delay in a matter of this consequence, seeing de-
"lay oft-times breedeth inevitable danger: neither is respite to be given
"to plotters of treacherous designes, who will now boldly lay all to
"stake, and besides impunitie, hope for a reward for their villanies. Who-
"so beware not a danger as much as in him lieth, doth rather tempt
"God than trust in him. Whatsoever dangers are feared from abroad,
"will be taken away, if she (the cause therof) be once removed: nor can
"by her can they doe any hurt to England. Whatsoever power or will
"is in the Pope to worke mischiefe to the Kingdome, will perish toge-
"ther with her. The King of Spaine will have no reason to be offended,
"since he put to death his only sonne *Charles*, for his owne securitie; and
"now, to maintaine his own ambitious & aspiring thoughts, hath set siege
"to the life of *Anthonie* of Portugall. The French King, notwithstan-
"ding all this, will maintain faithfull correspondence with England, for it
"will be very usefull for him; for by the speedy death of the Queene of
"Scots, he shall quell the factions of the Guises, and lessen their hopes;
"who building upon the future advancement of their Cousin, beare
"themselves insolently toward their King. The King of Scots indeed
"(both by reason of naturall obligation, and his own honourable in-
"lihood be moved, but will rather wisely attend those hopes, which may
"recompence their slownesse with securitie; then lay all to stake by pre-
"properous festination & danger. & therefore he commeth to hope of
"greatnes, the farther from him will forreine Princes be, with whom it is
"familiar to resist by all meanes they can the augmentation of anothers
"power.

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Now, because what is done by president may seeme more warrantable, wee are able to alledge store of domestick examples in this kind, *how the Kings of England have borne themselves towards their Cousins and Competitors*; *namely*, Henrie *the first against his eldest brother* Robert; Edward *the Third, or his mother rather, toward* Edward *the Second*; Henrie *the Fourth toward* Richard *the Second*; Edward *the Fourth toward* Henrie *the Sixth, and his sonne Prince of Wales*; *yea, and his owne brother* George *Duke of Clarence*; Henrie *the Seventh toward the Earle of Warwick, a young sonne of* George *Duke of Clarence*; Henrie *the Eighth toward* De la Pole *Earle of Suffolk*, Margaret *Countesse of Salisburie, and* Courtney *Marquesse of Exeter: and every one of these for lighter matters (if the crimes bee compared) were put to death.* Neither did the Courtiers onely presse this matter, but some of the Preachers likewise in their Sermons before the Queene, and other places, and others of inferiour ranke amongst the people, out of hope or feare set their wits on work upon this subject.

They endevour to prove it by examples.

Amidst these carefull thoughts, which held the Queene in suspence and doubt, insomuch that she affected solitarinesse, sate oftentimes speechlesse and her countenance cast downe, and many time sighing and breathing out these words, *Aut fer, aut feri*; and out of some ancient Emblem, *Ne feriare, feri, Strike, or be striken.* At last shee delivered to *Davison*, one of the Secretaries, the letters under her hand and seale, to get the Commission made under the great seale of England, for the executing of the Queene of Scots, which might be in a readinesse if so be any danger in that ticklish time should grow; & chargeth him not to disclose the matter to any body. But the next day, shee being dismaied at her owne counsells, her mind altereth, and she sends Sir *William Killegrew* to *Davison*, with a command that the Commission should not be made. He straightway comes to the Queene, and intimateth that the same is made, and the seale put to it. She in anger chideth the man for his hastinesse; who nevertheless imparteth the Commission, and the whole matter, to Privie Counsellors, and easily perswadeth them (who were ready to beleeve what they so earnestly desired) that the Queene commanded it should be put in execution. Hence without delay *Beale* Clerk of the Counsell (one of the greatest adversaries of the Queen of Scots, in regard of her Religion) is sent down with letters, wherein authoritie is deputed to the Earles of Shrewsburie, Kent, Derby, Cumberland, & others, that shee should bee put to death according to the law; and the Queene was never made acquainted. At which verie time, albeit shee had intimated to *Davison*, that shee would take some other order concerning the Queene of Scots, yet did not he stay *Beale*.

Yet she is doubtfull.

The Commison for her execution is sent away.

As soone as the Earles were come to Fotheringay, they together with Sir *Amie Paulet*, and Sir *Drugo Drurie*, with whom she was then in custodie, goe to her, and reading the Commission, signifie the cause of their comming, and in a few words admonish her to prepare her selfe for death, for she must die the next day. She undauntedly, and without all commotion of mind, maketh answer. *I had not thought that my sister the Queene would have consented to my death, who am not subject to your lawes: but since so it seemeth good unto her, death shall be to me most welcome; nor is that soule worthy of celestiall blisse and eternall joyes, whose body cannot endure*

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endure one blow from a hangman. She requesteth that she might conferre with her Almoner, Confessor, & *Melvin* her Steward. They plainely deny her Confessor accesse, and the Earles commended to her the Bishop or Deane of Peterborough to comfort her; which proffer she rejecting, the Earle of Kent in a fit of zeale turning towards her, brake forth into these speeches amongst others: *Your life will be the destruction of our Religion; & on the other side, your destruction will be the preservation of the same.* Mention being made of *Babington*, she constantly denied that she was acquainted with his purpose of treason: revenge she leaveth to God. And asking what was become of *Nave* and *Curle*, demanded, if it hath been ever heard that servants were suborned against their masters, and admitted to be witnesses against them. When the Earles were departed, she gave order that supper should be hastened, for the better dispatching of her affaires. Then shee suppeth sparingly and soberly, according to her wonted manner. At supper, perceiving her men and women servants to mourne, and all bedeawed with teares, with unshaken courage of mind she comforteth them, bids them wipe away their teares, & rejoyce rather, that she was now to depart this life out of a world of miseries. Turning her selfe to *Burgoigne* her Physitian, she asketh him if hee did not now at last observe that truth was strong and would prevaile: *They say* (quoth she) *that I must die because I conspired against the Queenes life; nevertheless the Earle of Kent intimated that there was no other cause of my death, but because they are afraid of me in regard of their Religion. Neither is it my offence against the Queene, but their feare of me that hath brought on my destruction, whiles some study to advance there owne private ends, under a cloake of Religion and the publike benefit.* At they ending of supper she drinketh to all her servants, they in their order pledge her upon their knees, mingling teares with their drinke, and craving pardon for their neglect of duty; in like manner shee requesteth the same from them. After supper she looketh over her Will, read the Inventorie of her goods and jewells, and writeth their names severally by them to whom she gave any of them: to some of them she distributed mony with her own hands. She writeth to her Confessour to pray to God for her; shee writeth also letters commendatorie for her servants, to the King of France and the Duke of Guise. At her wonted houre she went to bed, sleepeth a few houres, and when she awoke the rest of the night she spent in her devotions.

The Queen of Scots prepareth her selfe to die.

The fatall day now looking forth, which was the eighth of February, she getteth up, and maketh her ready, neat, and fine in her holiday array; and calling her servants together, commandeth her Will to be read, desireth them to take their legacies in good part, seeing her estate would reach no further. Then she betooke her selfe in her closet to Almighty God, imploring his divine mercy with deepe sighes, grones, and prayers, untill *Thomas Andrewes* Sheriffe of the Countie gave notice that it was time to come forth. Out she went with a Princely stature, gate, and beauty, a cheerefull countenance, habited very modestly and matron-like, her head covered with a linnen vaile, and the same hanging downe; her beads hanging by her side, and carrying an Ivorie Crucifix in her hands. In the Gallerie the Earles met her, and the other Gentlemen,

She is brought forth to the Scaffold.

1587. where *Melvin* her ſervant upon his bended knees, and full of teares, deplored his owne fortune, that he ſhould carry into Scotland the ſad news of the unhappy fate of his Lady: She comforting the man; *Doe not lament* (quoth ſhe) *thou ſhalt ly and by ſee* Mary Stuart *freed from all cares. Say, that I dyed conſtant in my Religion, and firme in fealtie toward Scotland and France. God forgive them who have thirſted for my bloud, as Harts after a ſpring. Thou O God, who art truth it ſelfe, and knoweſt truly and throughly the moſt inward ſecrets of my heart, knoweſt how earneſtly I have deſired that the Kingdomes of England and Scotland might grow into one. Commend me to my ſonne, and certifie him, that I have done nothing which might any way derogate from the Kingdome of Scotland: warne him to hold amitie with the Queene of England: and ſee that you doe him truſtie ſervice.*

Her ſpeech to Melvin.

And to the Earles.

The teares now guſhing forth, ſhee bade *Melvin*, who wept alſo, againe and againe adieu. Turning her ſelfe to the Earles, ſhee requeſted, *That her ſervants might be courteouſly entreated, that they might quietly enjoy what ſhe had ſeverally bequeathed them, ſtand by her at her death, and be ſent backe into their country with publike caution.* The former of theſe requeſts they promiſed: that they ſhould ſtand by at her death the Earle of Kent was very loth, being afraid of ſuperſtition. *Feare nothing* (quoth ſhe) *theſe poore wretches deſire earneſtly to give me my laſt farewell: I know the Queene my ſiſter would not deny me ſo ſmall a requeſt, if but out of reſpect to me as a woman, that my maides might ſtand by me; I am neereſt in bloud to her, deſcended from* Henry *the ſeventh, Queene Dowager of France, and the annointed Queene of Scots.*

Having thus ſpoken, and turning her ſelfe away, it was permitted that the ſervants whom ſhe would name ſhould ſtand by; ſhe named *Melvin, Burgoine* her Phyſitian, her Apothecarie, Chirurgion, two women, and others; of whom *Melvin* bare up her traine. So the Gentlemen, the two Earles, and the Sheriffe of the Countie leading the way, ſhe came to the ſcaffold; which was ſet up at the upper end of the Hall, where was a chaire, a cuſhion, and a blocke, and all things covered with mourning. As ſhe was ſate downe, and ſilence bidden, *Beale* read the commiſſion; ſhe as it were not minding it, gave diligent eare to the ſame. Then *Fletcher*, Deane of Peterborough, addreſſed himſelfe to her with a tedious ſpeech, touching her fore-paſſed life, and the condition of the preſent and future world. She once and againe interrupted him; *requeſted him not to trouble himſelfe nor her, proteſting that ſhee was confirmed in the ancient Catholike Romiſh religion, and was ready to lay downe her life for the ſame.* He earneſtly perſwading her to repent, and by a lively faith to truſt in Chriſt; ſhe anſwered, *That that was the very ſame Religion wherein ſhe was borne, brought up, and would now dye.* The Earles ſaying that they would pray for her, ſhe ſaid; *She would give them great thankes if they would pray with her; but to joyne in prayers with you, who are of another profeſſion, to me* (ſaith ſhe) *were a ſinne and an offence.* Then they commanded the Deane to goe to prayers; and while the companie there joyned with him, ſhe falling upon her knees, and holding up the Crucifixe in both her hands, prayed with her ſervants in latine, out of the Office of the bleſſed Virgin.

And to the Deane.

After

After the Deane had ended prayer, shee in English commendeth to God, the Church, her Sonne, and Queene *Elisabeth*; praying God to turne away his indignation and wrath from this Island, and professing that she hoped for salvation in the bloud of Christ (holding up the Crucifixe) invocateth the holy company of Saints to intercede for her to him; she forgiveth all her enemies, kissing the Crucifixe, and signing her selfe with the signe of the Crosse, she saith; *As thy armes, O Christ, were spread forth upon the Crosse, so embrace me with the open armes of thy mercie, and forgive me my sinnes.* Then the Executioner asking her pardon, shee granted it. And her women, while she made haste, helping off her outer garments, and breaking forth into shrieks and cries, she kissed them, signed them with the Crosse, looked merrily upon them, & willed them to leave lamenting; *For now an end of her sorrowes was at hand.* In like manner turning her self to her men servants, which wept also, she signed them likewise with the signe of the Crosse, and smiling on them, bid them adieu. Now shadowing her face with a linnen cloth, and lying downe on the blocke, she repeated the Psalme; *In te Domine speravi, ne confundar in aternum.* Then stretching forth her body, and often iterating, *In manus tuas Domine commendo spiritum meum*, her head at two blowes was taken off. The Deane cryed out; *So let the enemies of Queene* Elisabeth *perish*; the Earle of Kent said, *Amen*; the company sighed. Her body being layed in oyntments, and fitly prepared, was afterward roially buried and entombed in the Cathedrall Church at Peterborough. Her funerall was in great magnificence solemnized at Paris in France, by the care of the Family of the Guises; who to their great commendation, performed all offices of due regard and alliance toward her, both alive and dead. Long since her noble sonne *James* King of great Britaine, erected, to her great renowne, a royall Monument in King *Henry* the sevenths Chappell at Westminster.

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Her speech at her last end.

This lamentable *Exit* and closure of her life had *Marie* Queene of Scots, Daughter of *James* the 5. King of Scots, great grandchild to *Henrie* the 7. King of England by his eldest Daughter, in the 46. yeare of her age, and of her imprisonment 18. A woman most constant in her Religion, very devout towards God, of uncomparable courage of minde, wise above her sexe, and comely of feature: justly to be numbred amongst those Princes, who exchanged happinesse for calamities. When she was an infant she was greatly desired by *Henry* the 8. King of England, for his sonne *Edward*; and at the same time by *Henry* the 2. King of France, for his sonne *Francis* the Dolphin. Being five yeares old she was carried away into France; at fifteene yeares of age married to the Dolphin. She flourished Queene of France one yeare and foure moneths: her husband dying, she returned into Scotland, was married to *Henrie Stuart* Lord Darlie, and bare to him *James* the first Monarch of great Britaine. By *James* Earle of Morray her bastard brother, and other ingratefull subjects and ambitious persons molested, deposed from the Kingdome, and chased into England. By certaine English (as they thought good) carefull for the retaining of the Religion, and defence of the Queenes safetie, circumvented; and by others, affecting the restauration of the Romish religion, thrust forward into dangerous counsels, and

Her commendation.

1587. and by the teſtimonies of two of her ſervants, being abſent, who alſo were thought to be corrupted, over-borne and condemned.

Here wee thought good to inſert, what an excellent Author (ſomewhere ſpeaking of Fotheringay Caſtle in Northamptonſhire) writeth. *As for that diſaſter which even here befell another moſt mighty Prince, Mary Queene of Scots, I had rather it ſhould be wrapped up in ſilence than once ſpoken of. Let it be forgotten quite, if it be poſsible: if not, yet be it hidden (as it may) in ſilence. Under the beſt Princes ſome there are, who being once armed with authoritie, know how by ſecret ſleights to ſet a goodly ſhew and faire pretence of conſcience and religion, thereby to cloake their owne private deſignes, &c. Neither can it be denied, but that even the beſt Princes themſelves are otherwhiles violently carried away, as good Pilots with tempeſts, againſt their wils, whither they would not.*

Neare her Tombe in the Church of Peterborough, was this Epitaph fixed; but the ſame ſoone taken away.

The Queen of Scots Epitaph.

MAria Scotorum Regina, Regis filia, Regis Gallorum vidua, Reginæ Angliæ agnata, & Hæres proxima, virtutibus regiis & animo regio ornata, jure regio fruſtra ſæpiùs imploratò, barbarâ & tyrannicâ crudelitate, ornamentum noſtri ſæculi, & lumen verè regium, extinguitur: Eodemque nefario judicio & Maria Scotorum Regina morte naturali, & omnes ſuperſtites Reges plebei facti, morte civili multantur. Novum & inauditum tumuli genus, in quo cum mortuis vivi includuntur, hîc extat: cum ſacris enim Divæ Mariæ cineribus, omnium Regum atque Principum violatam atque proſtratam majeſtatem hîc jacere ſcito; & quia tacitum regale ſatis ſuperque Reges ſui officii monet, plura non addo Viator.

Engliſhed thus.

MArie *Queene of Scots, a Kings Daughter, the French Kings Widow, neere Kinſwoman to the Queene of England, and next Heire to the Crowne, adorned with Kingly vertues, and a Kingly minde, often (but in vaine) demanding the priviledge of a Prince, by barbarous and tyrannicall crueltie, the ornament of our Age, and a right Princely light, is extinguiſhed: And by one and the ſame unjuſt ſentence, both* Marie *Queene of Scots to a naturall death, and all ſurviving Kings, being made common perſons, are doomed to a civill death. A ſtrange and unwonted manner of Tombe, wherein the living are ſhut up with the dead, is here: For with the ſacred aſhes of Saint* Marie, *know that the Majeſtie of all Kings and Princes is violated and lyeth proſtrate; and becauſe the ſecret of Kings doth abundantly admoniſh Kings of their dutie, Paſſenger, I adde no more.*

The Queene heareth of the Qu. of Scots death.

As ſoone as it came to the Queenes eares, thinking nothing, but common rumour being the Meſſenger, that the Queene of Scots was put to death, ſhe heard the newes with great indignation; her countenance was deje-

dejected, and her ſpeech failed her; ſhe was in a manner benummed with horrid and unſpeakable griefe; inſomuch that all in mourning weeds ſhe gave her ſelfe over to ſorrow, lay weltering in teares, fiercely rebuked her Counſellours, and cauſing them to goe from her preſence (who notwithſtanding excuſed themſelves by their oath of Aſſociation) would have them examined: *Daviſon* ſhee commanded to bee cited to the Star-chamber. And as ſoone as griefe would ſuffer her, ſhe wrote in briefe with her own hand theſe words to the King of Scots, ſending the ſame by Sir *Robert Carie*. 1587.

Queen Eliſabeth taketh the matter very grievouſly.

She excuſeth her ſelfe to the King of Scots.

My deare brother, I would to God you knew, though I would not that you felt, how my mind with incomparable griefe is diſquieted, in regard of this lamentable event, againſt my meaning and intent; which becauſe my pen trembleth to make mention of, by this my Couſin you ſhall fully underſtand. I entreate you, that God and many others may be ſufficient witneſſes of my innocencie in this matter; and that you would beleeve, that if I had commanded it, I would never have denied it. I am not of ſo poore a ſpirit, that out of terrour I ſhould be afraid to doe that which is juſt, or denie it being done: I am not ſo degenerate or ignobly minded. But as it appertaineth not to a Prince to ſhadow his meaning with doubtfull words, ſo will I never diſſemble my actions, but will cauſe them to appeare in their owne colours. Perſwade your ſelfe, as the truth is, as I know this is deſervedly come to paſſe, ſo if I had meant it, I would never have laied the blame upon others: nor will I impute to my ſelfe, that which I did not once thinke of. The reſt hee ſhall impart to you by whom you receive theſe letters. As for me, I would have you beleeve that there is none more truely affected towards you, or that is more watchfull and ſtudious for you and your affaires: if any one ſhall ſuggeſt otherwiſe to you, beleeve that he wiſheth better to ſome others than to your ſelfe. God Almightie keep you long in ſafetie and proſperitie.

Daviſon brought to triall.

Whiles *Carie* was on his journey, *Daviſon* the Secretarie is cited to the Star-chamber before theſe Delegates; to wit, Sir *Chriſtopher Wray* chiefe Juſtice of the Kings Bench, for that time made Lord Privie Seale, the Arch-biſhops of Canterburie and Yorke; the Earles of Worceſter, Cumberland, and Lincolne; the Lords, *Gray* and *Lumley*; Sir *James Croft* Comptroler of the Queenes houſe, Sir *Walter Mildmay* Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir *Edmund Anderſon* Lord chiefe Juſtice of the Common Pleas, and Sir *Roger Manwood* Lord cheife Baron of the Exchequer. Before theſe *Popham* the Queenes Attorney layeth to *Daſons* charge, contempt of the Queenes Majeſtie, violating of his truſt, and neglect of his duty; for that when the Queene out of her inbred clemency would not have the Queene of Scots (who was already condemned) put to death, for cauſes knowne to her ſelfe alone, and by others unſearchable, neither could ſhe bee drawne thereunto by the States of the Kingdome, nor Lords of the Councell, who urged her very vehemently; neverthelesſe for preventing of dangers, ſhe gave command to have the Commiſſion made ready and ſealed, and committed the buſineſſe to *Daviſons* fidelitie and ſecrecie; he, who was a ſworn Secretarie, forgetting his truſt and duty, and contemning the Queens Majeſtie, contrarie to the Queens command imparted the buſineſſe to the Counſellors, and put the ſame into execution, ſhe not being ſo much as once acquainted.

Daviſon

1587.

Daviſon anſwereth for himſelfe.

Daviſon, according to his ſingular modeſtie, anſwereth mildly, yet readily and with a good courage: *He was very ſorry that in ſo juſt a cauſe, concerning the Queen of Scots, and the ſentence paſſed upon her (very grave and weightie, as any could be) he ſhould now againe trouble the Delegates; and that, if not with the loſſe, yet with a great blemiſh to his reputation, which was to him all in all. Yet was it moſt grievous of all other to him, that hee ſhould bee argued of contempt againſt the Queenes Majeſtie; who the more bountifull ſhe had been toward him, & he more obliged to her for benefits received, ſo much the more hainous muſt his offence needs ſeeme. If now he ſhould acknowledge himſelfe guilty of the crimes objected, hee ſhould wrong his reputation, which was dearer to him than his life: If in his owne defence he ſhould conteſt with the Queene, he muſt doe that which ill beſeemed a loyall ſubject, a dutifull ſervant, and a truſtie Secretarie. Hee maketh proteſtation before Almightie God, and the Delegates, that he had done nothing wittingly and willingly in this matter, but what hee perſwaded himſelfe the Queene was willing to have done. Wherein if he had behaved himſelfe as he ought not, either through ignorance or negligence, hee could not but bee wonderfull ſorry; and would patiently undergoe the cenſure of the Commiſſioners.*

For the particulars, when the Queene blamed him that he made ſuch haſte to get the Commiſſion diſpatched under the great Seale, *ſhe intimated withall, but gave no expreſſe charge, that he ſhould keepe it by him. Nor doth he thinke that he had violated his truſt and ſecrecie, having made no words thereof to any perſon, ſave only the Lords of the Privy Counſel.* Whereas he recalled not the Commiſſion, after the Queen gave intimation *that her mind was altered, the Counſellours agreed joyntly that it ſhould bee ſent away, and put in execution, for the good of the Queene and the Commonwealth.*

They urge him with his owne confeſſion.

Here now *Egerton* the Solicitor began to urge *Daviſon* upon his own confeſſion, reading onely one part of the ſame. He deſired to have it wholly read, and not here and there a peece; yet he had rather it ſhould not be read at all, for that it contained ſome ſecrets that would not be opened; often ſaying, *That as he was unwilling to conteſt with the Queene, yet could hee not endure his modeſtie ſhould wrong the truth and his owne integritie.*

Gaudie and *Puckering*, Serjeants at Law, lay load upon him, That hee had cunningly abuſed the wiſedome of the Privie Counſellors, and that from Burleigh the Lord Treaſurers owne confeſſion, to whom, doubting whether the Queene were reſolved upon the matter of putting the ſentence in execution, he confidently affirmed it; as alſo to the reſt of the Counſellours, who ſealed the letters for the manner of her puniſhment. *Daviſon*, the teares now ſtanding in his eyes, entreated the Lawyers not to preſſe him too violently, but to remember that he had ſaid he would not conteſt with the Queene; to whoſe conſcience, and the Delegates ſentence, he wholly ſubmitted himſelfe.

The Judges cenſure him.

Manwood began now, and made a ſpeech touching the Queene of Scots, drawing an Oration from the Armes of England, aſſumed by her in her younger yeers, downe to *Babingtons* conſpiracie; commended the ſentence according to Law pronounced againſt her, magnified the

Queenes

Queenes clemency, the which because *Davison* had inconsiderately prevented, his opinion was, That hee should bee amerced in ten thousand pounds, and emprisonment during the Queenes pleasure. *Anderson* argued, that he had done a just action but not justly, otherwise he held him to be no bad man. *Gerard* concluded the same. *Mildmay* having unfolded with what mature deliberation and gravitie the sentence against the Queene of Scots was pronounced, and with how great entreatie of the people the Queen was drawn to consent to the publication of the same, darted against *Davison* that of the Scripture, *The heart of the King is in the hand of the Lord*, and therefore no person, much lesse a Secretarie and servant, ought deceitfully and wilily to prevent the Prince in his counsells; without whose privitie nothing might be done, especially in a matter of so great moment as the death of a Prince. Yet he quitted the man of wilfull perverseneſſe, girded his unskilfulneſſe in the affaires of Princes, & disallowed his preproperous haste in anticipating the Queens purposes. But lest men of his ranke and place should hereafter offend in the like kind, for his fine and emprisonment he was of opinion with the rest. 1587.

Crofts nipped him for having foolishly babbled of his Princes secrets; seeing Princes impart that oftentimes to one of their Counsellors, which they purposely conceale from the rest.

The Lord *Lumley* was of opinion with the Judges, that the sentence against the Queene of Scots was just, but confidently affirmed, that the like contempt against a Prince was never heard or read of in any age; that the Queenes Counsellors, in the Queenes Pallace, in a roome neere the Queene, who must needs be President of the Counsell at least, should determine a matter of moment and not once make her acquainted; whereas they sure might have as easie accesse to her presence as *Davison*: protesting, if he had but one onely sonne, who should be in the same fault, hee would doome him to a more severe punishment: but being perswaded that the man meant ingenuously, hee was not willing to inflict a more harsh punishment than the rest.

Him the Lord *Grey* (inflamed with a zeale to the religion) tooke up with a set speech and severe castigation. *Davison* (saith he) *is argued to have borne himselfe contemptuously toward the Queene, and that contempt is aggravated, in that he ordered the speedy execution of the Queene of Scots, revealed the Queenes secrets, and concealed from the Queene the sending of the Commission. But what Queene was that whose death he procured? Shee certainly, from whom while shee was alive continuall dangers were ready to accrue to Religion, the Queene, the Common-wealth, and every one of us; and who now shee is taken away hath troubled us to day. Insomuch that hee who hath freed England from these dangers, may seeme worthily to have deserved honour. I for my part thinke not that he disclosed secrets, who communicated the matter to none save the Counsellors, and Ministers in the most weighty affaires, whom it especially concerneth to be acquainted with matters of that nature; and which the Queene also had formerly imparted to one or two. If in any thing* Davison *were faultie, surely in this chiefly; for that when the Queen was about to take some other course, he intimated not that the Commission was already sent away. But hee doubtlesse stood perplexed* Grey defendeth Davison.

1587. *plexed with doubtfull thoughts, whether he ſhould loſe the Queenes favour, by ſending the Commiſſion downe without her privitie, or by recalling the ſame ſhould bring the Queene into new dangers. Who remembreth not how turbulent a time it was, and what fearefull and hideous rumours were diſperſed every where? If any thing had chanced to Religion, or the Queene; if her life had beene taken away, whiles the Commiſſion was in his hands ready ſealed, ſhould not he have borne the blame? ſhould not we our ſelves, our wives, and children, have runne violently upon him? ſhould not wee have embrewed our hands in his blood? ſhould not we have execrated his folly; and ſet up a monument of inconſiderateneſſe, engraven with bloudy letters, to his everlaſting ignominie? Whatſoever puniſhment or mulct you inflict upon him, you ſhall not offend me, but aſſuredly, with me he ſhall never loſe the opinion of a good and honeſt man:* Thus ſpake the Lord *Grey* copiouſly and with great animoſitie.

The three Earles for the puniſhment agreed with the reſt; for *Daviſons* reputation they conſented to the Lord *Grey*. The Archbiſhop of Yorke made a theologicall diſcourſe of his diſobedience, through corruption and blindneſſe of minde. Canterbury allowed the fact, commended the man; but the forme and manner he utterly diſallowed. *Wray*, Keeper of the Privie-ſeale, making a ſummarie repetition of the ſentences of the Delegates, confirmed the puniſhment inflicted; and withall intimated, that albeit the Queen was for good reaſon angry with her Counſellers, and had deſtined them to tryall, yet now ſhe forgave them: and withall acknowledged, that they were alwaies very vigilant both in care and counſell, for the defence of Religion and the Common-wealth, and the preventing of all dangers.

Daviſons ſuit to the Delegates.

Daviſon beſought the Delegates to intercede for him to the Queene, not for *the honourable office of a Secretarie, which he had borne, nor his libertie, nor for the abatement of the mulct, but that he might be reſtored into her favour:* The which notwithſtanding he never recovered, although the Queene ſometimes releeved the man in his neceſſitie. Thus was *Daviſon*, a man ingenuous, but not throughly acquainted with the wayes of the Court, brought purpoſely (as ſome thought) into that Scene, to act his part for a little while in this Tragedie; and for failing in the laſt Act, thruſt forth; and, with the great pitie of a number, deteined a long time in priſon. What were the publike proceedings againſt *Daviſon*, have hitherto beene layed downe; how he privately excuſed himſelfe in his Apologie to *Walſingham*, the kinde Reader may underſtand by that which followeth; whereunto he is bound to give no farther credit, than he thinketh the Author deſerved.

His Apologie to Walſingham.

The Queene (ſaith he) *upon the departure of the French and Scottiſh Embaſſadours from her, of her owne accord commanded me to prepare the Commiſſion, for putting in execution the ſentence againſt the Queene of Scots. When the ſame was exhibited, ſhe willingly ſigned it with her owne hand; and being ſigned, gave order it ſhould be made ready under the great ſeale of England; and jeſtingly ſaid, Signifie thus much to* Walſingham, *who is ſicke, though I feare greatly it will make him die out of hand with griefe. She added alſo the reaſons wherefore ſhe had thus long deferred it; to wit, that ſhe might not ſeeme to be drawne unto it forcibly or maliciouſly, though ſhe*

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ſhe were not ignorant all the while how neceſſary it was. Furthermore, ſhee blamed Powlet *and* Drurie, *that they had not freed her of that care; and ſhe wiſhed that* Walſingham *would trie them therein. The next day after that the great ſeale was to it, ſhe ſent injunction by* Killegrew, *that it ſhould not be done. And when I ſhewed her that it was done, ſhe reproved my great haſte; intimating, that ſome other courſe, according to the judgement of ſome wiſe perſons, might be taken. I made anſwer, That that is alwayes the beſt way which is the juſteſt. But fearing ſhe might lay the fault on me (as ſhe had done the Duke of Norfolkes puniſhment upon the Lord Burghley) I imparted the whole matter to* Hatton; *proteſting, that I would ingage my ſelfe no farther in ſo great an affaire. He ſtraightway communicated it to Burghleigh, Burleigh to the reſt of the Counſellors; who all conſented to have the buſineſſe haſtened, and ſeverally vowed that they would beare the blame; and ſent downe* Beale *with the Commiſſion and Letters. Three dayes after, perceiving that her minde was doubtfull, by a dreame which ſhe told of the Queene of Scots death, I asked if her minde were altered? No* (ſaith ſhee) *but ſome other courſe might have beene thought on: and withall demanded if* Powlet *had returned any anſwer? Whoſe Letters when I ſhewed her, wherein he plainly refuſed to undertake it, as being neither honourable nor juſt, ſhe in angry manner accuſed him and the reſt, which had tyed them in the Aſſociation, of perjurie and their vow violated, who had promiſed great matters for their Princes ſafetie, but would performe nothing: yet there were amongſt them,* ſhe ſaid, *that would doe as much in their owne cauſe. But I ſhewed how infamous and unjuſt a thing that were, and withall into what dangers ſhe ſhould caſt* Powlet *and* Drurie. *For if ſhe allowed the fact, ſhe muſt draw upon her ſelfe danger and diſgrace, beſides a note of injuſtice; but if ſhe diſallowed it, ſhe muſt ruine well deſerving men and their poſterities. Afterward, the ſame day that the Queene of Scots was put to death, ſhe gave me a checke, that the ſentence was not all this while put in execution.*

The King of Scots taketh his mothers death very impatiently.

How great offence and diſpleaſure ſoever *Daviſon* incurred with the Queene, beſides her griefe for the Queene of Scots death; ſure it is the King of Scots was variouſly diſtracted with griefe and anger, who alwayes honoured his mother with a pious and dutifull affection, and upon this ſad chance, gave himſelfe over to mourning and lamentation. For he could not beleeve before, that the Queene, by reaſon of the mutuall league of faſt amitie ſo lately entred betweene them, diſregarding the interceſſion of other Princes, would ſubject his mother, a Prince of equall Majeſtie, and moſt neere in bloud to her, to the ſtroke of a vile hangman: neither could hee afterward conceive that theſe proceedings were anſwerable to thoſe obligations. Sir *Robert Carie*, ſonne to the Lord Hunſdon, who was ſent from England to excuſe the Queene, laying the blame upon *Daviſon* and the Counſellors, hee would not ſuffer to ſet foot in Scotland, would ſcarce heare him by another, and with much adoe received his Letters: he abrogated his Embaſſadours authoritie in England, and breathed forth nothing but revenge. For there wanted not ſome who endeavoured to perſwade him, that the Princes of the Chriſtian world would not let paſſe ſo great an injurie offered to Regall Majeſtie without revenging the ſame.

1587. The States of Scotland (who were at this time aſſembled in great number) profeſſed themſelves ready to vindicate the injurie offered his mother, and to defend his right to the Crowne of England, and that they would ſpend their lives and eſtates in this quarrell; nor could they in any wiſe digeſt ſo great an affront, not againſt the King ſo much as the whole Scottiſh nation. Some there were, who perſwaded the King to requeſt from the King of Denmarke (whoſe daughter hee then ſued for to take in marriage) ſea forces againſt England. Others there were, who being addicted to the Romiſh Religion, adviſed him rather to joine himſelfe to the Spaniard, the French King, and the Pope; for by that meanes he might eaſily conquer England. Above all things, to give no credit to the Proteſtants of England, who had now gotten the day, and did covertly lay ſnare to diſpatch him; whiſpering in his eares that ſaying, *Qui matrem ſuſtulit, & filios tollet: He that hath taken away the mother, will not ſpare her children.* Some there were, that counſelled him to declare himſelfe for no part, but to hold both Papiſts and Proteſtants in ſuſpence: for ſhould he ſtand openly for the Proteſtants, all the Papiſts in Europe would eye him as a marke, whereat to caſt all their darts; and would ſet up another ſtandard for themſelves in England, to his great perill. Some there were alſo, that perſwaded him to maintaine firme friendſhip with England, and not to put certaine hopes to the uncertaine hazzard of warre; to continue in the Religion he had profeſſed hitherto, in which if he once ſtaggered, he would neither get friends, nor vanquiſh his enemies. Theſe were the ſeverall perſwaſions of thoſe about him, according as every ones utilitie led him. The King himſelfe, who was acute, and could diſcerne matters even above his yeares, went not to worke in haſte, which is alwaies blinde, but tooke long deliberation, pondering theſe particulars by himſelfe alone, and adviſing with a few more.

The indignation of the Scots.

They ſuggeſt different counſels to the King.

But the Queene ſtill laying the fault upon *Dæviſon*, and the unadviſed credulity of the Counſellors, by little and little allayeth his paſſion, and expected till time had ſomewhat aſſwaged his griefe, that it would endure to be touched; leſt by uſing unſeaſonable remedies, ſhe ſhould provoke, rather than pacifie him. For at that time perceiving the French ſomewhat vehemently to whet the young King on to revenge, the Queene fearing hee might revolt from the Proteſtant Religion, and bee led away from friendſhip with the Engliſh by the ſubtilties of others, and his owne inclination to revenge, uſeth all the meanes ſhee could (and ſuch as might not unbeſeeme a Prince) to appeaſe his exulcerated minde, that he might not be wholly alienated.

The Queene excuſeth her ſelfe to him.

Wherefore by her Agents in Scotland, and ſoone after by the Lord *Hunſdon* Governour of Berwicke, ſhe propoundeth theſe things to bee diligently weighed by him. *Firſt, how full of danger it were to breake out into warre againſt England for this cauſe, which ſeemed both neceſſarie for the good of the whole Iſland, and moſt juſt alſo to the whole eſtate of England. Then, whether hee were ſufficiently provided for ſuch a warre, ſeeing England was never better furniſhed with military men, and forces, and wealth; nor Scotland never more exhauſted of all theſe, than at this preſent. If he relie upon forreine ayde, with how great difficultie and leiſure*

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he would obtaine them, his mother might be an instance; who so often (but in vaine) implored them. And if she obtaine aide, what successe could hee expect, seeing England, with the Nvotes of Holland and Zealand joyned to them, was no whit afraid of the most potent Kings of Europe? In the French King or the King of Spaine what trust could he repose? when as his power being augmented by an accession of the English Crowne, must needs be a great thwarting to their designe; and his Religion is so diametrally opposite to their profession, that without losse to themselves they could not assist him. Neither can the French King endure with patience, to behold the King of Scots grow great by the accesse of the English Crowne, lest hee should pursue againe at length the ancient title of the English in France; or at least lend ayde to the Guises his Cosens, who now gaped for the Kingdome of France. The King of Spaine (no doubt) would serve his owne turne, for as much as he claimeth (though falsely) that he is the chiefe Catholike Prince of the English bloud royall, and of the house of Lancaster. Upon which pretence the Jesuites, and some others, went about to advance him by election to the Crowne of England, while the Queene of Scots was yet alive, as the onely man meet to restore the Popes authoritie in England, setting at naught both the mother and the sonne. They began likewise to perswade him, that shee had a thought to bequeath to the King of Spaine the Crowne of England, if her Sonne continued in the Protestant Religion.

Whereunto these matters tended, and what helpe was to bee expected from the Spaniard, let the King consider. And withall, if hee revolted from the Religion wherein he was brought up, with how great ignominy and disgrace should he rush his own soule into eternall ruine, & cast all great Britaine headlong into destruction. Moreover, he should doe well to bethinke himselfe, whether the state of England, if he were set upon revenge, having passed sentence against his mother, would not now by a new sentence exclude him vterly from the right of succession: whose entire love, by yeelding to necessitie, and containing himselfe, he might easily gaine; since what was done could not be undone: but in his owne due time, hee might come to enjoy the most flourishing Kingdome of England. In the meane time, let him sit downe in security; for to all that were able rightly to esteeme and judge of matters, he had seene carefully enough already to his honour; for as much as when time served, he omitted no office of dutie and regard, which behoved a most pious sonne toward a mother. And let him, as the truth is, perswade himselfe, that the Queene of England, would most lovingly and indulgently account him for her sonne.

Queene Elisabeth laboureth to satisfie the King of Scots.

These things she beat continually in the eares of the King of Scots; and to the end no doubt should remaine in him, but he should assure himselfe that the Queene his mother was put to death without her privitie, she resolved to send to him the sentence against *Davison*, under the seales of all the Delegates, and attested under the great seale of England; and another instrument likewise signed with the hands of the Judges of England, in which they should averre, that the sentence against the Queene of Scots could in no wise doe hurt or prejudice to his right in the succession.

Having now by these and the like courses somewhat assuaged the King of Scots indignation; to prevent the warre, which they foresaw

1587. was imminent from the King of Spaine, *Drake* was ſent out with foure of the Queenes ſhips, and others, unto the coaſt of Spaine, to ſet upon their ſhips in the havens, and intercept their munition. *Drake* entring into the Port of Cales, chaſed away ſixe Gallies which oppoſed themſelves to the Forts, and ſunke, tooke, or fired about a hundred ſhips, wherein was great ſtore of munition and victualls; and amongſt them a great Galeoun of the Marqueſſe of the holy-Croſſe, and another great Veſſell laden with merchandiſe. Then returning to the Cape of Saint *Vincent*, he ſet upon three Forts, and compelled them to yeeld; and firing the little Veſſells of Fiſhermen and their nets all along the Coaſt, he came to Caſcalet at the mouth of the river Taio, where he dared the Marqueſſe of the holy-Croſſe to come forth and fight: but hee would not ſtirre, but permitted him to rove freely up and downe the Coaſt, and carry away ſhips, none hindring him. Thence ſetting ſayle toward the Weſterne Ilands, called Azores, under the great and chiefe Meridian, by great good fortune he happened upon an huge and very wealthy Caraque, called Saint *Philip*, returning from the Eaſt-Indies, and eaſily vanquiſhed the ſame: Whereupon the Mariners on both ſides from the name of *Philip*, portended no good lucke to *Philip* King of Spaine. By this ſhort expedition very great utilities redounded unto England, foraſmuch as the Spaniards having ſuffered ſo great a loſſe of munition, were neceſſarily enforced to deſiſt from their purpoſe of invading England this yeere; and the Engliſh from that time forward ventured with great alacritie upon thoſe huge Veſſells, which before they feared as they had beene mightie Caſtles: and alſo ſo fully perceived the wealth of the Indian merchandize, and learned the way of trafficke thither by the Merchants bills of lading, that they afterward undertooke a very profitable navigation thither, and entred into a companie of Eaſt-India Merchants.

Drake ſent into Spaine.

The Caraque St. Philip taken.

At the ſame time *Thomas Cavendiſh* of Suffolke, in the other part of the world, who two yeeres before had ſet ſaile from England with three ſhips, paſſing through the Straites of Magellan, in the coaſt of Chily, Peru, and Nova Hiſpania, fired a great number of Spaniſh Townes, tooke and pillaged nineteene great ſhips, and amongſt them a wealthy ſhip of the Kings, nigh unto California in North America. And ſo by the Philippine Iſles, the Moluccæ, the Cape de bonne Eſperance, and the Iland of S. *Helen*, returned home the next yeer with a great prize & high renown, being the third after *Magellan* that ſailed about the World.

Cavendiſh ſaileth about the World.

As *Drake* and *Cavendiſh* at this time gained great fame and renowne, ſo two other Engliſhmen in the Netherlands, *Stanley* and *Yorke*, purchaſed great infamie and diſgrace to themſelves by their treacherie. This *Yorke* was a Londoner, a bold fellow, of looſe behaviour, and a great ſlaſher in his time; famous for bringing firſt into England, to the great wonder of all men, the manner of turning the point upon the adverſarie in ſingle combats, whereas the Engliſh till this time were wont to be armed with bucklers and broad ſwords, and to ſtrike with the edge, and it was held no manhood to turne the point, or ſtrike below the girdle. He ſuffering ſome injurie and affront from the Earle of Leiceſter, fled away, and for a time ſerved under the Spaniards in the Netherlands,

lands: till at length being reconciled to Leiceſter, he was ſet over the Fort neere Zutphen. But his haughty ſpirit, which could not endure diſgrace, ſoone bethought it ſelfe of revenge, inſomuch that he being bribed, not onely yeelded up the place to the enemie, but drew to the like villanie one *Stanley*, who with ſingular fidelitie and valour had ſerved in an Iriſh expedition; ſwearing and proteſting and multiplying oathes, that he was appealed as guiltie of *Babingtons* treaſon, by the confeſſion of the complices, and was forthwith to bee carried into England to be hanged: and by theſe meanes perſwaded the man, againſt his faith and oath to the Earle of Leiceſter and the States, to yeeld up Daventrie to the Spaniards, a wealthy and well fortified Towne. But conſidering the greatneſſe, and ſeeing the wickedneſſe of his fact, he comforted himſelfe and his conſcience, that hee had delivered up a Towne to the right Lord, deteined from him by rebels. And being a great Papiſt, he preſently ſent for Prieſts to his Regiment, which conſiſted of thirteene hundred Engliſh and Iriſh; bragging, that this ſhould be *the Seminarie Regiment of ſouldiers*, which ſhould defend the Romiſh Religion by armes, as the Seminarie Prieſts by their writings. And for this purpoſe verily Doctor *Alan* (a little while after made Cardinall) did not onely ſend Prieſts thither out of hand, but withall ſet forth a booke, in which by vertue of the Bull of Pope *Pius* the fifth againſt Queen *Eliſabeth*, hee both commended the treaſon, and moved others to doe the like; alledging that they were not bound to performe any ſervice or obedience toward her being excommunicate. But marke with what ſucceſſe. 1587.

The treachery of Stanley and Yorke.

The Spaniards ſet *Yorke* and *Stanley* at variance; they poiſon *Yorke*, and ſeize upon his goods; his carkaſſe was three yeers after digged up by the States commandement, & hanged upon a Gibbet till it rotted away. *Stanley* and his Regiment they remove from Daventrie, ſet them upon dangerous ſervice in every place, and grow ſo careleſſe of them, that ſome of them through want died miſerably, and others by degrees ran away. He himſelfe went into Spaine, hoping to find a reward there for his good ſervice, offering likewiſe his helpe for the invading of Ireland; but neither was he welcommed with ſuch reſpect as he looked for, nor any credit given to him. For the Spaniards have a by-word; *It is lawfull to give honour to a traitor ſometimes, but never to truſt him.*

Their miſerable end.

Theſe late treacheries wrought the Earle of Leiceſter much envie with the confederate Netherlanders, becauſe the Traitors were very intimate with him; and the whole Engliſh Nation heard evill for the ſame: whom the Dutchmen of a laviſh tongue ceaſed not to raile on, with many reviling and opprobrious ſpeeches, till ſuch time as their inſolencie by publike edicts was reſtrained. But the States in large letters to the Queene accuſe Leiceſter for his ill managing of the Weale publike, in the matter of money, merchandize, and militarie affaires; and to his new *Reſtriction* and credulitie they impute the harme which accrued by *Yorke* and *Stanley*. The Queen, for the narrow ſifting of the matter and compoſing it, as likewiſe, to try if they were inclinable to treat of a peace with the King of Spaine, ſent thither *Thomas Sackvill* Lord Buckhurſt, lately taken into her Privie Counſell in Leiceſters abſence, *Norris* and *Bartholomew* Clerke. But when as the officious diligence of Buckhurſt ſeemed un-

The States accuſe Leiceſter.

1587. unprofitable for Leiceſters accounts, his anger and firme grace with the Queene proved ſo forcible, that Buckhurſt at his return was for certaine moneths confined to his houſe.

Leiceſter ſent to relieve Sluſe.

Afterward, Sluſe being beleaguered by the Prince of Parma, Leiceſter was by the States ſent for into England to bring ſuccour to it. This Towne they furiouſly aſſaulted with ſeventeen thouſand great ſhot, and a mighty breach was made into it, which nevertheleſſe *Roger Williams*, *Francis Vere*, *Nicolas Baskervill*, with the Garriſon of the Engliſh and Wallons, very valiantly defended for a while; but at laſt were enforced to yeeld it up, Leiceſter (that came to relieve it, finding himſelfe not hard enough for the beſiegers) being gone away. Nor indeed would the States commit any great Army to his command, who truely reſerved to themſelves the power, which in mighty words was given to him: nor could he endure, under the name of the States, to be ſubject to private men of inferiour ranke. Hence grew ſtrifes and heart-burnings; yea, they brake forth into open jarres, when he had once mentioned a peace with the King of Spaine. For they could not endure to heare, or once to thinke of a peace, as being moſt inconvenient for them. But he perceiving his authoritie to be every day leſſe regarded than other, betooke him to ſtratagems, to nouriſh factions amongſt the people, and had a determination to ſeize Leyden, and ſome other Townes, into his owne hands. But being caſt off from this hope, with the deſtruction of ſome of his adherents, and having incurred great offence, hee was called home by the Queene, gave up the Government to the States, was derided by a number of his ill-willers, and the title of *Excellencie* exploded, which none of the Engliſh before him had aſſumed.

He returneth home out of the Netherlands.

At his departure, to ſome whom he had drawne into his faction, he gave ſome peeces of gold; upon one ſide whereof was his owne picture, on the other, a few wandring ſheep, and a dog leaving them, but looking backe: by the dog theſe words, *Invitus deſero*; by the ſheepe theſe, *Non gregem, ſed ingratos*. And it is not to bee doubted, but hee had a purpoſe to ſurpriſe the abſolute government into his own hands. But this Nation, which is ſubtle enough, and can tell both with mony and skill to manage a warre, doe not onely maintaine their owne libertie againſt the King of Spaines great power, and the craftie ſubtiltie of the Prince of Orange; but (which is more admirable) whereas other Nations are exhauſted, they onely grow rich by waging of warre.

Prince Maurice of Naſſaw ſucceedeth him.

Now in the Earle of Leiceſters roome ſucceeded *Maurice* of Naſſaw, (ſon to the Prince of Orange, by *Anne* of Saxonie, daughter to *Maurice* the brave Elector) being now but twentie yeeres of age; and *Peregrine* Lord Willoughby was by the Queene made Generall of the Engliſh forces in the Low-Countries. But Leiceſters faction troubled them greatly: For the Garriſon ſouldiers of Bergen, Nard, Workomb, Hueſden, but eſpecially Medembleck, adhered to the Engliſh, pretended they had ſworne fealtie to the Queene, and made much adoe. And *William Ruſſell* Governour of Fluſhing, having drawne to his partie thoſe of Armue, and others, grew ſomewhat ſuſpicious to the States; thinking that he meant to take the Iland of Walachria into the dominion and juriſdiction of the Engliſh: and their ſupicion was augmented by the com-

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ming of the Admirall of England, though he endevoured to appeaſe the matter. And this diffidence of the States they diſſembled not, but openly intimated the ſame, both by new coynes ſtamped with two earthen pots floting upon the ſea (out of an old Embleme) with this inſcription, *Si collidimur, frangimur*, that is, *If we ſtrike one againſt another, we are both daſhed to peeces*: and by their letters privately to the Queene they made knowne the ſame. She being well affected toward them, and not unmindfull of her owne conveniencie (the Spaniſh Navie hovering now upon the ſeas) foreſaw the danger, and gave command to the Lord Willoughby to reduce the Engliſh factions into the States obedience: the which, with the helpe of Prince *Maurice*, hee eaſily effected. 1587.

Leiceſter being now come home, and perceiving that an accuſation was preparing againſt him by Buckhurſt, & others, for his unfaithfull managing of affaires in Holland; and that he ſhould be called to a tryall before the Lords of the Councell; privately with teares he caſt himſelfe downe in humble manner at the Queenes feet, beſeeching her favour, and entreating her, *That ſhe would not receive him with diſgrace at his returne home, whom ſhee had ſent forth with honour: whom ſhe had raiſed out of the duſt, ſhe would not ſuffer to be buried alive.* And with the like gloſing ſpeeches he appeaſed her exaſperated mind, that her noble anger ſoone vaniſhed, and he received into grace and favour againe. Inſomuch that being called the next day to examination, hee tooke his owne place amongſt the Counſellors, not kneeling downe at the end of the table, as the manner of delinquents is: and when the Secretary began to read the heads of his accuſation, he interrupted him, making complaint that he was ill dealt withall in his abſence; for the publike inſtructions which he had received, were limited with private reſtriction; and making his appeale to the Queen, he eluded the whole crimination, with the ſecret indignation of his adverſaries. Leiceſter avoideth his enemies accuſations.

In the moneth of Februarie this preſent yeere departed this life *Henry Nevill*, Lord of Abergavenny, great grandchild to *Edward Nevill*, who in the reigne of *Henrie* the ſixth got this title in the right of his wife, only daughter and heire to *Richard Beuchamp* Earle of Worceſter, and Lord of Abergavenny. In which right, when as the only daughter of this *Henry*, wife to Sir *Thomas Fane*, challenged the title of Bareneſſe of Abergavenny, a memorable contention aroſe concerning the title betweene her and the next heire male, to whom by Will, and the ſame confirmed by authoritie of Parliament, the Caſtle of Abergavenny was bequeathed. This queſtion being a long time debated, in a Parliament holden the ſecond yeere of King *James*, the learned Counſell on both ſides not knowing whether had better right, the matter was tryed by voices; and the heire male carried the Lordſhip of Abergavennie: but by their ſuffrages at the ſame time the Baronie *Le Diſpencer* was ratified to the female. The death of the Lord Abergavenny.

In like manner foure other noble perſonages of eſpeciall note dyed, in one and the ſelf ſame moneth of April: *Anne Stanhop* Dutcheſſe of Somerſet, ninetie yeeres old, ſometime the wife of *Edward Seimor* Duke of Somerſet, and Lord Protector of England in the reigne of *Edward* the ſixth, And the Dutcheſſe of Somerſet.

1587. ſixth, who in a feminine emulation with *Katherine Parre*, widow and Queene Dowager to *Henry* the Eight, about dignity and precedency, was the occaſion of mortall contentions in the family of the *Seimors*; being put upon the ſame by *Dudley* Earle of Warwicke, after Duke of Northumberland, the Earle of Leiceſters father, that hee in the meane time might gaine his owne purpoſes by the ruine of this potent family; who adviſed that ſhee, being the Protectors wife, ſhould not beare up the traine, nor give place to the Queen Dowager, that was married to the Protectors brother. Then Sir *Ralph Sadlier*, Chancellour of the Dutchy of Lancaſter, a man that had paſſed through weighty affaires in the Common-wealth, and was the laſt Banneret of England; with which dignity he was adorned at the fight of Muſſelborough in Scotland. The next was *Thomas Bromley*, Lord Chancellour of England, famous for his skill in the lawes. And ſixe dayes after, hee whom the Queene had deſtined for his ſucceſſor in the Chancellourſhip, *Edward* Earle of Rutland, well verſed in the lawes, and all other literature, leaving behind him an onely daughter, wife to *William Cecill* the Lord Treaſurer Burleighs nephew. But Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, who was in high favour with the Queene, was ſubſtituted in the Chancellours office, to the great indignation of the Common-Lawyers, to whoſe ſhare that place commonly fell, ſince the Eccleſiaſticall ſtate decayed: For in former times a Clergie man was thought the meeteſt to ſit as a Judge in that High Court of equitie. *Hatton*, as was thought, was thruſt into this place by the devices of ſome Courtiers, that by his abſence from the Court, and the difficultie of managing ſo weighty an imployment (for which they thought him unmeet) they might wind him out of favour. Hee notwithſtanding carried himſelfe moſt honourably therein, and what was wanting in his skill of the Lawes, he endevoured with equitie to ſupply.

The death of Sir Ralph Sadlier,

And the Lord Chancellor.

Hatton ſucceedeth him.

Sir *John Perot* was this yeere called home out of Ireland, and left all in great quiet to *Fitz-Williams* his Succeſſour; having firſt cauſed thoſe perſons whom he ſuſpected, to ſecure their allegeance by giving hoſtages, and that out of hand, elſe they ſhould be accounted as rebells. Thoſe that were moſt ſuſpected, he providently ſurpriſed, and clapped them up in priſon; the reſt he admoniſhed to ſee to their allegeance in this doubtfull time; who, becauſe he bare good affection to the Iriſh Nation, willingly hearkened unto him.

Hitherto the Engliſh found it no great maſterie to conquer the Iriſh: eight hundred foot, and three hundred horſe, was held an invincible Armie. *Randolph* with ſixe hundred Engliſh vanquiſhed *O-Neale* with foure thouſand Iriſh. *Colier* in the yeere 1571. with his owne Companie overcame a thouſand of the Scottiſh Ilanders in Conaught: three hundred horſemen eaſily overthrew the *Butlers*, with an infinite companie of rebells: and two foot companies tooke above twenty Caſtles of the Iriſh in one day, &c. But after that by *Perots* command they were drilled daily at home, exerciſed in feates of armes, and taught to diſcharge muskets point blanke at a marke, that they might be the readier againſt the Ilanders, and being afterward trained up in the Low-Countrie wars, had learned the art of fortification, they held the Engliſh to it, as hereafter we ſhall ſee.

The

1588. Reg. 31.

The current of times bringeth us downe now to that yeere, which the Aſtronomer *Regiomontanus* an age before foretold ſhould be a *wonderfull* yeere; and the German Chronologers, that it ſhould be the Climactericall yeere of the world. Now thoſe rumors which before were but few and uncertaine, grew to a head and waxed currant: and it was generally reported, that the invincible Spaniſh Navie was preparing againſt England; and for this purpoſe the moſt famous Commanders and old beaten ſouldiers were ſent for from Italie, Sicilie, and the New World. For now the Pope, certaine zealous Spaniards, and a number of Engliſh fugitives, ſet againe on the enterpriſe of invading England (which was in hand ten yeeres before, but broken off by reaſon of the Portugall warre) provoking the Spaniard hereunto, to doe ſomething by way of recompence to Almightie God, who had ſo greatly augmented his dominions. Now they endevour to perſwade him that nothing can be more acceptable to God, or better beſeeming the Majeſtie of the Catholike King, then the propagation of Religion; which by this meanes and no other could be ſo well effected. A moſt juſt quarrell alſo they affirme it to be, for that the Queen of England was an excommunicate perſon, and perſiſted ſtill in her contumacie againſt the Church of Rome, favouring his rebellious ſubjects in the Low-Countries, perpetually moleſting the King of Spaine at ſea and land, and having lately trampled under foot the Majeſtie of all Princes, by putting to death the Queene of Scots.

Preparation in Spaine againſt England.

Their pretences for the invaſion.

There appeared likewiſe no leſſe commoditie in this expedition, if the ſame ſucceeded. For by this meanes ſhould he enlarge his dominion, extinguiſh the Low-Countrie rebellion, which could not draw breath but by meanes of England, ſecure his Navies in their returne from both the Indies, and leſſen his expences for that ſervice. Having thus framed to themſelves ſundry juſt cauſes for this warre, and conceived many probabilities, that the ſucceſſe would crowne their expectation, they in the next place enter into conſultation by what meanes England might be beſt invaded. *Alvarez Baſſano* Marqueſſe of the holy Croſſe, who was made Admirall of the Navie, thought it would be to ſpeciall purpoſe to ſurpriſe ſome Port in Holland, or Zealand, by the land forces of the Prince of Parma, and a few Spaniſh ſhips ſent thither before hand; where the Spaniſh Fleet might find a convenient retiring place, and ſet upon England from thence; for that in the Britiſh Ocean, where the winds change often, and the tides muſt be regarded, the Navie could not ride ſafely. And of his mind was the Prince of Parma, who greatly urged this expedition. But the reſt approved not of this advice, as being difficult, dangerous, requiring long time, much labour and experice; and in concluſion, that the event would be doubtfull: for it could be done neither ſecretly nor ſuddenly, and the Engliſh would eaſily hinder it. Theſe men were of opinion, that at the ſame charge England it ſelfe might be invaded; and the victorie would be certaine, if that a valiant Armie from Spaine and the Low-Countries were landed at the Thames mouth, by a ſtrong Fleet of ſhips, & London (the Metropolis of the Kingdome) ſeized on by a ſudden aſſault. This ſeemed the eaſieſt way, & therefore this advice tooke place. Some of the Counſellours notwithſtanding adviſed

Conſultation about the manner of the invaſion.

to

1588. to denounce warre by a Herald openly, thereby both to free the mindes of neighbouring Princes from ſuſpicion; and likewiſe to drive the Queen to call forrein ayde into England, who they hoped (according to the wonted inſolencie of hired forces) might raiſe tumults, and bring the Queene into hatred with her ſubjects, and make a hurly burly in England. But neither was this advice liſtened unto, for the moſt were confident of their ſtrength, and thought no other policie requiſite, ſave onely to commend themſelves and their ſucceſſe to the Pope, and the prayers of Catholikes: and in way of terrour, they publiſhed a booke, wherein the whole munition and each particular of it was billed; which indeed was ſo great, that the Spaniards themſelves were aſtoniſhed at it, and named it the *Invincible Armado*.

The Invincible Armado.

The Prince of Parma likewiſe, by the Spaniards appointment, buildeth ſhips in the Netherlands, and great ſtore of broad boates; every one of which would beare thirty horſes, and had bridges fitted to them. And in the Coaſt townes of Flanders he placeth a mightie Armie, conſiſting of an hundred and odde foot Companies, and foure thouſand horſe; amongſt which were ſeven hundred Engliſh fugitives, who of all the reſt were leaſt reſpected. For neither *Stanly* their Generall, nor the Earle of Weſtmerland, nor others which proffered their advice, had any care given them. Pope *Sixtus* the fifth likewiſe would not ſeeme to bee wanting for his part; but ſending Cardinall *Alan* into the Netherlands, reneweth the declaratorie Buls of Pope *Pius* the fifth, and *Gregorie* the thirteenth, excommunicateth the Queene, depoſeth her from the Kingdome, abſolveth her ſubjects from all allegeance, proffereth the treaſure of the Church as againſt Turkes and Infidels, and giveth plenarie Indulgences to all aſſiſtants in this warre. Whereupon there came Voluntaries to the warre, the Marqueſſe of Burgaw of the houſe of Auſtria, the Duke of Paſtrava, *Amadis* Duke of Savoy, and a great number of noble perſonages from every place.

The Queene maketh preparation to meet the Spaniards.

The Queen (on the other ſide) becauſe ſhe would not be ſurpriſed unawares, taketh eſpeciall care to make ready as great a Navie as could bee gotten, & all other things meet for a war. Over the Navie ſhe ſet the Lord *Charles Howard* of Effingham, Lord high Admirall of England, whom ſhe diſpatched into the Weſt countrie ſpeedily; where Sir *Francis Drake* (who was appointed Vice-Admirall) joyned himſelfe. She commandeth Sir *Henry Seimor*, ſecond ſonne to the Duke of Somerſet, with forty Engliſh and Dutch ſhips to keepe the Coaſt of the Netherlands, whence the Prince of Parma was to come with his forces. Yet ſome there were which gave advice to expect the enemie, and entertaine him with a land fight, according to the deliberation held in the reigne of King *Henry* the eight, when the French with a great Navie hovered over England. For a land fight likewiſe there were laid along the Southerne Coaſt, twenty thouſand valiant ſouldiers; and two armies beſides of trained men, were levied: over one of them, conſiſting of a thouſand horſe, and twenty two thouſand foot, the Earle of Leiceſter was Commander, and pitched his Tents at Tilburie, neere the Thames mouth; (for the enemie was reſolved to ſet upon London in the firſt place:) and over the other, appointed to guard the Queenes body, and

conſi-

consisting of twenty foure thousand foot, and two thousand horse, the Baron *Hunsdon* was made Generall. 1588.

Arthur Lord Grey, Sir *Francis Knolles*, Sir *John Norris*, Sir *Richard Bingham*, Sir *Roger Williams*, and other militarie men, were selected to make up a Councell of warre, and to consult how the land service should be ordered. These men decreed, that the places which lay opportune for the enemies landing, both toward Spaine and the Low-Countries; to wit, Milford-haven, Falmouth, Plimouth, Portland, the Isle of Wight, Portsmouth, the Downes, Thames mouth, Harwich, Yarmouth, Hull, &c. should be fortified with workes and Garrisons: the trained souldiers of those shires which lay neere the sea Coast should defend those places, and be ready at the alarum to hinder the enemie from landing, with all the might they could. But if he landed, then to spoile the Country farre and neare, that he might finde no food, nor other necessary, but what he brought with him on his shoulders; and by crying Arme, Arme, both night and day give the enemie no rest. But they should not trie the hazzard of war, till such time as good store of Commanders with their forces were come together, &c. A Councell of warre appointed, who give order for resistance.

At this time some persons sounded in the Queenes eares continually, that the Spaniards were not so greatly to be feared from abroad, as the Papists at home. For that the Spaniards would never have enterprised any thing against England, but on confidence of their ayde; therefore for the more safety, it were good to finde some colourable pretence or other, and take off their heads. To this purpose they produced the example of *Henrie* the eight, who when the Emperour and the French King, at the Popes instigation, were ready to set upon England, presently tooke away the Marquesse of Exeter, the Lord Mountacute, Sir *Edward Nevill*, and others, whom he suspected to favour the enterprise; and so the expedition fell to the ground. But the Queene detested this advice, as savouring of too much crueltie; and tooke order onely to commit some few of them to custodie in Wisbech Castle in the fenne Country, and those none of the prime ones neither. And casting her eyes every where about, instructeth *Fitz-Williams*, Deputie of Ireland, what she would have him doe. The King of Scots she admonisheth to beware of the Papists about him, and the Spanish faction: But he well perceiving what imminent confusion presented it selfe, had formerly (of his owne accord) refused to give audience to the Bishop of Dumblan, whom the Pope had sent to him; and caused a League to bee entred by the Protestants of Scotland, to resist the King of Spaine. And marching in his owne person with an Armie into Annandale against *Maxwell*, who (contrarie to his duty and oath) was newly returned into Scotland out of Spaine, and favoured the Spanish quarrell, vanquished him, and cast him into Prison, and protested against the Spaniards as his mortall enemies, making provision against them with great alacritie. The King of Scots alacrity against the Spaniards.

Now albeit that warlike preparation was eagerly followed on all sides, yet were not parlies touching peace quite abandoned. Two yeares since, the Prince of Parma weighing with himselfe how difficult a matter it would prove to bring the Low-Countrie warre to any good passe, all the while the States were still supplyed from the Queene of England, procured

1588. procured countenance to his project from Sir *James Croft* a Privie Counſellor, and *Andrew Van Loey* a Dutchman; and by letters dealt earneſtly with the Queene, that a Treatie of Peace might be concluded. She fearing this was but a cunning pretence, to diſ-joyne the amity with the confederate Provinces (and covertly to draw them to the King of Spain) deferred the matter; but now to turne away the imminent warre (if it might be) ſhe is content to condiſcend to a Treaty of peace, preparing in the meane time for warre. Hereupon, in the moneth of Februarie the Engliſh Delegates were diſpatched into Flanders; which were, *Henrie* Earle of Derby, *William Brooke* Lord Cobham, Sir *James Crofts* Controller of the Queenes houſhold, Doctor *Dale*, and Doctor *Rogers*, Civilians: who being there entertained with all manner of courteſie, ſent *Dale* to the Prince of Parma forthwith, to adviſe touching a place of meeting, and to underſtand what authority hee had from the King of Spaine to treate of a Peace. Hee ordered the place of meeting to bee neare Oſtend; not in Oſtend it ſelfe, becauſe the Engliſh held the Towne in defiance to the King of Spaine; as for his authority, hee promiſed to exhibite his Commiſſion when they meete. But he willed them to haſten the buſineſſe, leſt ſomewhat in the meane time ſhould intervene to diſturbe the Treatie.

Delegates ſent into the Netherlands to treat about peace.

The twelfth day of April (in Tents neere to Oſtend) Count Arenbergh, *Champignie*, *Richardot*, Doctor *Maeſe*, and *Garnier* (the Prince of Parma his Delegates) met with the Engliſh Commiſſioners, to whom they voluntarily gave the preheminence, both in walking and ſitting. And having affirmed, that the Prince had ſufficient authority to treate concerning peace, the Engliſh propounded a Truce in the firſt place. They refuſed this, alledging that it would be to the damage of the King of Spaine, who had kept a great armie in pay now for ſixe whole months, unleſſe a peace were concluded. The Engliſh were urgent, affirming that the Truce was promiſed before they came into Flanders. They on the other ſide affirme, that a Truce was promiſed indeed ſixe moneths before, but not entertained; nor was it in the Queenes power to undertake a Truce in the behalfe of the Hollanders and Zealanders, who daily atchieve ſome hoſtile enterpriſe. The Engliſh are inſtant that the Truce might be generall, for the whole Dominions of the Queene, and the Kingdome of Scotland. They will not allow it ſo large, but onely for the foure Townes in the Netherlands which were in the Queenes hands; namely, Oſtend, Fluſhing, Bergen-up-zome, and the Briel, and that onely during the time of the treatie, and twenty dayes after: and notwithſtanding all this, it ſhould be lawfull in the meane while for the Queene to ſet upon Spaine, and for the Spaniard to invade England from Spaine or the Netherlands.

Their propoſitions, and the Spaniards reply.

Now that they whiled away the time with theſe delayes, Sir *James Crofts* (out of his ſingular love of peace) went privately to Bruxels, not acquainting the reſt of the Delegates, and there propounded certaine Articles; for which fact (upon the Earle of Leiceſters information) he was impriſoned afterward, though the conditions were ſuch as none could diſlike. But Embaſſadours (they ſay) may not tranſgreſſe the limits which are ſet them. At length, the Engliſh labouring to procure a finall

finall ceſſation from armes on all ſides, and to have a ſight of the Prince of Parma's Commiſſion, but all in vaine, propoſed theſe particulars; *That the ancient league betweene the Engliſh and the Dukes of Burgundie might be renewed and confirmed: the Netherlanders enjoy their wonted privileges, and moreover liberty of conſcience; that the Spaniards and forrein ſouldiers might be removed from out of the Low-Countries. The which conditions if they might be fulfilled, the Queene would deſcend to reaſonable termes, touching thoſe Townes of the Netherlands which ſhee had in her hands; whereby it ſhould appeare it was not benefit or commodity ſhe regarded, but that her owne neceſſarie defence had cauſed her to take up armes: Provided alwayes, that the money lent upon them were repayed.* They made anſwer, *That for renewing of ancient leagues, there would be no great difficultie therein, when time ſhould ſerve to conferre friendly touching thoſe matters: There was no reaſon wherefore forreine Princes ſhould be carefull for the immunities of the Netherlanders, which have beene yeelded not to reconciled places alone, but even to ſuch as by force and armes have beene ſubdued; That forreine ſouldiers were reteined upon urgent neceſſitie, ſince Holland, England, and France, were now up in armes: As for thoſe Townes held from the King of Spaine, and the money laid out, the Spaniard might as well demaund of the Queene the many Millions which the Low-Country warre had coſt him, ſince ſhee had protected the Low-Country Rebels.* 1588.

Thus the Delegates on both ſides triſle away time, and weave the ſame web over againe; and they delude the Engliſh with vaine anſwers, till the Spaniſh Navie was come upon the Coaſt of England, and the Ordnance heard from Sea. Thus the Treaty came to nothing in the upſhot; and the Engliſh Delegates were honourably by the other conducted almoſt to Callice. The treaty broken off.

This ſame Spaniſh Navie was the mightieſt, and beſt furniſhed with men and munition, that ever the Ocean bare, and carried the preſumptuous title of *Invincible*. It conſiſted of one hundred and thirty ſhips, in which were Souldiers 19290. Mariners 8350. Gally-ſlaves 2080. Great Ordnance 2630. *Don Alphonſo* had the chiefe command of the Fleet, and under him *John Martin Recald* a skilfull ſeaman. The twenty ninth of May they weighed anchor from the Rivet Tagus, and bending their courſe toward the Groine, were diſperſed by violent Tempeſt; and report went that they were ſo miſerably ſhattered, that the Queene beleeved ſhe ſhould heare no more of them this yeare; but within a few dayes they gathered together againe. The twelfth of July *Don Alphonſo* ſet ſaile from the Groine, but ſent before *Roderick* to the Prince of Parma, to give him intelligence that the Navie was at hand. For he had in Commiſſion to joyne himſelfe with the ſouldiers and ſhipping of the Prince of Parma, to conduct them to England; and withall, to land the Armie at the Thames mouth. The Spaniſh Armado.

The ſixteenth of July was a great calme, and a miſt covered the Sea till noone; then the North wind blew tempeſtuouſly; anon at midnight the wind was Weſterly, and by and by at the Eaſt; inſomuch that the Spaniſh Navie being diſperſed, hardly came together till they were within view of England, which was the nineteenth day of the moneth.

1588. Which very day the Admirall of England (being informed of their approach by one *Fleming* a Sea-Captaine, and that they were entred the Channell) had much adoe to get the Queenes Navie out of the Haven (the wind being contrarie) but at length they haled and towed it forth into the maine.

The Spaniſh Navie diſcovered in forme of a halfe moone.

The next day the Engliſh beheld the Spaniſh Navie, huge for bulke, and for height like unto Caſtles, in figure like a halfe Moone, and the hornes front-wiſe ſome ſeven miles aſunder; the ſame ſlowly ſaileth along, and the Engliſh ſuffer them to paſſe by peaceably, that they might have the benefit of the wind to follow after. The 21. of July the Admirall of England ſent before a Pinnace called the Defiance, which by a great ſhot challenged them to fight; and by and by they fell to it. Then *Drake*, *Hawkins*, and *Forbiſher*, let flie againſt the utmoſt ſquadron, which *Recalde* commanded: but his fellowes (for all hee could doe) fled to the Navie and left him, and hee himſelfe being well battered, was faine at the length to betake himſelfe thither alſo for ſuccour. Then the Duke of Medina (*Don Alphonſo* by name) held on his courſe; for the Admirall of England had held them two houres in fight, but thought it not meet to buckle any longer, for that fortie of his ſhips were ſtill in the harbour.

• The night following, a mighty Biſcainer of *Oquenda's* (in which was the Treaſurer of the King of Spaine) was fired with Gun-powder; the ſame was done purpoſely by a Low-Country Gunner, which thought himſelfe abuſed. But the fire was timely quenched by other ſhips ſent to her ſuccour; and one of that number was the Galleoun of *Don Pedro*, which falling foule on another ſhip, ſpent her Bore-ſprit, and the night being darke and tempeſtuous, and none comming to ſuccour her, ſhe was left behinde. The bootie happened to Sir *Francis Drake*, who tooke *Don Pedro* priſoner, and ſent him to Dartmouth. The Duke of Medina now ranked his ſhips in the order ſet downe in Spaine, denouncing that none upon paine of death ſhould forgoe his ſtation. Then ſent he *Glich* a ſtandard-bearer to the Prince of Parma, to acquaint him in what ſtate he was. And the great ſhip of Biſcay (which I ſpake of) having taken the Kings treaſure and the ſound men into other ſhips, they left to the mercy of the flouds; the which that very day (with a matter of fiftie ſea-men and ſouldiers miſerably maimed and halfe burnt) fell into the hands of the Engliſh, and was brought into the Haven at Weymouth.

Don Pedro taken Priſoner.

The ſecond Sea-fight.

Then had they a ſecond fight the 23. day of the moneth, betimes in the morning; for the Spaniards taking advantage of the North wind, turne ſaile toward the Engliſh, who nimbly ſhrowded themſelves under the Weſt, and having a good time laboured on both ſides to get the wind, they fell to it pell mell. Never were greater thundrings heard at ſea, and yet moſt of the Spaniſh ſhot flew over the Engliſh ſhips, and never hurt them; onely *Cock* an Engliſhman, being with his little veſſell in the thickeſt of his enemies, dyed valiantly. For the Engliſh ſhips, being of much leſſer bulke than thoſe of the Spaniſh fleet, could fall upon the enemie with wonderfull agilitie, taking ſure aime at them, and having diſcharged, flie to ſea immediately. Yet the Admirall thought not

not good to follow the raſh advice of ſome; and hazzard all upon a grapple with them. For the enemie had a great Armie embarked, and he had none; wherefore in ſuch an onſet nothing preſented it ſelfe but apparent ruine. 1588.

The 24. day of the moneth they reſted on both ſides: the meane while the Admirall of England ſent ſome of the leſſer ſhips to the ſhore, to fetch munition, and ranked his whole Fleet into foure ſquadrons: he himſelfe ruled the firſt, *Drake* the ſecond, *Hawkins* the third, and *Forbiſher* the fourth.

The 25. of the moneth, which was S. *James* day, they fell to it the third time; in which fight the Engliſh gained the better againe, but there happened a wonderfull great calme. From that time the Spaniards would no more turne upon the Engliſh, but holding on their courſe, diſpatched another meſſenger to the Prince of Parma, requiring him to joyne himſelfe forthwith to the Kings Fleet; and withall, to ſend them bullets. The third fight.

The day following the Admirall knighted for their ſingular valour *Thomas Howard*, the Baron *Sheffeild*, *Roger Townes-end*, *John Hawkins*, and *Martin Forbiſher*: and holding a Councell of warre, they decreed not to ſet againe upon the enemie, till they came to the Streight of Callice, where Sir *Henrie Seimor* and Sir *William Winter* waited for their comming. Thus with a faire gale from the Southweſt and by South the Spaniſh Fleet rode along, and the Engliſh followed cloſe behind them. This great Navie nevertheleſſe proved nothing leſſe than invincible in the concluſion, and was ſo farre from terrifying the Engliſh when they ſaw them on the coaſt, that a great number hired ſhips at their owne private coſt and charges, and joyned themſelves with their Countrymen; amongſt which, ſome were of the Nobilitie, and others of ſpeciall note; *viz.* the Earles of Oxford, Northumberland, Cumberland; *Thomas* and *Robert Cecill*, *Henry Brooke*, Sir *Charles Blunt*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *William Hatton*, Sir *Robert Carie*, Sir *Ambroſe Willoughbie*, Sir *Thomas Gerard*, Sir *Arthur Gorge*, &c. Sundry Noblemen and Gentlemen joyne with the Fleet.

They 27. day of the moneth toward the evening the Spaniards caſt anchor neere unto Callice, being warned by the Pilots, that if they went farther they might happely bee carried by force of the tides into the Northern Seas. And not farre from them rode the Engliſh Admirall with his Navie, within ſhot of a great Ordnance, to whom *Seimor* and *Winter* joyned themſelves. Now by this time there were in the Engliſh Fleet a hundred and fortie ſhips, and they were all nimble and ſerviceable for fighting or ſayling, and could wind themſelves about in a trice; yet were there but fifteene of them which bare the ſhocke of the battell. The Spaniards now againe, as oftentimes before they had done, ſend meſſenger after meſſenger to the Prince of Parma, calling upon him to ſend fortie fley-boats, without which they were not able to skirmiſh with the Engliſh, for the greatneſſe and unweldineſſe of their ſhips; and earneſtly they requeſt him to put to Sea with his Armie, which the Spaniſh Fleet (for ſo it was decreed) would protect under their wings, till it were landed in England. But hee was unprepared and could not be ready at their call, the flat-bottomed boats were ful of chinks and leaked, proviſion was wanting, the ſailers, who hitherto were detei- The Spaniards ſend for the Prince of Parma againe.

1588. ned againſt their wills, were now fled. In like manner there hovered before the Ports of Dunkirk and Newport, the Hollanders and Zealanders men of warre, that hee durſt not looke forth, except he would expoſe himſelfe and his men to apparent ruine.

And although he would ſeeme, out of a deſire to ſee England ſubdued, to uſe all poſſible care and diligence, yet the Queenes carefull foreſight prevented both him, and the Spaniſh credulitie and confidence. For upon her command, the next day after the Spaniards had caſt anchor, the Admirall made readie eight of the worſer ſhips, on the outſide dawbed with wild-fire, roſin, and brimſtone, and within full of combuſtible matter, and under the conduct of *Young* and *Prowſe* ſent them downe with the wind in the ſilent time of the night toward the Spaniſh Fleet. The which when the Spaniards ſaw approaching them, & the Seas all on a light fire (as it were) imagining that thoſe fire-ſhips, beſides the danger of the fire might carrie in them ſome murdering Engines, made an hideous noyſe, tooke up anchors, cut Cables, ſpred Sailes, and betake them to their Oares, and with ſudden terror amazed betake themſelves to flight. One of the Admiralls Galeaſſes having loſt her Rudder, and floting up and downe, bended her courſe as well as ſhe might toward Callice the next day, where ſhe lighted on the ſand, and was held in fight by *Amias Preſton*, *Thomas Gerard*, and *Harvie*, who ſlew the Captaine *Hugh Moncada*, the ſouldiers and rowers they caſt over-bord, or put to the ſword, and carried away a great deale of gold; but the Veſſell and Ordnance was wrack to the Governour of Callice.

Fire-ſhips ſent toward the Spaniſh Fleet.

The Spaniards reported that the Duke their General, upon ſight of the fire ſhips, gave order to weigh Anchor throughout the whole Fleet; yet ſo, that when the danger was over they ſhould returne to their ſtation. And indeed he himſelfe returned, and in token thereof diſcharged a Peece of Ordnance; but not many could heare it, for they were diſperſed ſome into the wide Ocean, and others for feare were driven upon the the ſhallowes in Flanders.

Drake and *Fenner* in the meane while, perceiving the Spaniſh Fleet to gather together againe before Graveling, ſet upon them with might and maine, to whom ſtraightwaies *Fenton*, *Southwell*, *Beeſton*, *Croſſe*, and *Riman* joyne themſelves, & ſoone after the Admirall himſelf, Sir *Thomas Howard*, and the Lord *Sheffeild*. The Duke of Medina and his Companie getting out of the ſhallowes with much adoe, abide the onſet as well as they could, but moſt of their ſhips were torne, and ſhot through. The Galeon called Saint *Matthew*, labouring to reſcue *Don Francis* of Toledo, who was in the S. *Philip*, was ſorely battered by *Seimor* and *Winter*, driven toward Oſtend, and ſet upon againe by the Zealanders; and at laſt was taken by the Fluſhingers.

The fourth fight.

The laſt day of the moneth in the morning betimes there blew a ſtiffe gale of wind from the Weſt-north-weſt, and the Spaniſh Fleet labouring to returne to the ſtreight of Callice, was violently borne toward Zealand. The Engliſh left purſuing them, imagining that the Weſt-north-weſt wind blowing, they muſt needs fall upon the flats by Zealand, and there periſh unavoidably: but the wind comming about to Weſt-ſouth-weſt, they eſcaped that danger, and then held conſultation what it were beſt

to

to doe. At length (by joynt conſent) they reſolved to make a way for Spaine through the Northern Ocean, for that they wanted many neceſſaries, eſpecially bullets for their Ordnance, their ſhips were torne, and there was no hope that the Prince of Parma could get forth with his Navie. Whereupon haling forth into the maine: they direct their courſe Northward, the Engliſh Navie ſtill following them at the heeles. And becauſe a great number were perſwaded that they would returne againe, the Queene came in perſon to Tilburie, to view the Armie and the campe, and it is almoſt incredible how wonderfully ſhe revived the ſpirits of them all with her preſence. 1588.

The Spaniards flie.

The laſt day of the fight, the Prince of Parma came to Dunkirk, where the Spaniards entertained him with ſcorne and exprobration, as if he purpoſely (in favour of the Queene) had over-ſlipped a golden opportunitie of conquering England. Hee on the other-ſide laughed in his ſleeve at the arrogancie of the Spaniards, which had bragged that the Engliſh could not ſtand within their breath: for indeed *Mendoza* in France, by a booke in print, triumphed before the victorie. Now the Engliſh Admirall gave order to *Seimor* and *Winter* to watch before the coaſt of Flanders, and keepe the Prince of Parma from comming out of Dunkirke; and hee himſelfe followed the Spaniards, till they were paſt Edenborough Frith in Scotland. For ſome doubted that the King of Scots, being offended at the late execution of his mother, might happily cloſe with them. And at this time *Ashbie* the Queenes Embaſſadour in Scotland, to allay the Kings anger, made proffer of great matters; as namely, of a Dukedome in England, a yeerely penſion of five thouſand pounds ſterling, a Guard to be maintained at the Queens charges, and other things: whether hee did this of his owne braine, or were ſet on by others, I know not, but ſure enough the conditions were never fulfilled.

The Lord Admirall chaſeth them.

But to put aſide all feares, the Spaniards had no mind to returne; and ſeeing no hope of their owne ſafetie, but onely in flight, they held on their courſe and never ſtaied. And thus this Navie, which was three whole yeers a preparing (& that at no ſmall charge) within a month was often beaten, and at length put to flight, many of their men being ſlaine (of the Engliſh not above an hundred at the moſt were miſſing, nor ſo much as a ſhip, but *Cocke's*) and ſailing about all Britaine, by Scotland, the Orkneyes, and Ireland, returned into Spain without any renowne, but with a great deale of diſhonour. It was knowne, that in their flight many of their ſhips were loſt upon the coaſt of Scotland and Ireland, and above ſeven hundred ſouldiers and ſea-men were caſt upon the Scottiſh ſhore, who at the interceſſion of the Prince of Parma, and by the Queens leave, were afterward ſent over to the Low-Countries. But thoſe wretches which were driven by tempeſt upon Ireland found harder meaſure: For ſome of them were ſlaine by the wild Iriſh, of their owne accord; other upon the command of the Deputy, who feared they might joyne with the rebells, and moleſt the Kingdome. He ſent *Fowle* the Vice-Marſhall, and cauſed two hundred of their heads to be taken off. But the Queene, notwithſtanding the Deputies policie, was greatly offended at his crueltie.

Many of them wracked on the coaſt of Scotland and Ireland.

1588. The Spaniards, at their returne home, laid the blame of the ill ſucceſſe upon the Prince of Parma's neglect, and the prepoſterous wiſedome of their owne Companie; who were ſo nice, that what danger ſoever preſſed upon them, they durſt not vary the leaſt jot from their Commiſſion. Hence diſputes were occaſioned amongſt militarie men, both with them, and at home with us, if in any caſe, & upon urgent neceſſitie, thoſe ſtrict Commiſſions might not be tranſgreſſed. The Spaniards likewiſe boaſted, that had it not beene for this inconvenience, they could eaſily have vanquiſhed the Engliſh ſhips in the very haven. But the King of Spaine himſelfe, acknowledged the misfortune to have beene the handy worke of Almightie God, and himſelfe gave thankes to God and his Saints (cauſing the like to be done throughout Spaine) that it fell out to bee no worſe; and ſhewed extraordinarie pitie in relieving the maimed ſouldiers and mariners.

Thankes given for this great deliverance.

Queene *Eliſabeth* in like manner appointed praiers and thankeſgivings over all the Churches of England: and ſhe (as it were in triumph) came in perſon, attended with a great troope of the Nobilitie, into the Citie, in a chariot drawne with two horſes, and went into the Cathedrall Church of S. *Paul* (where the Banners and Trophees taken from the enemie were placed in view) where alſo in moſt humble manner ſhee gave thankes to the Almightie.

Queene Eliſabeths care of the Commanders, and others.

To the Admirall ſhe allotted a certaine revenue for his good ſervice, ever and anon commending him, and the Sea Captaines, as men borne for the ſafetie of their Countrie. Others, as often as ſhe ſaw them, ſhee ſaluted by name (which they eſteemed as a very high recompence of their labour) and the needy and maimed perſons ſhee relieved with ſufficient penſions. And (as it uſually falleth out in like caſes) great joy there was both at home and abroad amongſt our well-willers. Which publike rejoycing received ſome more life, by the returne of Sir *Robert Sidney* from Scotland, who brought certaine tidings, that King had overpaſt all injuries, was cordially affected toward the Engliſh, and deſired to embrace ſincere and heartie amitie with the Queen. He indeed was ſent into Scotland whiles the Spaniſh Fleet hovered over England, to gratulate his forwardneſſe for the common good, and to hearten him on ſtill. To mind him likewiſe, how *Mendoza* and the Popes Nuntio had caſt out threats againſt him, of the boundleſſe ambition of the King Spain, and his particular longing for an augmentation of his Dominion, by the conqueſt of this Iſland: At which time the King of Scots wittily told the Embaſſadour, *That hee expected no courteſie from the King of Spaine, but that favour which* Polyphemus *promiſed* Ulyſſes; *namely, that when he had devoured others, he ſhould be his laſt morſell.*

The death of the Earle of Leiceſter.

By the death of the Earle of Leiceſter (which at this very time hapned) the common joy was nothing interrupted, albeit the Queene for her owne part were much diſcontented. He died at Killingworth of a violent fever the fourth day of September. He was *Robert* the fifth ſonne of *John* Duke of Northumberland, of the Bed-chamber to King *Edward* the ſixth: under Queene *Mary* (who though ſhe beheaded his father, yet reſtored him, his brothers and ſiſters, to their bloud) hee was maſter of the Engliſh munition at the ſiege of S. *Quintin*. With Queene *Eliſabeth*

1588.

ſabeth (albeit his father had ſought her ruine) by ſome ſtrange over-ruling providence, he was the greateſt man in favour: made Maſter of the horſe, Knight of the Order of the Garter, and of the Order of S. *Michael* in France, Privie Counſellor, Lord Steward of the Queenes houſhold, Chancellor of the Univerſitie of Oxford, chiefe Forreſter on this ſide Trent, Leivtenant and Captaine Generall of the Engliſh forces in the Netherlands, Governor and Captaine Generall of the united Provinces in the Low-Countries; and this yeere made Generall of the Engliſh armie againſt the Spaniards. And now that he was ready to go out of the world, he affected a new & ſtrange honour of the Queen, *viz.* to be Vicegerent in the high government of England and Ireland. For which the Patent was already drawn, and had been ſealed, but that Burleigh & *Hatton* came between, & ſhewed the Queen how dangerous a thing it might prove, for ſo great authoritie to reſide in one ſubject. He was an abſolute Courtier, & ſo held to be; one that knew how to ſerve the times, and his owne purpoſes; for a time given to women, but after proved wonderfull uxorious: and preferring a ſhadow of honour before the ſubſtance of vertue, his enemies found abundant matter to calumniate him, and affixed to him ſome untrue aſperſions. Now being indebted to the Queene, his goods were ſold at an out-crie to make payment; for though ſhe were otherwiſe affable enough, yet did ſhe not at any time remit the dues of the Treaſurie.

The Prince of Parma being now fruſtrated of his purpoſe of invading England, made uſe of the Armie prepared for that purpoſe to lay ſiege to Bergen-up-zoome, a Towne of Brabant, well fortified both by art and nature, in which the Garriſon ſouldiers were Engliſh for the greateſt part. But this project likewiſe fell to the ground, through the vigilant care of the Lord Willoughbie, and the valour of the ſouldiers in Garriſon. For albeit they were now at difference amongſt themſelves, ſome favouring *Drurie*, whom Willoughbie preferred, and others *Morgan*, commended by the Queens letters to the Generalls place, yet they agreed well enough to offend the enemie joyntly. Now by their ſallies, and other military devices, they held the enemies ſo to it, that they ſlew, tooke, or drowned of them to the number of foure hundred: and the Prince of Parma having no hope to ſtop the paſſage of the haven, or to gaine the Towne, winter alſo comming on, and proviſion failing, within two moneths was faine to raiſe the ſiege. Willoughbie then rewarded with knighthood the valour of *Francis Vere*, *Thomas Knolles*, and others.

The Prince of Parma beſiegeth Bergen-up-zoome, and is forced to leave it.

England was at this time exerciſed not only with warre from abroad, but alſo with ſchiſmes at home. And never was there knowne greater injuries, and more impudent contempt to have been caſt upon the Temporall and Eccleſiaſticall Magiſtrates, than by the Puritans of theſe dayes. And when as the Queen, who was *Alwaies the ſame*, would not endure any innovation in the Church Government, as impugning either directly or oblikely the royall prerogative, the Zelots for the Geneva Diſcipline held it the neereſt way for the atchieving of their deſires, to raile againſt the Engliſh Hierarchie, and by ſcurrulous libells, entituled by the names of *Martin Marr-Prelate*, *The demonſtration of the Diſcipline*, &c.

The Puritans moleſt the State.

ſought

1588. ſought to bring the Biſhops into diſgrace and hatred amongſt the common ſort. But by theſe giddy Pamphlets, thoſe of better judgement would conceive, that the Authors were rather dwellers upon Ale-benches, than lovers of Religion. Yet were the Authors *Penrie* and *Udall*, Miniſters of the Word, and *Job Throckmorton*, a fellow learned and acute enough. Their favourers were *Knightley* and *Wigſtone*, Gentlemen of Knights degree, men otherwiſe of gravity and piety (but circumvented by theſe Paſtors for their owne ends) and had a great fine ſet on their heads in the Starre-chamber, but that the Queene was entreated by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury to ſpare them. Theſe by their calumnies prepared the way, and others in contempt of the Lawes exerciſed the new diſcipline, holding their Synods, Claſſes, and Presbyteries. For this cauſe *Tho. Cartwright* (the father of the Diſciplinarians) *Snape*, *King*, *Proudlow*, and *Paine*, were called in queſtion; whom certaine hot-ſpurs conſpired to reſcue out of the Magiſtrates hands: and ſo great was the petulancie of theſe Patriarkes and their Diſciples, as would require a peculiar volume to unfold the ſame.

An Embaſſage into Denmark.

The ſtorme from Spaine being thus happily blowne away this yeere, *Daniel Rogers* was ſent into Denmarke, to lament (after the manner of Princes) the death of King *Frederick* the ſecond, and to deale with the Protectors of the Kingdome during the Kings minoritie, *That the Danes might not ſerve in armes under the Queenes enemies; that arreſts of ſhips in the Sound, for the offences of private men, might not bee allowed; that the fiſhing for Iſland Cod, which was (according to the ancient league) by grant to be renewed every ſeventh yeare, might not by new devices bee abridged; that the Tribute called Laſt-gelt might be remitted, &c.* But the King (as I ſaid) being in his non-age, little would be done in theſe matters. And indeed the Danes waxed ſomewhat diſcontented at the Engliſh, becauſe they did not now (as in former times) ſaile into Ruſſia through the Sound, but by the way of Finmarch, Norway, &c.

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The Spaniards deviſe new projects againſt England.

The Spaniſh expedition againſt England having lately found ſo ill ſucceſſe, and returning home with diſhonour; the next yeare to repaire their credit, and to hold the Engliſh buſied, that they might not invade the King of Spaines Territories, they ſet on foot their old project of invading England by the way of Scotland. In this matter they uſed the aide and inſtructions of *Robert Bruſe* Prieſt, *Creighton* and *Hay* Jeſuites, who (with eaſe enough) drew to their party the Earles of Huntley, Arrol, Crawford, ſtout Papiſts; and the Earle of Bothwell, ſonne to *John* Prior of Coldingham, the naturall ſonne of *James* the fifth King of Scots. Their maine project was to ſeize upon the Kings perſon, and then to bring in forreine forces for the reſtoring of the Catholike Religion, and invading of England, in revenge of the Queene of Scots death. To inveigle the multitude, they would uſe pretences of this nature; That the King was held as priſoner by *Maitland* the Chancellor, and the Engliſh faction: That the Engliſh, who paſſed ſcot-free for putting the Queen of Scots to death, were now in armes to cut off the Scottiſh Nobilitie: That they (upon the Kings entreatie) took up armes againſt them, to free him from the Chancellors cuſtodie, and their Countrie from imminent deſtruction. The King being gone a hunting, in one and the ſame day came

came one Meſſenger at the heeles of another, acquainting him, that *Bothwell* on the one hand was neare, with ſundrie Companies of the borderers; and on the other hand, the Earle of Huntley was comming from the Northerne parts of the Kingdome with a full Armie. Whereupon hee proclaimeth them Traitors out of hand, and by the ſame Edict inviteth all his loving ſubjects above ſixteene, and under ſixtie yeares of age, to repaire to their Colours. Hereupon *Bothwell* being terrefied, and forſaken by his companie, betooke himſelfe home. *Huntley* (on the other ſide) upon the way intercepteth *Glames* Captaine of the Kings guard, with whom he was at variance. 1589.

The Queene perceiving it would prove for the common behoofe, that this advice of the Spaniards were timely quaſhed, yeelded her aſſiſtance by money and other requiſite meanes, for the reducing of theſe Rebels into order. The King alſo maturely weighing the danger, marched againſt *Huntley* in perſon; who being come to the Bridge of the River Dee with a great Armie, and hearing that the King marched towards him, ſent away *Glames*, and (through the craggie mountaines) betooke himſelfe to his owne houſe at Strath-bolgy. Thither alſo the King (encountring with hunger, cold, and the like difficulties) purſued him. *Huntley* at the firſt offered to yeeld, if he might bee ſecured of his life and eſtate; but at length was faine to ſubmit himſelfe without conditions. The King would not deigne ſo much as to ſee him, or ſpeak to him, but cauſed him to be ſent to priſon; yet afterwards upon ſubmiſſion forgave both him and the reſt of the conſpiracie. The rebellion in Scotland quieted.

About this time *Philip Howard* Earle of Arundell, who upon ſuſpicion to favour the Spaniſh partie was three yeares ſince caſt in priſon, was now cited in Weſtminſter Hall to the judgement of his Peeres; and *Henrie* Earle of Derbie was made high Steward of England for the time. Being commanded to hold up his hand, hee ſaid withall, *Behold a pure hand, and a ſincere heart.* The matters laid to his charge were theſe; That hee had contracted neere friendſhip with Cardinall *Alan*, *Parſons* the Jeſuite, and other traitors, who plotted the downefall of their Prince and Country, exciting forreine perſons and homebred ſubjects againſt their Countrie, for the reſtoring of the Romiſh Religion: That in Letters ſent by *Weſton* (alias *Burges*) a Prieſt, he had proffered his aſſiſtance to the Cardinall for the promoting of the Catholike Religion, and for the ſame reaſon had a purpoſe to depart the Kingdome: That he was privie to the Bull, in which Pope *Sixtus* V. had depoſed the Queene, and given England as a prey to the Spaniard: That being impriſoned in the tower of London, he cauſed Maſſe to be ſaid for the proſperous ſucceſſe of the Spaniſh fleet, and for the ſame purpoſe had framed peculiar prayers for his owne private uſe. Being demanded if he were guiltie or not of theſe things, turning himſelfe to the Judges, he asked them theſe queſtions. Firſt, whether it were lawfull to heape up ſo many crimes together in one bill of Enditement? they anſwered, that it was according to law. Then, whether arguments taken from preſumptions were of force? they ſaid, it was lawfull for him to interpoſe his exceptions, if he ſaw cauſe. Then againe, if hee might be arraigned for thoſe things which were capitall, by the Law made the thirteenth The Earle of Arundell arraigned. The crimes objected to him.

1589. teenth yeere of the Queen, after that the time expreſſed in the Act was expired? They promiſed, that they would proceed againſt him by no law but the old ſtatute of treaſon, made in the reigne of *Edward* the third. Being now againe asked if he were guilty or not, hee pleaded Not guiltie, ſubmitting himſelfe to God, and the judgement of his Peeres. But he requeſted that they would not oppreſſe his memory, which began to faile him through ſickneſſe and empriſonment. *Puckering*, the Queenes Serjeant at Law, began and opened the firſt part of the enditement at large: to wit, that Cardinall *Alan* had undertaken pernicious projects with the Jeſuites and others, againſt his Prince and Countrie, for the which he was outlawed; the Earle nevertheleſſe held correſpondence with him by letters, and made direct mention in them touching the promoting of the Catholike cauſe; and this would admit of no other interpretation, but that the invading of England was meant. The Earle made anſwere, that he had no thought of promoting the Catholike Religion, but by the converſion of more perſons daily. *Popham*, the Queenes Atturney, laboureth to prove by the confeſſions of *Savage*, *Throckmorton* and *Babington*, that this could not be underſtood of a converſion by inſtruction, but of a hoſtile invaſion. *Skutleworth*, Serjeant at Law, declareth from the Proclamations made againſt the Jeſuites and Seminarie Prieſts, for what purpoſe they are diſpatched hither into England; affirmeth them to be Traitors out of the Earles owne mouth, who in the cauſe of *Valonger* in the Starre-chamber concerning the Libell, ſaid openly, *That a zealous Papiſt muſt needs be a Traitor*. Yet had the Earle entertained familiarity with ſuch like perſons, was reconciled to the Church of Rome, and had therefore ſubjected himſelfe to the Popes will & commandement. This the Earle denied ſtoutly, and required ſome witneſs of his reconcilement to be produced; yet he confeſſed, that he had been ſhrift by *Bruges* a Popiſh Prieſt. Hence grew a great diſpute: None (ſay they) can be admitted to the Sacraments of the Church of Rome, but ſuch as are firſt reconciled; But the Earle by *Gratley* a Prieſt was ſo admitted, Therefore muſt he needs be reconciled. *Popham* now eagerly contended for his reconcilement to the Church of Rome out of his own Letters, that they of forrein parts were ſo perſwaded, that he had yeelded himſelfe to the will of Cardinall *Alan*, and muſt therefore upon neceſſity be a Traitor; and producing the letters of *Gratley* & *Morgan* to the Queen of Scots, concluded that the Earle adhered to the Romiſh Religion out of ſtomacke, not for conſcience ſake. Then he exhibited an embleme found in a Cabinet of the Earles, wherein was painted a hand ſhaking off a ſnake into the fire, with this Motto, *If God be with us, who ſhall be againſt us:* on the other part, a Lyon rampant with his talons taken off, and this by the ſide, *Yet a Lyon*. *Popham* addeth yet farther, that the Earle having a purpoſe to leave the Kingdome, was perſwaded by the Cardinall to tarrie here, becauſe he might ſtand the Church in more ſtead by his ſtay than by his going; that he laid aſperſion upon the juſtice of the Kingdome in his letter to the Queene, touching the capitall condemnation of his Father and Grandfather; that the Queene of Scots had commended him to *Babington* for the Ring-leader of the Catholikes; that *Alan* had intimated the Bull was procured upon the inſtance of a great man in England,

England, which muſt needs be the Earle, ſince not any Nobleman was ſo familiar with the Cardinall: nor could he be ignorant that hee was reputed as a Traitor, having beene preſent at thoſe paſſages in the Starre-chamber. There were read alſo the confeſſions of *William* the Earles brother, and his ſiſter the Lady *Margaret*, and his owne letters to the Queene, when he was ready to depart the Kingdome. The Queens clemencie likewiſe was extolled, who at that time would not have him queſtioned for treaſon, but for a contempt onely. 1589.

The Earle of Arundell anſwereth for himſelfe.

To theſe objections the Earle anſwered promiſcuouſly; That the emmbleme was a toy given him by his ſervant: He had vowed indeed to the Cardinall his aſſiſtance for the promoting of the Catholike cauſe, but not againſt his Prince or Country; He wrote no more touching the Capitall offence of his Father and Grandfather, than was in the Chronicles: What the Cardinall and Queeee of Scots wrote to him, made no matter, ſince he had put no ſuch things in practice; none had command over anothers penne; He had a purpoſe to ſerve in the warres under the Prince of Parma, for that (by reaſon of the ſtrict Lawes againſt the Papiſts) he could not be ſafe here at home; That the Attorney (like the Spider) ſucked poiſon out of ſweet flowers, namely his papers and letters; from which he was able (if he might ſee them) to picke out better matter. Then was it layed to his charge, that the title of *Philip Duke of Norfolke* was found amongſt his papers, and other triviall matters alledged, to prove that before his impriſonment he had commited treaſon. The which *Egerton* the Solicitor ſummarily reckoning up, argueth, that he had committed high treaſon after his impriſonment likewiſe; namely, before the Spaniſh Navie came, by wiſhing happy ſucceſſe to it; when it was come, by framing ſet prayers for the proſperous ſucceſſe of the ſame, and cauſing a Maſſe of the Holy Ghoſt to bee celebrated, and continuall prayers for twenty foure houres together; and when it was fled, by bewailing the unfortunate iſſue which it had; ſeeming to place all his felicity and hopes in an hoſtile invaſion of his Countrie. Theſe things were atteſted by Sir *Thomas Gerard*, and one *William Shelley*, who in the yeare 1586. was condemned for treaſon; and by *Bennet* a Prieſt, and other impriſoned perſons. The Earle murmuringly anſwered, That the Prayers which he framed, and the Maſſes which hee cauſed to be ſaid, were for the diverting of the maſſacre, which he heard was intended againſt the Catholikes. *Gerards* teſtimonie hee ſtoutly denied, adjuring him, as he thought to anſwer it before Gods fearefull tribunall one day, to ſpeake nothing but truth: wherewithall he ſo affrighted the man, that he witneſſed little to the purpoſe. *Bennets* teſtimonie he ſlighted, as containing things repugnant, and himſelfe a man of little credit; and the reſt in like manner, who were criminall perſons, priſoners, and diſhoneſt men; complaining that theſe men were permitted to converſe with him for his enſnaring. This the Lords reproved in him as boldneſſe, to vilifie the witneſſes for the Queene: then was the Law of King *Richard* the ſecond read, at the inſtance of the Solicitor, wherein was declared that the Crowne of England is ſubject to none but God alone, and the Pope of Rome had no power over the ſame. Now it growing towards night, and nothing more could bee layed

1589. laid to the Earles charge, he was taken aſide, and (making proteſtation of his loyall affection toward the Queene) humbly ſubmitted himſelfe to the judgement of his Peeres; and praied that they might doe nothing but what might well ſtand with the glorie of God, the Queenes ſafetie, their owne honour, and a good conſcience. The Peeres likewiſe going aſide, conſulted together a full houre. The Judges were called to ſatisfie them in ſome points of the Law: then returning to their ſeats againe, the Clerke of the Crowne turned him about, and demanded of them ſeverally, if the Earle were guilty. They in their order clap their hands upon their breaſt, and upon their honour and conſcience pronounce him guiltie. Then was the Earle called againe, and demanded if he could ſay any thing farther for himſelfe; he made anſwer, as his father had formerly done in that place, *Gods will be done*. Sentence being given, he requeſted that he might ſpeake to his wife, and ſee his young ſon, which was borne after his impriſonment; that hee might conferre with his creditors and diſcharge his debts; that the Queene would be pleaſed to take pity on his young ſonne, and graciouſly to regard him. Now the Steward brake his ſtaffe, and the Earle was ſent back to the Tower, with the fatall edge toward him: but the Queene ſpared his life, holding it ſufficient to have done thus much in terrour to the Papiſts.

The Earle of Arundell condemned.

A private expedition into Spaine.

Now was the Queene at leaſure to attend forreine imployments, and intended to cry quit with Spain for the invaſion, if it might be: for which purpoſe ſhee gave leave to Sir *John Norris*, & Sir *Francis Drake* (who thought the potencie of the King of Spaine was greater in the vulgar opinion than in truth) to undertake an expedition at their owne private coſts and charges, requiring nothing of the Queene but a few ſhips of warre; and entring into conditions, that what ſhips and ſpoyle they could take from the enemies, they might ſhare amongſt themſelves. Fewer than they made account of joyned themſelves in this ſervice: the States indeed ſent a few ſhips in companie, albeit they lately were diſpleaſed, that *Wingfield* and the Engliſh Garriſon had delivered up Gertrudenberg to the Spaniards. There were in all to the number of eleven thouſand ſouldiers, and of ſea-men about fifteene hundred. *Anthonie* alſo of Portugall, the baſtard, laying claime to that Kingdome, bore a ſhare with them.

The Groine aſſaulted.

Setting ſaile from Plimouth the fifth day of April, they arrived at the Groyne in Gallicia without any let. Setting upon the lower towne, they ſuffered ſome damage by dartings out of a ſhip of vaſt bulke, and two Gallies in the Haven, till by their great Ordnance planted upon the ſhore they made them ſhift away. The next day they ſet upon the lower towne at three places at once; *Unton* and *Bret*, with three hundred men in one place, Sir *Richard Wingfield* & *Samſon* with five hundred at another part of the towne: but both theſe companies went away with the worſt, and were driven from their ladders. But the third companie brake into the Towne without any great loſſe; whereupon the Spaniards threw downe their weapons and fled to the high towne. Thither they march now, which was ſcituate upon a rocke, and not very pregnable. *Norris* finding that they could gaine acceſſe at one place onely, meant there to make an undermining, and with the great Ordnance to make a breach in

an

another place, and to make impreſſion at both places at once. But here, having undermined too narrowly, the rubbiſh fell downe and overwhelmed ſome of the Engliſh, & at both places they came off with loſſe. 1589.

Norris having new intelligence that forces were at hand, under the conduct of the Condee of Andrada and Altemire, which intended to beſiege them in the lower towne, or prevent their retiring to their ſhips, to prevent the danger, reſolved to march toward them with ten Companies. In the Vauntgard were *Edward Norris*, and *William Sidney*, in the middle *Norris* himſelfe the Generall, with *Medkerke* a Dutchman: *Henrie Norris*, *Huntley*, and *Bret* brought up the Rereward. The Spaniards ſhewed themſelves on this ſide the Bridge of Bruges; but by the valour of the Engliſh were driven to take the Bridge, over which the Engliſh, notwithſtanding their endevours, found paſſage, and chaſed the enemies for three miles, killing many of them, and pillaging ſundrie Villages hard by. After two dayes the Engliſh without any hinderance repaire to their ſhips, and ſailing towards Portugall with a croſſe wind, they happen upon *Robert* Earle of Eſſex, who without the Queens leave (who was not willing that any of the Nobilitie ſhould hazzard themſelves in this expedition) had ſet to ſea, and was long time ſeeking the Fleet. After they had beene two daies at ſea, and endured foule weather, they arrive at Penicha a Towne of Portugall, where ſome of their men were drowned at landing, and the inhabitants ſaving themſelves by flight they ſoone take the Towne, and leave the Caſtle to *Anthonie* of Portugall: From hence they march by land toward Lisbon, which was threeſcore miles diſtant, the foot Companies under *Norris* his command, and *Drake* promiſed to follow with the Fleet. Upon the way they call a Councell of warre, and determine to pitch their Tents at the Eaſt ſide of the towne, to hinder the Spaniards from comming with ſupplies, and that the Inhabitants might have more eaſie acceſſe to their King. The ſixth dayes journey they came to the Weſt Suburbs of Lisbon, called S. *Katharines*, where they tarried contrarie to their purpoſe, and ſaw no body but a few poore diſarmed Portugalls, which cryed out, *God ſave King Anthonio*; (For *Albert* of Auſtria the Governor had taken away their armes.) The day following, when the Engliſh (being ſicke, and wearied with the long journey) gave themſelves eaſe, the Spaniards make a ſallie out, and *Bret* and his companie ſuſtaine the ſhocke very couragiouſly, till there came more Engliſh and Portugalls, which made the Spaniards give backe; and Eſſex followed them to the verie gate of the Citie. Yet were *Bret*, *Carſey*, and *Carre*, ſtout Commanders (beſides ſome common ſouldiers) loſt at this skirmiſh. Having now tarried here two dayes, and no hope of the Portugalls revolting, which *Anthonio* out of his owne credulitie aſſured them ſhould be, no aide came from the King of Morocco, freſh ſupplies came into the towne, the Engliſh Armie grew more ſick daily, victualls and gunpowder failed, and Sir *Francis Drake*, according to promiſe, brought not the great Ordnance to ſet upon the towne; they departed from the Suburbs of Lisbon (which though they were very wealthy of forrein merchandize, yet would not the Engliſh carry away any of them, for feare of offending the Portugalls) toward Caſcais, a little towne at the mouth of the river Tagus, or

Penicha taken.

Lisbon aſſailed.

1589. Taio. This towne *Drake* had taken this meane while, whom they upbraid, that by his negligence they had miſſed a brave day. But he excuſed himſelfe from the impoſſibilitie of the matter; for he could not paſſe along the channell of Alcaceva for the flats, and had he gone by S. *Julians* (the next way) which was fortified with fiftie Peeces of great Ordnance, hee muſt have expoſed the Fleet to certaine deſtruction. Neere the ſame place, to helpe toward their charges; they ſeized upon Hulkes of the Hanſe-townes of Germanie, to the number of threeſcore, laden out of Germanie with corne and all manner of munition, which had taken a tedious and dangerous Navigation round about Scotland and Ireland: for the Queene by her letters had warned the Hanſe-towns not to tranſport any victuall or munition into Spaine and Portugall, upon paine of forfeiture of the ſhips & their merchandize. Thence they ſet ſaile toward Vigo, a forlorn towne by the ſea ſide, & pillaging all along that quarter, returned for England, with glorie ſufficient for the late affront received from Spaine; albeit ſixe thouſand Souldiers and Marriners were conſumed of ſundry diſeaſes, happening either from their immoderate drinking of wine, eating ſtrange fruits, or the diſtemper of the aire, not agreeing with their bodies; ſince thoſe which travell from the Northern climats Southward are ſubject to ſweatings, faintings, and manifold diſtempers.

Some Hulkes of the Hanſe townes taken by the Engliſh.

Aftet all this the Hanſe-townes make grievous complaints, intermingling threatning words withall, for their Hulkes, which the Fleet had taken againſt their ancient priviledges and immunities. The Queen returned anſwer, That ſhe had forewarned them upon the penaltie which now they ſuffered, not to carry proviſion to the enemies of the Kingdome of England; that their Veſſells were lawfull booty, nor could ſhe doe otherwiſe, unleſſe ſhe would wittingly bring deſtruction upon her people. Priviledges are private lawes and might not prejudice the publike good, which is the higheſt law of all; yea, in that priviledge granted to the Hanſe towns by *Edward* the firſt, there was an expreſſe caution, that they ſhould not tranſport wares or commodities to the territories of the manifeſt & notorious enemies of the Kingdome of England. This which the Queen had done was not without preſident, for their goods were oftentimes detained for ſupplying the French in the heat of the war between France and Germanie, and not by the Engliſh onely, but by *Charles* the fifth Emperour, the King of Sweden, the Dane, and the Pole; yea, the other day by the Prince of Orange: and this is agreeable to the law of Nations. The right of neutralitie and exemption muſt bee uſed in ſuch ſort, that while they pleaſure one Countrie they wrong not another: As for their threats, they ill beſeemed a few townes, ſince the Queene feared not the moſt potent Princes; let them therefore reſt contented.

A great complaint made, but eaſily anſwered by Qu. Eliſabeth.

And how diligent the Queene alwaies ſhewed her ſelfe in keeping the lawes of neighbourhood, may appeare by the aide which ſhe afforded to the King of Navarre, engaged in a difficult warre, and the encouragement yeelded to the French King. For the Duke of Anjou the Kings brother being departed this life without iſſue (to uſe a neceſſarie digreſſion for a while) and the King himſelfe having no children, nor in likelihood

The Queens diligence.

hood to have any, the Kingdome must of right bee devolved to the King of Navarre, and after him to the Prince of Condee; two strenuous sticklers for the reformed Religion. Whereupon the Popish Princes of France, with the consent of the Pope and Spaniard, under pretext of defending the Catholike religion, enter into a dangerous combination, which they termed by the name of the *Union*, or *The holy league*; labouring to quell the French King, to make him odious to the people, by setting him upon unlawfull enterprises, to root out the reformed Religion, and to prevent the right of succession to the Crowne of France. They which gave their names to this league, bound themselves to each other by oath, that they would not suffer any person to undertake the government of France, who had professed or would professe any other Religion save the Catholike; nor to admit of any which had beene educated in any other Religion, though he should abjure it, lest in case he atchieved the Kingdome, he might ruine the Catholike Religion. He that had but halfe an eye, could see that these things directly tended to the debarring of the Navarran and Condee from their lawfull right to the Crown of France. This combination beginning thus, gathered strength by degrees, and in this maner. The Duke of Guise, head of the League, having valiantly defended Poictou in France against the Protestants, when he was as yet but a very young man, vanquished the horse which Duke *Alenson* had called out of Germanie, and a mighty armie of German souldiers under the conduct of the Lord *Dohna*, was immeasurably extolled by the Clergie and common sort, as the onely Bulwarke of the Catholike Religion, and hammer of the Protestants, entred into Paris, where he raised such a tumult, that the King himselfe was driven to abandon the Citie, and to call an assembly at Blois, to consent by edict to this union for the cutting off the Protestants, make the Duke of Guise great Master of the French Chivalry, & receive the holy Sacrament with him in confirmation of mutuall friendship and alliance. But soone after, the King fearing him whom he had made terrible, and so great that no lawes might question him, suspecting that he aimed at greater matters, and plotted against his life, used the onely meanes to secure himselfe (as he was perswaded) and caused the Duke of Guise to be murdered within the very Court, and the Cardinall his brother soone after to be strangled. The Duke of Guises son, the Cardinal of Borbon, and as many of the league as he could come by hee apprehended, and committed to prison. Hereupon was so great a confusion in France, that a flourishing Kingdome was likely to bee rent in peeces, the people every where disobeyed the magistrates, spoiled the Kings royall Palace at Paris: some Cities affected a *Democratie*, others an *Aristocracie*, but few would away with a *Monarchie*. The Confederates having new projects in hand, made a new seale, usurped the royall authoritie, seized into their hands the best fortified places, yea, whole Countries. The Kings revenues they intercepted, called Spanish souldiers out of the Netherlands, foure of the greatest Parliaments of France giving their assent, and they of the Clergie denouncing warre and violence in all places against the King.

1589.

The holy league.

The Duke of Guise slaine.

The French King being handled in this sort, was faine to flie to the Protestants for succour, whom he had vexed; and his enemies wickedly by

The French King seekes helpe of the Protestants.

1589. by the helpe of *James Clement* a Monke made him away. The King being ready to die, declareth the King of Navarre for his lawfull ſucceſſor: but they, by a writing imprinted, exclude him as an open Hereticke, and one that had brought forrein Armies into the Countrie. But whom they ſhould now make King they cannot well accord. The Duke of Guiſes brother that was murdered, imagineth he had beſt right to it, for that he had done brave exploits againſt the Proteſtants; the chiefe Cities had yeelded themſelves to him; the Cardinall of Bourbon was held priſoner, and the warlike Nation of the French would never endure that a Prieſt ſhould be their King. Others contended that the Duke of Lorraine, or ſome of his children, ought to bee preferred; and that by this meanes this houſe might at laſt recover their ancient right, which in elder times *Hugh Capet* had deprived them of: that the Spaniard favoured this familie, and would give his daughter in marriage, if one out of this ſtocke were choſen King. Others nominated the Duke of Savoy, born of the French Kings daughter, a neighbour Prince, potent and courageous. Some againe preferred the Duke of Guiſe, as one whoſe father and grandfather had well deſerved for propagating of the Catholike Religion. Some were advocates for the King of Spaine, as the moſt potent Prince. But the greateſt part gave ſentence for the Cardinall of Borbon, who was one degree neerer allied to the ſlaine King, than the King of Navarre his Nephew. Whereupon the Cardinall of Borbon was proclaimed King of France, and coine ſtamped with his image, and the title of *Charles* the tenth. Duke *Mainie*, brother to the Duke of Guiſe who was ſlaine, is Lievtenant Generall of the French Crowne; who ſtraightwaies levying forces, marcheth againſt the Navarran, who by his adherents was alſo proclaimed King of France, and abode at Diepe a ſea towne of Normandie, aſſuring himſelfe either to take him, or drive him out of France.

Divers nominated to the Crowne of France.

The King of Navarre proclaimed King of France.

The Navarran being thus ſtreightned, diſpatched his Meſſengers into England in all haſte, to implore aide from thence, and to make proffer of a League offenſive and defenſive. The Queene was loth to bee wanting to a King of the ſame Religion now in his neceſſity, who beſides was a man of a brave and warlike ſpirit; wherefore ſhe ſent him two and twenty thouſand pound ſterling in gold (ſuch a ſumme of gold as he profeſſed he had never ſeene before at one time) and ſupplied him with foure thouſand ſouldiers under the command of *Peregrine* Lord Willoughby. She appointed for Colonells, Sir *Thomas Wilford*, who was made Marſhall of the field, *John Boroughs*, Sir *William Drurie*, and Sir *Thomas Baskervill*, and gave them a moneths pay in hand. Hereupon the Confederates (whom the King had vanquiſhed a little before at the battell at Arques, beyond all expectation) their hopes now utterly failing them, vaniſhed away the day before the arrivall of the Engliſh.

The Queene releeveth him with men and mony.

The King receiving now this addition to his former forces, marched forward with his armie to Paris. The Engliſh and the Switzers were ordered to aſſault that part which lyeth betweene the Gate of S. *Marcell* and the river Seyne; and they, throwing downe the Trench and the other impediments, got to the very Gate of S. *Victor*, and were like to

enter

enter the Citie. But the King, who could not beleeve that ſo populous a place as Paris would be taken with ſo ſmall an armie, unwilling alſo that ſpoile ſhould be made of that Citie, which he hoped ſhortly to enjoy as his owne, cauſed a retreit to be ſounded. Afterward by the valiant aſſiſtance of the Engliſh he wonne many townes; who after they had maſtered all difficulties of a winter ſervice, having marched at leaſt five hundred miles on foot, returned with glory into England as many as remained alive. Captaine *Hunnings* dyed there a naturall death, and *Stubbs* likewiſe (he whoſe right hand was cut off, for the booke written againſt the Queenes marriage with the French Duke) and Sir *William Drurie* a proper Gentleman, ſlaine by Maſter *John Boroughes* in a ſingle combat; the quarrell was, that he being but a Knight would take place of *Boroughes* the younger ſonne of a Baron, contrarie to the Lawes of the Engliſh Gentrie. The Queene was not well pleaſed that the Engliſh were diſmiſſed, having gained certaine intelligence, that the Spaniard gaped for the Kingdome of France, propounding in a meeting of the Confederates of the holy league by *Mendoza*, and other his agents, that in lieu of his great aides and charge in maintaining them, he might be declared Protector of the Catholikes in France, with the ſame prerogatives which he enjoyed over the Kingdomes of Naples and Sicilie; and the Popes Nuntio endevouring to promote the buſineſſe, angered ſome of the moſt Catholike Frenchmen. 1589.

Queen Eliſabeth commendeth a wife to the King of Scots.

The Queene, as ſhee had an earneſt deſire to make the Crowne of France ſure to the King of Navarre, ſo ſhe was minded to give his ſiſter the Lady *Katharine* in marriage to the King of Scots, holding both theſe waies neceſſarie for the curbing of the projects of the Papiſts. But the buſineſſe ſucceeded not; for ſhe was ſomewhat in yeeres, nothing rich, and her brother brought low with chargeable warre. And the King of Scotland urging the Queen at every hand to commend a wife to him, and the matter not taking effect, the Scots began to ſuſpect, yea, to ſpeake openly, that the Engliſh could not endure the King ſhould have children, for feare his mothers death ſhould one day be revenged; and that they had a deſire moreover to barre the Scottiſh Nation from ſucceſſion to the Crowne. But when theſe rumours came to the Queenes eares, ſhee adviſed the King to pleaſe himſelfe in the choice of a wife; yet ſhee wiſhed hee would alſo have regard to the good of his people, and take ſuch a one as might bring no prejudice to the peace betwixt England and Scotland. He having ſet his affection a yeere ſince upon *Anne*, the daughter of *Frederick* the ſecond, King of Denmarke (whom the Queene alſo had commended to him) was eſpouſed to her this yeere by his Deputie. But ſhe ſailing for Scotland, was cruelly toſſed by ſtormes in the midway, and caſt upon Norway, and could not ſet to ſea againe, the ſhips were ſo ſhattered and weather-beaten: the King, making Queene *Eliſabeth* acquainted firſt with his purpoſe, ſet ſaile into Norway in the winter ſeaſon, that the marriage (according to the decree of the Nobles, and his owne vow) might be accompliſhed within the yeare. Which in like manner was ſolemnized, and the King faine to tarry in thoſe parts till May, the ſeaſon not fitting him to returne ſooner.

He marrieth the Lady Anne of Denmarke.

Some were of opinion, that theſe ſtormes and tempeſts were cauſed

1590. by the villanie of Witches and Wizzards, being more ſtrange than uſually came to paſſe by naturall cauſes. Which opinion of theirs was confirmed by ſome Witches taken in Scotland, who openly confeſſed they had raiſed thoſe tempeſts to keepe the Queene from landing in Scotland; and that the Earle of Bothwell had asked counſell of them concerning the Kings end: which being a capitall crime by the Lawes of that Country, he was caſt into priſon; but within a ſhort time he brake looſe and occaſioned new ſtirres in Scotland.

The death of the Counteſſe of Suſſex, and others.

This yeare departed this life in England *Francis* Counteſſe of Suſſex, widow of *Thomas Ratcliffe* Earle of Suſſex, and ſiſter to Sir *Henry Sidney*. She is worthily to be remembred, for that ſhee was the Foundreſſe of Sidney-Suſſex Colledge in Cambridge, herein following the patterne of Sir *Walter Mildmay*, who died about this time alſo; a man of ſingular wiſdome and integritie, who ſerved in ſundry offices of worth and credit under King *Henry* the eight, *Edward* the ſixt, and Queene *Elizabeth*, to whom he was privie Counſellor, Chancellor and Vicetreaſurer of the Exchequer, and was the founder of *Emanuel* Colledge in Cambridge in the yeare 1584. In like manner died *William Sommerſet* Earle of Worceſter, leaving his ſonne *Edward* to ſucceed him; who was ſo happy in his off-ſpring, that he could reckon more children of both ſexes than all the Earles of England. Alſo *John* Lord Sturton, the ſonne of *Charles* (whom Queene *Mary* made an example for committing homicide, though hee made accompt his religion would have borne him out) by *Anne Stanley* daughter to the Earle of Derbie: and *Henrie* Lord Compton; and at Bruxels the Lord Paget, who was exceedingly devoted to the Queene of Scots, and therefore in the yeare 1585. was faine to goe privily out of England.

1590. Reg. 33. The Queene repaireth her Navie, and ſupplieth the King of Navarre with monie.

As the Queenes carefull vigilancy for the Weale-publike was wonderfull, ſo had not her frugality beene anſwerable, it had not been poſſible for her to have compaſſed ſo great matters as ſhee daily effected. For the keeping of her Navie in repaire ſhe allowed a yearly ſumme of 8970. pounds ſterling: and albeit in the yeare 1587. ſhe lent the King of Navarre an hundred thouſand fifteen hundred and ſixty French crowns, for the levying of forces in Germanie againſt the Guiſes, and two and twenty thouſand pound ſterling the laſt yeare, beſides twenty thouſand crownes in the tranſporting of forces under the command of the Lord Willoughby; yet this preſent yeare ſhee ſupplyed him with 66666. crownes more, at two paiments, for the raiſing of a new Armie. Beſides, her continuall charge of maintaining ſouldiers in the Low-Countries, and the Garriſons in the Townes of Fluſhing and the Briel, and giving aide to the King of Scots, was exceeding great; and notwithſtanding all this, beyond all expectation, and to the great admiration of all men, ſhe payed backe the monies which ſhe had long ſince borrowed of her ſubjects. So that it was a wonder amongſt all men whence ſo great wealth ſhould ariſe, for ſhee was in no bodies debt (as almoſt all other Princes were) and defended her Kingdome without forreine help, which not one of the neighbour Princes was able to doe.

But ſhe was wonderfull frugall (as I ſaid) making no expences but ſuch as were for her honour and the publike neceſſity; nor did ſhee at any

1590.

any time charge her ſubjects with immoderat taxes, under the colourable names of benevolences, friendly aides, royall lones, nor the like, which other Princes are enforced oft times to doe. Yet ſhe looked ſomething more narrowly to the Cuſtomes than ſhe was wont to doe, upon the information of one *Caermarden* (although Burleigh, Leiceſter, and *Walſingham*, were offended that credit ſhould bee given to ſuch a one, and themſelves neglected) and *Thomas Smith* the Cuſtomer was raiſed from thirteene thouſand pounds yearely to 42. thouſand pounds, and at laſt payed fifty thouſand pounds for his yearely farme rent. The ſubjects indeed gave ſubſidies liberally, but the Queene oftentimes required leſſe aide than the Parliament expected, and referred to their conſideration and contriving, to make the wealthy ſort pay greater ſubſidies, that the meaner ſort might be eaſed; which project likewiſe was ſet on foot in the reigne of *Richard* the ſecond. But this device failed in the ſucceſſe, and having caſt it up, they found the ſubſidies would prove but weake and poore, if the meaner ſort (whom we call *Pound-men*) making the greateſt number, ſhould pay leſſe than they were wont to doe.

She raiſeth her Cuſtomes.

Very loth likewiſe the Queene was alwaies to give any occaſion of breach of amitie to her allies abroad; wherefore when as Groninge, a wealthy Towne of Frieſland, which could not endure the Spaniards command, nor would ſubmit to the States, fled to her for protection, ſhe refuſed to receive it, for feare of incurring the States offence. Shee was diſpleaſed with the Zealanders, for craving the French Kings protection (ſo he himſelf had intimated) without making the States of Holland acquainted; and at length made the Zealanders and Hollanders good friends. The ſhips of the Venetians and Florentines, which the Engliſh had ſeized on for prize, ſhe cauſed to bee reſtored backe upon intreaty of the great Duke of Tuſcanie, and by ſtrict Proclamation charged her ſubjects not to moleſt the Italians, Venetians, French, Danes, Netherlanders, nor thoſe of the Hanſe townes. But they vexed the Spaniards very ſorely, free-booting up and downe the Atlanticke ſea, and neere the Weſterne Ilands called the Azores, where the Spaniſh Fleet muſt needs paſſe from both the Eaſt and Weſt Indies. The Earle of Cumberland layd levell with the ground the Fort in the Iſle of Fiala, and carried away fifty eight peeces of great Ordnance. Then again they made way for themſelves through the Streits of Gibraltar amidſt the Spaniſh Gallies, battering them ſorely by the way, and then exerciſing Piracie farre and wide in the Maine.

She provideth for the Netherlands.

The Queenes renowne and glorie reſounding every where abroad, ſhe was able to procure a peace for the Polanders, at the hand of the Grand Seignior Emperour of Turkie, who vexed Moldavia and Poland with a cruell warre; for which kindneſſe the Pole and his Chancellor returned a thankfull acknowledgement. And to hold good correſpondence ſtill with the King of Scots, ſhee ſent to him *Edward* Earle of Worceſter, to congratulate his new marriage and returne from Denmarke, and to give him to underſtand, that ſhe had newly deſtinied to receive him and the French King into the Order of the Garter; but withall, to adviſe him to beware of the Popiſh faction in Scotland, and in

She procureth peace of the Turke for the Polanders.

1590. in time to keepe them under. He thankefully entertained the Queenes favour, and to ſhew his continued reſpect towards England, and deſire of the publike peace, ſent Colonell *Stuart* into Germanie, to make a treatie with the Dane and the German Princes, by what meanes a firme peace might be ſetled betweene Spaine, France, and England.

The Prince of Parma invadeth France.

France being now on fire with a civill combuſtion, raiſed (as I noted before) by the Spaniard and the Confederates of the Holy league, the Queene had an earneſt deſire to quench the flames of warre, and held frequent conſultations, by what meanes ſhee might beſt effect her purpoſe: whether by cauſing the old ſouldiers of the Engliſh, which were now in the Netherlands, to joyne with the Germane forces that were going for France; or by diſpatching a ſufficient armie into Flanders, hold the Prince of Parma employed, who had a deſigne for France. But her chiefe conſultation was, how to hinder the Spaniards from the Sea-coaſt of France; for ſhe had intelligence, that they ſought by underhand devices to get Haure de Grace into their hands, and intended to ſend a Fleet into Britaine by Sea.

In the middeſt of theſe conſultations, loe the Prince of Parma entreth France (for ſuch order he had from the Spaniard, who was overcome by the importunitie of the Confederates, to lend aide in defence the Catholike Religion) rangeth up and downe Picardie, releeveth Paris which was now ready to ſtarve, taketh the Townes of Carboile and Laignie, that proviſion might with leſſe difficulty be brought to Paris, raiſing fortifications and trenches like a brave and expert ſouldier, after the antique manner of the Romans; but held no good hand of Diſcipline over his ſouldiers, which exerciſed all manner of outrage, and in ſacrilegious ſort rifled Churches where they came.

The Spaniards invade the Port Townes of Britaine.

On the other ſide, the Spaniſh forces, beyond all expectation, about the winter Æquinoctiall make irruption into Blawet, a Port of Britaine by the ſea, under the conduct of *Don John D' Aquila*; beſiege and take Henebon a well fortified Towne, by the helpe of *Philip Emanuel* Duke of Merceur of the houſe of Lorreine, who had ſent for the Spaniards thither, hoping ſince the Confederates of the holy League had a purpoſe to part the territories of France among themſelves by the Poll, that the Dutchy of Britaine ſhould fall to his ſhare, by the King of Spaines helpe, and the right of his wife *Charlotte* of Britaine.

Aide requeſted of the Queene againſt them.

Againſt theſe Spaniards, as ſoone as ever they were arrived, *Henrie* of Burbon Prince of Dumbar craved auxiliarie forces from England; he was ſonne to the Duke of Mont-penſer, whom the French King together with *La Nove* had ſet over the government of Britaine. But the Queene and the Counſellors held it not meet to ſend forces at the requeſt of a ſubject, the King himſelfe making no ſuch intreatie, nor indeed knowing any thing of the matter; for he was engaged in very difficult affaires elſewhere. Yet was the Queene inwardly troubled for the ſtate of Britaine: For ſhe indeed could not well brooke that the Spaniard ſhould reduce into his power a Countrie ſo wealthy, ſo neere a neighbour to England, from whence he might have many opportunities to invade or moleſt England, Holland, or Zealand. And ſhee thought this concerned her more neerely, than of old it did concerne *Edward* the

third,

third, who at ſo great charges maintained the cauſe of *John de Monteſort*, to hinder the French themſelves from ſetting foot in Britaine. Yet ſome Counſellors were at hand, which adviſed the Queen to ſpare her coſt, and not trouble her ſelfe about the affaires of others, nor repoſing any truſt in the French; as being a treacherous Nation toward their owne Princes, having lately made away one King which was a reſolute Papiſt, and now tooke up armes againſt another, who is addicted to the reformed Religion, and behave themſelves now no leſſe ungratefully towards the Engliſh their beſt friends, than in times paſt when they were their mortall enemies, deceiving them daily in matter of money, uſing for a by-word to terme them *Les Anglois* whom they meane to coſen, &c. The Queene nevertheleſſe tendring the ſafetie of the French, and willing to purchaſe her ſelfe renowne, neglected theſe eare-wigs, holding them for envious detractors from the glorie of the moſt noble and potent Nation of the French. Yea, when ſome others (as well French as Engliſh) whiſpered her in the eare, that ſhe ſhould doe well to vindicate the ancient title of England to the Crowne of France; and now that the Confederates of the Union were cantonizing of France and ſharing it by the poll, ſhe ſhould ſtep in and ſeize upon Picardie and Normandie for her ſelfe: theſe of all the reſt ſhe could not endure, ſaying in great paſſion; That the evening of that day which put a period to the Kingdome of France, would doubtleſſe bring deſtruction to England. 1590.

Whiles theſe matters were in agitation, *Ambroſe Dudley* Earle of Warwicke, ſonne of *John* Duke of Northumberland, and brother to the late Earle of Leiceſter, being likewiſe Knight of the Garter, departed this life without iſſue. And ſhortly after him Sir *Francis Walſingham* Secretarie of State, Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaſter, and of the Order of the Garter; who died of an obdurate carnoſitie *intra teſtium tunicas*, if not rather of the violence of medicines miſ-applyed. He was (as all men know) a Stateſman wonderfull wiſe and induſtrious, one that had performed with applauſe many honourable Embaſſages, a great ſtickler for the reformed Religion, a diligent ſearch-maker after hidden projects, knowing how to winne mens mindes, and bring them about to his owne bent with ſingular artifice and cunning: inſomuch, that herein he oftentimes went beyond the Queenes expectation, and the Papiſts traduced him as a wily workman in packing of buſineſſes, and alluring men into danger. Sure enough he enquired ſo diligently, and gained ſuch intelligence touching the moſt ſecret plots and machinations againſt Religion, the Queene, and the State, and that at his owne proper charges, that he greatly weakened his eſtate, and being much indebted, was buried by night without any funerall pompe or ſolemnitie in the Cathedrall Church of St. *Paul* in London. Hee left behinde him one onely daughter, who bare to her firſt husband Sir *Philip Sidney* a daughter, which was afterward married to *Roger* Earle of Rutland; to *Robert* Earle of Eſſex her next husband, a ſonne and daughters; and to her third husband, the Earle of Clan-Ricard in Ireland, ſhe bare both ſonnes and daughters.

The death of the Earle of Warwicke, and of Sir Francis Walſingham.

Sir *Thomas Randolph* (who was very intimate with *Walſingham*) ſcarce ſurvived

1590. ſurvived him two moneths. Of him we have had occaſion to make frequent mention in the fore-paſſed ſtorie. His brother was that ſtout ſouldier *Edward Randolph*, ſlaine in Ireland in the yeare 1562. In his younger yeares he ſtudied the Civill Law in Chriſt Church and Broad-gates Hall in Oxford. After that hee was employed in ſundry Embaſſages, three times to the Nobles of Scotland when they were in an uprore, thrice to *Mary* Queene of Scots after her returne from France, ſeven times to *James* the ſixt King of Scots, thrice to *John Baſilides* Emperour of Ruſſia, once to *Charles* the ninth King of France, and againe to *Henrie* the third, he that was lately murthered there. His manifold deſerts toward the State, the Queene rewarded onely with the Chamberlaine-ſhip of the Exchequer, the chiefe Maſter-ſhip of the Poſt-horſes of England, and a few Manors. And he (although he had many children) affected no greater advancement. And out of a tender feeling in his conſcience, he adviſed his old friend Sir *Francis Walſingham* in letters a little before his death, that it was now high time for them both to bid adieu to the ſtratagems of State, the one to give over the wiles of a Secretarie, the other of an Embaſſadour, & to minde a heavenly Countrie, and cry God mercy for their fore-paſt offences. Soone after him followed Sir *James Croft*, who in the reigne of *Edward* the ſixt defended *Hadington* in Scotland againſt the French, and governed Ireland for a ſeaſon: in Queene *Maries* dayes he was condemned for high treaſon, but ſet free by Queene *Eliſabeth*, appointed Captaine of Berwicke, and Governour of the Eaſt border; afterwards Controller of the Queenes houſe, and a Delegate in the Treatie of Bourburg, touching a peace with the Spaniard, a little before the comming of the Armado. He was above all Court-envie, wherewithall notwithſtanding he was greatly hampered; yet attained to old yeares, and at length departed this life in favour with his Prince, and good eſteeme amongſt all men. After him died *George Talbot*, the ſon of *Francis*, the ſeventh Earle of Shrewſbury of this houſe. In his younger yeares, when his Father was Generall of the armie in the Scottiſh warre, he was ſent with three thouſand ſouldiers to ſuccour the Earle of Northumberland, being in danger at Lowicke, whom he ſoone ſet free; then was he made Captaine of five hundred horſemen in whole armour at the borders. At Queene *Eliſabeths* appointment, or rather by their cunning which ſought matter of cavill againſt him, the Queene of Scots was committed to his cuſtodie; and after the death of the Duke of Norfolke, being advanced to the dignitie of Earle Marſhall of England, he ſo well maintained his reputation in thoſe doubtfull times, againſt treacheries, Court detractions, and domeſticke troubles by his ſecond wife for fifteene yeares together, that he left behind him a memoriall of wiſdome and integritie, as well as of magnanimitie and valour. By his firſt wife, who was the daughter of *Thomas* Earle of Rutland, he had iſſue *Francis*, who came to an untimely end; *Gilbert* who ſucceeded his father in the Earldome, who alſo took to wife *Marie Cavendiſh* his Step-mothers daughter; *Edward*, who married the daughter and one of the heires of Baron *Ogle*, *Henrie* and *Thomas*; *Katharine* the wife to *Henrie* ſon to the Earle of Pembroke; *Marie*, wedded to Sir *George Savill*, and *Grace* wife to *Henrie Cavendiſh*; *Thomas* Lord

Wentworth

Sir Thomas Randolphs adviſe to Walſingham.

Sir James Croſts dieth.

The Earle of Shrewsbury dieth.

Wentworth, the laſt of the Engliſh that had been Governour of Callice, left this world likewiſe, leaving his ſecond ſonne *Henrie* (for the eldeſt died before his father) for his ſucceſſour. 1591.

The affaires of Ireland are not wholly to be neglected. There *Hugh Gaveloc*, ſo called, for that he had long beene kept in fetters, the naturall ſon of *Shan O-Neale*, accuſed *Hugh* Earle of *Tir-Oen* for holding private conſultation with certaine Spaniards, who in 88. by ſhipwrack were caſt upon the coaſt of Ireland. The Earle, to prevent the accuſation, tooke the ſaid *Hugh*, and commanded him to be ſtrangled; and the wild Kerns, out of an awfull reſpect to the name of *O-Neale*, refuſing to act the villanie, he himſelfe tooke the cord and diſpatched him. Hereupon he was ſent for into England, and craving the Queenes mercy, obtained her pardon, and in preſence of the Queene at Greenwich ſolemnely undertooke to maintaine peace with *Turlogh Leinigh*, and the reſt of his neighbours; not to uſurpe the title of *O-Neale*, nor any authoritie over the Gentrie about him; to reduce the Territorie of *Tir-Oen* to the forme of a Countie and civill behaviour; not to exact any Bonaghty of the Queens ſubjects neere him; to put none to death but according to law, and many ſuch like matters, giving hoſtages for the true performance of his covenant; but interpoſing a caveat, that *Turlogh Leinigh* and the reſt of the Potentates ſhould bee bound not to moleſt him. Being ſent backe into Ireland, he undertooke thus much alſo in the preſence of *Fitz-Williams* the Deputie, and the Councell there. And for a time truely he obſerved all theſe things very duly, and in him were evident many tokens of magnanimitie and valour, a body that could endure labour, watching and hunger, an induſtrious inclination, a lofty ſpirit, and meet for the weightieſt employments, great skill in militarie affaires, abilitie to carrie matters out with profound diſſembling, ſo that he was thought to bee born for the great good or great hurt of Ireland. A little time paſt, *Hugh Roe Mac-Mahon*, a Potentate in the Territorie of Monaghan, with diſplaied colours compelled thoſe under his juriſdiction to pay him tribute, after the barbarous manner of the Countrie: him the Deputie cauſed to bee taken and tried by a Jurie of common ſouldiers (as the Iriſh made complaint) and then to bee hanged up, dividing his lands amongſt certaine Engliſh and ſome of the *Mac-Mahons*, reſerving a certaine yeerely rent to the Crowne of England, by this meanes thinking to extinguiſh the power and title of *Mac-Mahon*. Whereupon *O-Rorke* fearing he ſhould be ſerved in the like nature, tooke up armes againſt the Queene, but *Bingham* Preſident of Conaught ſoone quaſhed his power and drave him into Scotland; whom the King delivered into the Queenes hands at her requeſt, duely performing all other offices of neighbourhood and alliance, and profeſſing to hold them for his owne enemies, who any way oppoſed or reſiſted the Queene of England.

Tir-Oen accuſed by Gavelock.

When all theſe matters were over-paſt, no one thought ſo much diſquieted the Queenes mind, as that Britaine upon the ſea-coaſt of France was like to come into the Spaniards hands, and how to ſuccour the Navarran in his extremitie. Wherefore about the beginning of Januarie, ſhee diſpatched *Edmund Yorke* into France, gently blaming him for his ſilence

1591. Reg. 34.

1591. ſilence by letters and meſſengers for three whole moneths paſt, warning him how neceſſarie a thing it was to take care in time for Britaigne, and exciting him by any meanes to hinder the Prince of Parma, who had a thought to make a new impreſſion into France, and to joyne his forces to the Spaniards now in Britanie; and to drive them away, ſhe promiſed aide both by ſea and land, if he would nominate ſome Haven and place where their forces ſhould betake themſelves, and joyne a competent ſtrength of his owne to them. He commended the Queens forwardneſſe, gave her many thankes, requeſted three thouſand ſouldiers for the warre of Britaigne, and ſome Companies to be ſent into Picardie out of hand. Port-townes he named, Cherburg, Granvile, or Breſt, for the fitteſt, but Blawet as the moſt convenient (jeſtingly, I ſuppoſe, for the Spaniards had taken that) and gave authoritie to Mounſieur *Beavoir* his legier Embaſſadour in England, to make the agreement; who with the Treaſurer Burleigh, *Charles Howard* Lord Admirall, and Hunſdon, the Queenes Delegates, ſet downe theſe conditions; That three thouſand Engliſh ſhould be ſent into Britanie and Picardie; the King ſhould defray the charge of their pay, of the munition, and other arrerages, in London, within a yeere or ſooner, if the enemie were removed. The Queene condeſcended to this charge the more gladly, becauſe ſhe had notice that the Spaniards were received into Paris (the Metropolis of all France) and that the inhabitants acknowledged the King of Spaine for their leige Lord and Soveraigne, not daigning to grace their owne lawfull King with any other title than the Bearnois; ſo that from hence the Spaniard conceived hope to gaine the Dominion of all France, and that Pope *Gregorie* the thirteenth, to that very intent had levied forces in Italie and Switzerland, againſt the Navarran, under the conduct of Duke *Montmartin*, and had ſent forth his Bull of Excommunication againſt him, which notwithſtanding the Parliament now holden at Tours, cauſed to be nayled by a Hangman to a Gibbet, and then fired. Then the Queene made Proclamation throughout England, that no perſon ſhould tranſport any victuall or munition to any of the Ports of France, holden by the Confederates of the holy league, nor trafficke with them, upon paine of high treaſon, the which the King of Scots had forbidden before. *Henrie Palmer* was ſent forth with certaine ſhips of warre, and ſeized upon thirteene of their ſhips returning from *Nova Francia*. *Roger Williams*, with a Companie of ſixe hundred ſouldiers, paſſeth over to Diepe in Normandie, where the enemie hovered, and had expreſſe charge not to ſtirre from thence; and Sir *John Norris* with the reſt of the forces wafted into Britanie ſoone after. They, together with the Kings armie, aſſaulted Lamball, which the Confederates held, but to no purpoſe; and ſome trouble they wrought to the Spaniards and the Confederates, but got no ground of them.

The Queene contracteth with the French King, but warily enough.

A Proclamation againſt the French leaguers.

Sir Roger Williams quitteth himſelfe manfully.

Roger Williams, with his owne ſixe hundred, and the helpe of *Charter* Governour of Diepe, breaking through the fence at Cinqueſſaunce, made of wine veſſells faſtned in the ground, put to rout the Confederates which blocked up the paſſages; whoſe valour the French King in his letters to the Queene highly extolled. Whereupon he grew more couragious, and not minding his charge (which was to tarrie at Diepe) accompanied

companied the French King to the very Suburbs of Paris; where hee sent a challengers bill to the Spaniards, to encounter two hundred Pikemen of the English and an hundred Musketiers, with as many Spaniards in open field. Immediately upon his returne backe to Diepe, the King sent for him againe: he, contrarie to his Commission, led his forces straightway to Noyon, where he shewed himselfe too prodigall of the English bloud, exposing his souldiers to manifest dangers in a desperate assault, not making the Queene acquainted; who therefore tooke it heinously at his hands. 1591.

The French King desireth more aide of the Queen.

About this time the Navarran or French King gave the Queene intimation, that he had a resolution to set upon Rohan, and Haure de grace or New-haven, before the Prince of Parma should march into France; for which purpose he requested her to send foure thousand English into Normandie, and to give them two moneths pay: if they tarried longer, he would make pay to them himselfe, and promised to be ready to meet them with his owne forces at their landing: in the meane time he would make stay in Italie, that they of Rohan might have no suspition of his intent. The Queene (whose greatest desire was bent to have the enemies removed farther from the sea-coast) yeelded willingly to his request: and not many daies were passed ere those forces were levied, and arrived at Deipe under the command of *Robert* Earle of Essex, a stout young man, and in great favour with the Queen. A great number of Gentrie accompanied him, and Sir *Thomas Leighton*, and Sir *Henrie Killegrew*, men of wisdome and experience, were appointed for his Counsellors. When he was arrived in France, he found that the King was at Noyon, saw no warlike preparation in Normandie against the enemie, nor could tell what to doe with his forces; wherefore he grew somewhat angry, and made account that the English were but unkindly dealt withall. By and by Sir *Roger Williams* posteth to him, and on the Kings behalfe requesteth him to make haste to Noyon, that they might conferre concerning a course of warre. Thither hee made a tedious journey, where the King told him, that he was now upon necessitie to goe into Campaigne, and joyne his forces with the German armie, but promiseth to send Marshall *Biron*, and the Duke of *Montpensier* forthwith to lay siege to Rohan. This being agreed upon, the Earle returned to his Tents; where, to win the hearts of his souldiers to him, he knighted some of them at Arques, to the great offence of some of Knights degree here at home, since the Queen was alwaies very sparing in conferring of that honour. But now *Biron* and *Montpensier* appeare not; the one was gone into Champaigne to the marriage of the Viscount of Turin, the other turned aside to lay siege to the Fort called Pont-Roch. Upon this the French King sent M. *Reaux* into England, to shew for what causes he could not as yet lay siege to Rohan. Essex the meane while lay in his Tents, having no employment, to his great discontentment; for he was all on fire to get honour. One approach he made to Rohan, where his brother *Walter* was slain with a bullet. Whereupon the Queen sent him letters of reproofe for approaching the towne, and travelling to the King before she was made acquainted. But he quickly pacified her, and having little to doe, lent Mounsieur *Biron* his aide in the expugnation of *Gorney*.

The Earle of Essex sent with an armie.

1591. Now the French King ſendeth to the Queen, to requeſt that the Earle might joyne himſelfe to his forces in Champagne, as if he tooke no thought for the beſieging of Rohan. This the Queene tooke not well at his hands, complaining, that ſhe and her ſubjects were deluded by him, branding him with unthankfulneſſe, and giving him to underſtand, that ſhe was reſolved to call home her armie out of Normandie, unleſſe hee tooke order for their pay, and kept his word better with her. Hee by excuſing himſelfe from his many avocations and difficult affaires, appeaſed the Queene. In the beginning of November he began to beſiege Rohan, ſent the Earle of Eſſex into England for freſh ſupplies; who made a ſpeedy returne, and upon Chriſtmaſſe Eve they ſet upon S. *Katharines* Fort, at foure places at once, where he expoſed the Engliſh to all the danger. At the ſame time the King ſent *Morney* Lord Du Pleſſie for new forces againſt the Prince of Parma, who was now at hand; which the Queene denied not, but blamed his ſlow proceeding to the ſiege of Rohan; and wiſhed that the Engliſh might be ſomewhat more kindly dealt withall, and not be put upon the whole hazzard.

Hackets blaſphemous madneſſe.

The ſtrange blaſphemie of *Hacket* and his adherents, although it would even affright a man to ſet downe in writing, yet would not altogether be paſſed over in ſilence, that poſteritie may know how farre prepoſterous zeale doth oft-times miſlead thoſe which are poſſeſſed therewithall. This *Hacket* was a meane fellow, borne at Oundale in Northamptonſhire, one of no learning, yet inſolent and audacious; ſo greedy of revenge, that when, in ſhew of reconciliation to an honeſt Schoolemaſter, with whom hee had beene at variance, he embraced him, he bit off his noſe; and the poore man beſeeching him to give it againe, that it might be ſowed on whiles the wound was greene, he villainouſly (as the report goeth) eate it up, and ſwallowed it before his face: and was moreover ſo debauched and irreligious, that what he heard at ſermons, he uſually made ſport withall amongſt this companions at Ordinaries and Tipling-houſes. After all, having prodigally waſted the ſmall eſtate he had with his wife being a widow, all on the ſudden he tooke upon him a ſhew of wonderfull holineſſe, did nothing but heare ſermons, get ſcriptures by heart; and counterfeiting I wot not what revelations from heaven, and an extraordinarie calling from God, grew great with divers perſons; yea, and with the zealous Miniſters that were all on fire to bring in the Geneva diſcipline: one of which was *Wigginton*, a cock-brained fellow, and a contemner of authoritie. By his meanes hee was brought acquainted with *Edmund Coppinger*, a Gentleman of a good houſe, who had firſt perſwaded himſelfe, and then *Arthington*, a great admirer of Genevaniſme, that he was extraordinarily called of God for the good of his Church; and that a way was revealed to him from heaven, by what meanes to convert the Queene and her Counſellors, to admit of the new diſcipline forſooth: for he had before time learned of his teachers, that God doth daily ſtirre up extraordinary labourers in his Church. And being now even overjoyed in ſpirit, he gladly communicated the matter to *Hacket*, who by his coloured holineſſe, fervent and continuall praying *ex tempore*, faſting upon the Lords day, making frequent bragges, that he had many conflicts with Satan, and pretending

His originall.

His adherents.

heaven-

heavenly revelations, and often conferences with God, which he averred with moſt bitter execrations, he grew into ſo great eſteeme with that ſort of men, that they beleeved, yea averred that he was one of Gods beloved ones, greater than *Moſes* and St. *John Baptiſt*. And he himſelfe made ſhew, that hee was ſent as a Prophet to foretell Gods judgements, where his mercy was neglected; prophecying, that there ſhould be no more Popes, and that England this preſent yeere ſhould be afflicted with famine, warre, and peſtilence, unleſſe the Lords Diſcipline, and reformation were forthwith admitted. For the bringing in whereof, they conſpired to accuſe the Arch-biſhops of Canterburie and Yorke (who were no friends to the Diſciplinarians) of high treaſon; to make away them and ſome others, if they pronounced ſentence againſt the Puritans in the Star-chamber; by verſes ſet forth in print to ſtirre up the multitude to rebellion, in which (amongſt other matters) they averred, that it was lawfull for a true Chriſtian, though he were a poore Countriman, to informe Kings how to manage their Scepters; and to depoſe the Queene her ſelfe, if ſhe would not promote the reformation. *Hacket*, (it ſeemes) had put on a bitter hatred againſt the Queen, for he often caſt out ſpeeches that ſhe had loſt her right to the Crowne, and ſtabbed with his dagger her armes and picture whereſoever hee ſaw them. And this was no wonder, for he made himſelfe beleeve that God had appointed him for King over Europe, and could not therefore endure a partner. And he perſwaded *Coppinger* and *Arthington*, that they were inſpired not onely with a propheticall, but even with an angelicall ſpirit. Who being now full of the ſpirit, performed all manner of obedience to him, as their King appointed over them by God himſelfe; and from that time ſet themſelves to raiſe ſedition and tumults. Whereupon in July they came to a Gentleman, and dedicated to him the deſcription of *Hackets* life, together with *Arthingtons* prophecie: but he pretended other affaires and minded them not. Anon they intimate to *Wigginton*, that Chriſt appeared to them the laſt night, not in body as he ſitteth in heaven, but in that eſpeciall ſpirit, by which he dwelleth in *Hacket*, more than in any other; and that *Hacket* was the very Angell, which ſhould come before day of judgement with his fanne and ſhepheards hooke, to diſtinguiſh the ſheepe from the goats, to tread downe Satan, and ruine the kingdome of Antichriſt. From *Wigginton* they went to *Hacket*, who lay lazing upon his bed, and they fell downe upon their knees by him, powring out moſt fervent prayers; *Hacket* roſe and joyned with them in praier, uſing many words, and praying that the ſpirit might direct them to Gods glory; and then tooke him to his bed againe.

1591.

They conſpire againſt ſome of the Counſellors.

Their blaſphemous opinions.

Straightwaies *Arthington* adviſed *Coppinger* to anoint their King in the name of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt: hee bending himſelfe three times to the ground and kiſſing the floore, came to *Hacket*, who put him by with his hand, ſaying; It is not needfull you ſhould anoint me, for the Holy Ghoſt hath anointed me already: goe you your waies and doe as I command you. Goe and tell up and downe the Citie that Jeſus Chriſt is come with his fanne in his hand to judge the world. If any aske you where he is, direct them to this place: if they will not beleeve you, let them come and ſee if they can kill me. As ſure as God is in heaven, no

Hacket ſendeth his Prophets to proclaime him.

1591. leſſe aſſuredly is Chriſt now come to judge the world. He had no ſooner ſpake the word, but they ran forth, crying along the ſtreets, *Chriſt is come, Chriſt is come*, and with a loud voice, *Repent, repent*, till they came to Cheapſide: where being thronged with the multitude, they get up into a Cart, and partly by heart, partly by helpe of their notes, make proclamation that *Hacket* participated of Chriſts glorified body by his eſpeciall ſpirit, and was now come with his fanne to propagate the Goſpell over Europe, to ſettle the Diſcipline and the Common-wealth in England (withall pointing out the place of his abode) and that they themſelves were two Prophets, the one of mercy, the other of judgement, appointed to be his fellow-helpers in this great and weightie buſineſſe. And they tooke it upon their ſalvation, that theſe things were all moſt true. Alſo they added moreover, that *Hacket* was the only ſupreme Monarch, and that all the Kings of Europe held of him as his vaſſalls; wherefore he onely ought to be obeyed and the Queene to be depoſed: finally, they called for vengeance upon the Archbiſhop, and *Hatton* the Chancellour, as the enemies of the Goſpel. Now not being able for the preaſe to get into any other part of the City to preach this new Goſpel, at the admonition of their friends, they gat away and returned to *Hackets* lodging.

Hacket and his inſtruments admired.

Soone after they were apprehended, and brought before the Juſtices, and the Lords of the Councell, to be examined; but they behaved themſelves in moſt diſorderly and contemptuous faſhion, not moving their hats, but anſwering in malapart manner, that they were above all Magiſtrates. *Hacket* being afterwards arraigned for treaſon, confeſſed himſelfe guiltie, and by his blaſphemous anſweres amazed the ſtanders by. Being condemned, he was drawne upon a hurdle to Cheap ſide, the place of his execution, horridly exclaiming all the way, *Jehovah the Meſsias, Jehovah the Meſsias: Behold heaven is opened, behold the ſonne of the moſt high is comming downe to deliver me.* At the Gallowes, being counſelled to acknowledge his offence againſt God and the Queene, the wicked impe reviled the Queenes perſon, and blaſphemouſly brake forth into theſe ſpeeches; *Almighty everlaſting God, Jehovah, Alpha and Omega; Lord of Lords, King of Kings, the everlaſting God, thou knoweſt that I am the true Jehova, whom thou haſt ſent; ſhew ſome miracle from the Clouds for the converſion of theſe Infidels, & deliver me from mine enemies; If not* (I tremble to relate the reſt) *I will fire the heavens, and with theſe hands pluck thee from thy Throne*; uttering other ſpeeches more horrible. When the Hangman went to put the halter about his neke, *Thou baſtard* (quoth he) *doſt thou hang thy King?* When the rope was made faſt, hee caſt up his eyes toward heaven, and grinning, cried out, *Is this the Kingdome I was to have? I am comming to bee revenged.*

Their behaviour before the Councell.

Horrible blaſphemous ſpeeches uttered by Hacket.

Thus hee continued blaſpheming, till hee was turned off, the people calling to have the villaine cut downe preſently; which, according to the ſentence given againſt him, was done, and hee was bowelled and quartered. Lo, thus doth the enemie of mankind bewitch thoſe who hee ſeeth are not content to be wiſe unto ſobrietie. *Copinger* within a while after ſtarved himſelfe to death in the priſon; *Arthington* publiſhed a recantation and repentance in writing.

In

1591.

In theſe times not theſe alone, but others likewiſe, oppoſing the eſtabliſhed government of the Church of England, diſallowed the calling of Biſhops; and having hitherto railed upon the Prelacie, now got ſome common Lawyers to ſide with them, and wrote againſt the Church government; affirming that the Queene could not depute, nor theſe men exerciſe any ſuch Eccleſiaſticall juriſdiction; declaime againſt the oath *ex Officio*, and that no man was bound to accuſe himſelfe, &c. On the other ſide, the profeſſors of the Civill and Canon Law propugned the Queenes ſupreme authoritie in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall, wherewithall ſhe was inveſted by Act of Parliament. And that to gaine-ſay this, was no other than to flie in the face of ſacred Majeſtie, lay Prerogatives in the duſt, and breake the Oath of Allegeance; and by many other ſolid reaſons confuted theſe new fangle-opinions; the diſputes of which ſubject are in print, and may eaſily be gotten. The Queene likewiſe perceiving that through the ſides of the Prelates ſhe was ſhot at, bare them out againſt all their oppoſites, and maintained the Eccleſiaſticall Juriſdiction.

The Puritans impugne the authoritie of the Biſhops.

About this time *Thomas Howard*, ſecond ſonne to the Duke of Norfolke, with ſixe of the Queenes ſhips, awaited the comming of the Spaniſh fleet from America, or the new World, for ſixe whole moneths. And whiles he lay at Anchor by the Azores, and the greateſt part of his Mariners were ſicke (for ſouldiers hee had none) *Alphonſo Baſſano* with 53. ſhips for the Convoy of the American Fleet, came upon him on ſuch a ſuddaine, that they had much adoe to get forth into the Maine. *Richard Greenvill*, who was in the Vice-Admirall called the Revenge, tarrying for ſome of his men that were aſhore, and becauſe out of a kinde of raſh valour he would not hoiſe up ſailes, was hemmed in betweene the Iſland and the Fleet of Spaniards, which parted themſelves into foure ſquadrons; and thinking courageouſly to breake through one of them, the Spaniſh Admirall ſo ſhadowed him on the one ſide, that hee had no benefit of the wind; and on the other, three ſhips of the Spaniards aſſailed him at once, and the Spaniards endeavouring to board him, were ſome driven backe to their owne ſhips, and others caſt into the ſea and drowned. But at length the Engliſh had ſpent all their powder, all their ſtouteſt men were ſlaine or ſore wounded, the maine maſt cut off, the ſhip battered with eight hundred great ſhot, *Greenvill* while he was under the Chirurgions hands wounded againe in the head, and the Chirurgion ſlaine at the ſame time. When they had fought fifteene houres, and no hope of ſafety left, *Greenvill* commanded to ſinke the ſhip; the Maſter of the ſhip countermanded that word, and by moſt voices it was concluded to yeeld to the Spaniards, upon condition the men ſhould be ſet at libertie, and not made to ſerve in the Gallies. *Greenvill* now languiſhing, and even at the point of death, was carried into the Spaniſh Admirall; where within two dayes he yeelded up the ghoſt, his very enemies giving him the praiſe of a valiant Captaine. The Revenge was yeelded, but had ſo many leakes in the keele, that together with two hundred Spaniards ſent aboord on her, and ſome other veſſels, ſoone after it was caſt away in a ſtorme. Thus was this a deare victorie to the Spaniards. *Howard* having more

A reſolute Sea-fight.

The Revenge is yeelded.

Greenvil dieth.

1591. courage than ſtrength, would faine have gone into the middeſt of them; but the Maſter of the ſhip would not permit him to expoſe the Queenes ſhips to undoubted hazzard. But this loſſe the Engliſh ſoone made good upon the Spaniards, taking many of their ſhips for this one; and in one of them were found about two millions of Popiſh Indulgences going for America: for the Indians were enforced to buy a great number of them yearely.

About this time *Cavendiſh*, who in the yeare 1578. ſailed round about the world, with five ſhips bent his courſe toward the Magellan ſtreits; but by reaſon of foule weather could not paſſe them, and being driven to the coaſt of Braſile, was there caſt away.

A Proclamation to prohibit carriage of munition, &c. into Spaine.

Enmity by theſe meanes increaſing daily betweene Spaine and England, Proclamation was made, that no man upon paine of high treaſon ſhould tranſport any victuals, munition, maſt or cordage, into any of the dominions of the King of Spaine, who was the profeſſed enemie of the Kingdome of England. And becauſe the Popiſh Prieſts ſwarmed hither daily from the Seminaries of Rome, France, and Spaine (for the Spaniard had lately founded a Seminarie at Valledolit for the Engliſh) and theſe withdrew the Queenes liege people from their allegiance; in the moneth of October Proclamation was made, that no perſon ſhould entertaine any into their houſes, till enquirie were firſt made who hee was, whether he was wont to goe to Church, where hee lived, which was the place of his laſt abode, and the like: which Edict the Popiſh writers ſcandalized, as a thing too ſevere and cruell, laying the blame upon Burleigh Lord Treaſurer as the cauſer of the ſame, but commending *Hatton* as one more favourably enclined to their partie: but he died the day before the Proclamation was ſent forth. Hee was borne of a houſe in Northamptonſhire not very wealthy, but of good antiquity. When he was a young man, proper of body, and of a lovely countenance, the Queene ſo highly favoured him, that ſhe firſt made him one of her Penſioners, afterwards Captaine of the Guard, Privie Counſellor, at laſt Knight of the Garter, and Lord Chancellor of England. Hee was a Gentleman of pious diſpoſition, pitifull toward the poore, and very liberall to Schollers; whereupon the Univerſitie of Oxford choſe him for their Chancellor. His funerall was ſolemnized with great pompe in the Cathedrall Church of St. *Paul* at London, and there *William Newport* his Nephew by his ſiſter, erected a ſumptuous Monument to his memoriall, whoſe name he changed and made him his adopted ſonne and heire. The keeping of the great Seale for certaine moneths was committed to the Lord Treaſurer, *Hunſdon*, *Cobham*, and *Buckhurſt*; afterward *Puckering* the Queenes Serjeant at Law, was created not Chancellor, but Lord Keeper of the Great Seale.

Harton dieth.

O Rork arraigned.

Brien O-Rorke the Iriſh Potentate, and a favourer of the Spaniſh faction, whom the King of Scots lately ſent into England, was now arraigned in Weſtminſter Hall; his enditements were, that hee had ſtirred up *Alexander Mac-Connell* and others to rebell againſt the Queene; had ſcornefully dragged the Queenes picture at a horſe taile, and diſgracefully cut the ſame in peeces; given the Spaniards entertainement againſt the Proclamation made by the Deputie; fired many houſes of

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the Queenes loyall ſubjects, &c. This being told him by an Interpreter (for he underſtood no Engliſh) he ſaid that hee would not ſubmit himſelfe to a triall by twelve men, nor make anſwer, except the Queene ſate in perſon to judge him. The Lord chiefe Juſtice made anſwere againe by an Interpreter, that whether he would ſubmit himſelfe or not to a triall by a Jurie of twelve, he ſhould be judged by Law according to the particulars alledged againſt him. Whereunto he replied nothing but thus, *If it muſt be ſo, let it be ſo.* Being condemned to die, he was ſhortly after carried to Tyburne to be executed as a Traitour, whereat he ſeemed to be nothing moved, ſcorning the Archbiſhop of Caſſile, who was there to counſell him for his ſoules health, becauſe he had broken his vow, from a Franciſcan turning Proteſtant. 1592.

This yeare the Queene made the Colledge of Dublin in Ireland an Univerſitie, which was formerly the Monaſterie of all Saints, endowing it with the priviledges of an Academie, and power to conferre Scholaſticall degrees.

How powerfull and prevalent a thing malice is, and how tickliſh a thing to live at Court, let this enſuing example teach. All over Ireland was a diligent and ſcrupulous inquirie made, into the life, actions, words, & carriage of Sir *John Perot*, late Lord Deputy there; whom for his wiſedome and laudable managing of that place, the Queene had lately favoured, and taken into the number of her Privie-Counſellors: but the Chancellour *Hatton*, in favour of one of his followers, and others that envied his riſing at Court, holding him a proud man, laboured to bring him into diſgrace. And to this iſſue they brought the buſineſſe, that having found an Informer or two in Ireland, they would needs bring the matter to a triall, though the Treaſurer Burleigh laboured to hinder it, and *Hatton* was now dead. The Delegates for his triall were the Baron Hunſdon, *Thomas* Lord Buckhurſt, *Robert Cecill* ſonne to Burleigh, (whom the Queene for the comfort of his father had lately taken into favour, and made Privie-Counſellor) Sir *John Forteſcue*, Sir *John Wolley*, and ſome of the Judges. 1592. Reg. 35. Inquirie into Sir Iohn Perots life.

His accuſations were, firſt, that he had ſpoken opprobrious words againſt the Queenes Majeſtie; to wit, that he had ſaid ſhee was illegitimate, cowardly and nice, that ſhee regarded not ſouldiers, had hindred him from bringing of Ulſter into good order, and that one day ſhe ſhould want his helpe. Secondly, that hee had foſtered notorious traitors and Popiſh prieſts. Thirdly, that hee held private correſpondence with the Prince of Parma and the Queenes enemies. Fourthly, that hee had favoured the Rebellions of *O-Rorke* and thoſe of the Familie of *Burke*. Hee could not denie that hee had ſpoken ſomewhat diſdainfully of the Queenes Majeſtie, but ſaith, that he had no evill intention toward her perſon, and ſhewed great ſorrow, that in heat and paſſion hee had fooliſhly and unadviſedly ſpoken, when hee was offended indeed that he could not be ſuffered to goe on in things which hee had fairely begun for the good of Ireland, as hee verily beleeved. The reſt of the objections he eaſily anſwered, which could not be confirmed by evident preſumptions, or ſufficient witneſſes, and all men knew that he was no wayes affected to the Popiſh religion. His accuſations.

The

1592. The chiefe of his informers and witneſſes were *Philip Williams*, ſometimes his Secretarie, *Denis O-Roghan* an Iriſh married Prieſt, whoſe life he had ſpared; ſo was the old proverbe fulfilled, *Save a Theefe from the Gallowes*, &c. and *Walton* a fellow of no worth nor reputation. And when he had ſtoutly pleaded his owne cauſe, againſt *Popham* and the reſt of the Lawyers, till eleven a clocke at night, he was in the end by the Jury pronounced guilty of treaſon. His ſentence was deferred till another time, but by the importunitie of his adverſaries denounced twenty dayes after. At which time Burleigh was ſaid with teares to have bewailed his fortune, ſaying, *Malice, the leſſe cauſe it hath, the more cruell it is.* *O-Roghan* the Prieſt had an annuitie of twenty pounds aſſigned him. *Perot* died in the Tower a naturall death, although he was told that the Queene was pacified in regard of him. His goods came to his ſonne, to whom they were entailed before.

Sir Iohn Perot condemned.

The Earle of Eſſex having undergone a tedious Winter ſiege in Normandie, and the French King not greatly minding the buſineſſe, the Earle to get ſome honour challenged Mounſieur *Villarſe* Governour of Roan to a ſingle combat; but he would not meet him: then leaving his forces to Sir *Roger Williams*, he bade the French King adieu, & haſtened into England, being called home by the Queen, and warned by his friends that his rivals at Court ſought to thruſt him out of favour now in his abſence. The French King hearing that the Prince of Parma was now comming into France, raiſed the ſiege of Roan, & with the forces he had left (for a great part of his company ſtole away) went to Diepe: and being overwhelmed with the difficulties of a toileſome and tedious warre, he was faine to flie to the Queene for ſuccour, requeſting munition and 6000. ſouldiers for the warre of Britaine. She granted an armie of 4000. and ſome great Ordnance; upon condition that the King ſhould make no peace with the Confederates of the Holy-league, except they firſt ſubmitted themſelves, and gave their aſſiſtance to drive the Spaniards out of France; nor yet with the Spaniards, till ſhe conſented; that hee ſhould aſſigne a fenced Port towne for the Engliſh in Britaine, joyne to them 4000. foot of French and a thouſand horſe, defray the charges of theſe new forces within a yeare. Hereupon *Norris* is ſent into France. Who when he came thither, the French joyned not themſelves, nor kept their words in any thing; but he was called to ſerve in Normandy, and up and down, the Spaniards in the mean time getting ſure footing in Britain. Hereupon the Queen grew very angry, expoſtulated the matter by letters, but all in vain, and had a purpoſe to call home her men, but that ſhe heard that the Prince of Parma was making ready for a third expedition into France. But death prevented him, when he had governed the Netherlands under the Spaniard 14. yeeres: a Prince abſolutely accompliſhed with all vertue, whom Queene *Eliſabeth* never mentioned but with a great deale of honour.

Succours ſent to the French King.

Shee aſſuring her ſelfe that the Spaniard waged warre, not by his ſtrength ſo much as by the gold of America, wherewithall he diveth into the ſecrets of Princes, and corrupts the loyaltie of their ſubjects, reſolveth to ſend Sir *Walter Raleigh* with a fleet of fifteene ſhips to meet with the Spaniſh fleet: but hee paſſing by a Promontorie of Spaine, had

Sir Walter Raleigh ſent to intercept the Spaniſh fleet.

had certaine intelligence, that the Spaniard had given command that no America ſhip ſhould ſtirre that yeere; wherefore failing of this opportunitie, at his returne he divided his Navie into two parts, committing the one part to Sir *John Burroughs*, and the other to Sir *Martin Fourbiſher*; charging the one to keepe the coaſt of Spain, that no ſhipping ſtirre forth thence, and the other to wait at the Iſlands of the Azores, if any Caraques came from the Eaſt-Indies. And this advice ſped not amiſſe, for the Spaniſh Admirall eying *Fourbiſher*, looked not to defend the Caraques. *Burroughs* after a few daies eſpied a Caraque of Portugall, which three Engliſh ſhips of the Earle of Cumberlands waited for; but could not come neere her, there was ſo great a calme. In the night a ſtorme ariſing, the Engliſh & the Portugalls alſo were enforced to take up Anchors. At breake of day, they beheld the Portugalls carrie out their lading to the ſhore; and when the Engliſh came neere, threw wild-fire into their ſhips. But *Burroughs* learning by one or two which he had taken priſoners, that ſome greater Caraques were behind at two Leagues diſtance, reſolved to expect their comming. Anon came a mightie Caraque in view, called the *Mother of God*, which from the Beake to the Sterne was 165. foot long, built with ſeven Deckes, and carrying 600. men, beſide rich merchandize. This vaſte veſſell the Engliſh tooke without any great difficultie. The prize was valued to an hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterlin, beſides what the Commanders, Sea-men, and Souldiers had pilfered. And there being a narrow ſearch made for theſe goods, and Proclamations ſet out againſt ſuch as ſtole Cuſtome, all would doe no good to make them bring in their ſpoiles. Yea, they denied them upon Oath; ſaying afterwards, they had rather hazzard their ſoules by perjurie to a mercifull God, than leave the goods which they had gotten with ſo much danger to mercileſſe men.

1592.

A Caraque of Portugall expected.

A great Spaniſh Caraque taken.

The Queene going on progreſſe this Summer, paſſed through Oxford, where ſhe was entertained with moſt exquiſite Orations, Stage-Plaies, Diſputations, and ſuch like learned recreations. After a few daies ſpent there, where *Buck-hurſt* Chancellor of the Univerſitie feaſted her in royall manner, ſhee went from thence. But at her departure, ſhee bad them adieu in a Latine Oration, wherein ſhee profeſſed her ſelfe more affected with the loving reſpect of her Univerſitie, than with any other courteſie; vowed a vow, and gave them counſell. The vow was, that as ſhe deſired nothing ſo much as the proſperitie and flouriſhing eſtate of her Kingdome, ſo ſhee greatly wiſhed to ſee the Univerſities and Schooles of good literature to flouriſh likewiſe. Her counſell was, that they would ſerve God above all, not following the curioſitie of ſome wits, but the lawes of God and the Kingdome; that they would not prevent the lawes, but follow them; not diſpute whether better lawes might be made, but obſerve thoſe which were already enacted: finally, that they would obey their ſuperiours, and embrace one another with brotherly love.

The Queen is entertained at Oxford.

The Queenes vow and counſell.

It is remarkable by the way, that there was ſo great a drought this preſent yeere and the laſt, that not onely the fields, but ſprings themſelves were dried up, many Cattell dying every where with thirſt. The river of Thames likewiſe, to the great admiration of all men, did faile,

A great drought.

1593. faile, inſomuch that a horſeman might ride over at London Bridge.

This yeere likewiſe departed this world *Anthonie Browne*, Viſcount *Mountacute* (ſonne of *Anthonie* great Standard-bearer of England) whom Queene *Marie* honoured with this title, becauſe his Grandmother was daughter and one of the heires of *John Nevill* Marqueſſe *Mountacute*, made him Knight of the Garter, and amongſt other ſent him to Rome to tender obedience to the Catholike See, in the behalfe of the Kingdome of England. Queene *Eliſabeth* finding him alwaies truſty, held a great opinion of him, and went lately to viſit him, though hee were a great Roman Catholike. His Grandchild *Anthonie* ſucceeded him in that honour, no whit degenerating from his Grandfather. And about the ſame time deceaſed *Henrie* Lord *Scroop* of Bolton, Knight of the Garter likewiſe, and long time Governour of the Weſtern border toward Scotland, leaving behind him *Thomas* his ſonne, by *Margaret Howard*, ſiſter to the late Duke of Norfolke.

1593. Reg. 36. The Februarie following the Parliament aſſembled at Weſtminſter; where lawes were enacted for the reſtraint of Schiſmatickes and Papiſts, which refuſed to goe to Church, or diſſwaded others, &c. And weighing duly the dangers threatning England & Scotland from the Confederates of the Holy League, they thought meet to raiſe Subſidies for preventing dangers. At which time, having firſt magnified the Queens viligent care for the State, the Clergie granted two whole Subſidies, the Laitie three, beſides ſixe Fifteenes & Tenths. But becauſe this was to remaine upon Record, they made requeſt to have theſe expreſſe words put into the Act; That this great contribution, the like whereof had not been known in former Ages, ſhould not be drawn into example. And the Queen comming into the houſe the laſt day of their meeting (as the maner is) to give life to the lawes, ſhe there made proteſtation of her care for the glory of God and the publike good, commended the readineſſe of her people upon all occaſions, and the valorous magnanimity of the Engliſh Nation.

Lawes enacted againſt Schiſmatickes and Papiſts.

Barrow a Sectarie put to death. Out of her zeale to the glory of God, ſhee cauſed the ſeveritie of the Lawes to bee executed upon *Henrie Barrow* and his Sectaries, which diſturbed the Church and the publike peace, by ſcattering of their monſtrous opinions, condemning the Church of England as no Chriſtian Church, and derogating from the Queenes authority in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall.

Fearing likewiſe, and hearing that the Spaniards had a purpoſe to ſet on foot their old project againſt Scotland, from whence they would have paſſage to England as by a back doore; knowing likewiſe that the Popiſh Nobles of Scotland would be at hand to aſſiſt them, ſhee ſent to the King, adviſing him to repreſſe the Spaniſh faction in Scotland betimes. Albeit hee indeed was carefull thereof already, having enacted wholſome Lawes againſt the Papiſts, put to death *David Grayham* one of the Conſpiracie, and did ſtill perſecute the Earles of Angus, Huntly, and Arroll. Bothwell now lay lurking in England, and ſolicited the Queene to make his peace with the King of Scots, promiſing to doe him loyall ſervice, and to ſhew his utmoſt skill in quelling the Spaniſh faction. But the Queene regarded not his promiſes, and furthermore gave the King notice

notice that he skulked here, and that ſhe would puniſh all thoſe whom ſhe ſhould find gave him any entertainment. 1593.

About this time ſcurrulous libells were caſt forth in Germanie againſt the Queene, taxing her to have excited the Turke (who is the greateſt enemie of Chriſtian Religion) to a warre againſt the Chriſtian World: and her very letter privately ſent to the Grand-Seignior was publiſhed, but with many immutations and additions, falſe and malicious fictions. She held it more than neceſſarie to vindicate her owne reputation in this particular, which ſhee did ſo punctually and ſatisfactorily by her meſſenger to the Emperour, that the bookes were ſtraightway interdicted, and the copies burnt at Prague: for ſhe proffered and ſeriouſly afforded her beſt endevour to reſiſt the enemie of Chriſtendome. Neither held ſhe any correſpondence at all with the Turke, but only that her ſubjects might have free trading in his territories.

A ſcandalous libell againſt the Queene.

She cleareth her ſelfe.

In Britaine and France *Norris* had ſpent the whole laſt winter, in continuall expectation of the French forces to joyne themſelves, the Queen being all the while at the weekely charge of 3200. pound ſterling for ſouldiers pay. At laſt Mounſieur *Eſpine* in April came to him, & they together performed ſome few exploits. But whiles the Queene was thus ſolicitous for the eſtate of the French King, lo, there is brought a conſtant report into England, that he had already embraced, or was ready to embrace the Romiſh Religion. Hereupon *Thomas Wilkes* was diſpatched into France, to learne the truth in this matter, and if it were not yet too late, to exhibit to him certain forcible diſſwaſive reaſons, which he tooke along with him in writing. But before *Wilkes* was come, the King had openly profeſſed the Romiſh Religion at the Church of St. *Denis* in Paris, albeit ſome of the Popiſh crew at that very time lay in wait for his life. But hee freely and ingenuouſly declared to *Wilkes*, the cauſes for which hee embraced the Romiſh Religion, in manner as followeth.

The French King changeth his religion.

"At the firſt, ſaith hee, when I was admitted King of France, I "tooke an oath that within a ſet time I would yeeld my ſelfe to bee in- "formed in the Catholike Religion; neither might I bee admitted "upon any other condition. The ſaid inſtruction I deferred for foure "yeeres together; but lately, yea, and that much againſt my will, "condeſcended thereunto. For the King my Predeceſſor being taken "away, I muſt needs retaine his Counſellors and Miniſters; in every "conſultation their voices being moſt in number would carrie it a- "way, and by their devices all my intentions againſt the Confederates "of the holy-league were fruſtrated. Thoſe Proteſtants whom I choſe "Privie Counſellors, ſeldome afforded their preſence at the Councell "board, minding their owne affaires too buſily; inſomuch that being for- "ſaken by thoſe upon whom I relied, and fearing the Papiſts might for- "ſake mee likewiſe, I was faine to truſt to their counſells. Further- "more, I confidently affirme, that as ſoone as I was received to the "Crowne, eight hundred of the Nobilitie, and nine Regiments of "Proteſtants betooke them to their owne home, nor could I ſtay them "by any perſwaſions; ſo that I had none left me, but a few that attended "me in my Chamber: the Papiſts ſeeing me neglected by my owne friends,

He declareth the cauſe thereof to Queene Eliſabeth.

1593. "friends, began to beare themſelves imperiouſly, and to urge me to "change my Religion, ſaying, That Catholikes could not with a ſafe "conſcience obey an hereticall King. I notwithſtanding procraſtinated "the matter from day to day, till I found my owne weakneſſe, that "with my few partakers I was not able to withſtand the joynt forces "of the Pope, King of Spaine, and the Confederates; and that another "faction was riſing of the Princes of the bloud Royall, the prime Offi- "cers of the Kingdome, and many of the Nobility conſenting with the "Governours of Cities and Provinces, to forſake mee as a notorious "Heretick, and to divide the Provinces among themſelves by the Poll. "To theſe men (not being able otherwiſe to prevent their deſignes) I "gave my word, that I would be informed in the Roman Catholike "Religion: they allowed me a moneth or two for my information, and "diſpatched Meſſengers to Rome to procure my abſolution and formall "reception into the boſome of the Church. They of the League, to pre- "vent this, haſtened to chuſe a new King: moſt of the Nobles vowed "their ſuffrages to the Duke of Guiſe, if they might hold perpetuall "and hereditarie poſſeſſion in the places which were in their hands at "that preſent. Wherefore, upon deliberation, I reſolved to embrace the "Catholike Religion out of hand. Yet the Biſhops refuſed to receive "mee into the Church, unleſſe the Pope were made acquainted; till "with much adoe I prevailed with them to admit of my converſion, "without information or diſpute. By this meanes now I won the third "partie wholly to my ſelfe, prevented the Guiſes election, procured the "love of the French Nation, made ſure to me the great Duke of Tuſ- "canie, and freed the reformed Religion from aſperſion, which muſt "needs have befalne it, if my converſion had beene wrought by infor- "mation or diſpute. This very accompt the French Kings Embaſſa- dour gave to the Queene at the ſame time. She growing very ſorrow- full and perplexed, haſtily took pen in hand, writing to him as followeth.

The Queenes letter to the French King, upon the news of his revolt.

"ALas, what griefe and ſorrow, what anxietie of minde is befalne "me, ſince this news came to my hearing? Are theſe the times? was it "poſſible that worldly reſpects ſhould make you lay aſide Gods feare? "May we expect a happy event of this matter? or could you thinke that "he who had hitherto upheld and kept you with his owne right hand "would leave you now at the laſt? It is a dangerous thing to doe evill "that good may come thereof. But I hope your minde may alter. In "the meane while, I will not faile to pray for you in the firſt place, and "to beg of God that the hands of *Eſau* may not hinder the bleſſing of "*Jacob*, &c.

Your Siſter, if it be after the old manner,
with the new I have nothing to doe,
E. R.

To allay her griefe in this particular, ſhee ſought comfort out of the Scriptures, the writings of the Fathers, frequent conference with the Archbiſhop; it may be from the Philoſophers likewiſe. Certes, at this time ſhee was very converſant in the bookes of *Boetius de Conſola-*

tione

tione, and tranſlated them happily into the Engliſh tongue. 1593.

Wilkes being now in France, and beſide theſe matters minding the French King, that he had not kept his word in the matters of Britaine, and that the Queene would remove her Armie, &c. he laid the fault upon the negligence of Mounſieur *Aument*, and promiſed to adviſe with his Councell for a remedie againſt all theſe evils. And at the ſame time, by a ſpeciall Meſſenger to the Queene, acknowledgeth that hee oweth his ſafety and his Crowne alſo to her, promiſing that when hee had ordered his affaires in France, hee would come in perſon with an Armie into Britaine. An agreement in the meane while paſſed betweene the King and her at Melun, in Auguſt, confirmed by their hands and ſeales, and the word of Princes, That they ſhould joyntly make an offenſive and defenſive warre againſt the King of Spaine, ſo long as he troubled either of them; concluding no peace with him but by mutuall conſent, and unleſſe they were both comprehended in it.

The French King excuſeth his breach of promiſe.

Britaine notwithſtanding is ſtill neglected by him, France being very ſicke neerer the heart, nor could the Engliſh obtain any Ports in France to retire into, but upon very hard conditions; viz. They muſt not make any fortification, nor lodge in the houſes of the Clergie or Nobilitie. Nevertheleſſe, the States of Britaine beſought the Queene, that the Engliſh might not be called home; by whom ſhe was intreated, though ſhee had reſolved to the contrary; and they wintered there in untoward faſhion up and downe the Country villages, expoſed to their enemies, and the injuries of winde and weather. Yet the Queene never reſted, but ſtill minded the French King how greatly it concerned him to ſee to the Sea-coaſt, which being once in the enemies power would hardly be regained: and commendeth the reformed Religion, with the profeſſors thereof, to his care and protection. The which he promiſed, and that he never would be wanting to them, albeit the chiefe of them had forſaken him. But *Sidney* dealing with him that the Engliſh might have Breſt to retire into, he was deafe to that requeſt. For the French could not endure that the Engliſh ſhould have any footing in France, much leſſe poſſeſſion of the Port Townes: remembring perhaps what victories they had atchieved formerly in France, having gotten poſſeſſion of the Ports, and how hardly they reſigned them. And therefore what the Embaſſadour ſpake againſt the Spaniards, the King retorted againſt the Engliſh.

The Engliſh diſcourteouſly uſed in France.

A fearefull plague raigned in London this yeare, whereof died in the Citie and Suburbs 17890. beſides the Lord Mayor and three Aldermen; no Bartholomew Faire was kept, and Michaelmas terme was held at St. Albons. There was *Richard Hasket* condemned and executed for treaſon, being ſent from the Engliſh fugitives from beyond Sea, to perſwade *Ferdinand* Earle of Derbie, ſonne to *Henrie* newly deceaſed, to aſſume the Title of the Kingdome by right of deſcent from *Marie* daughter to *Henrie* the ſeventh; and threatning him, that except he undertooke this enterpriſe, and concealed him the abettor, he ſhould ſhortly die in moſt wretched manner. But the Earle fearing a trap was layed for him, opened the matter. Yet the fellowes threatning proved not altogether vaine; for the Earle within foure moneths died a horrible

A great Plague in London.

1594. rible death. But firſt before this time died his father *Henrie Stanley* Earle of Derbie, and Knight of the Garter, ſonne to *Edward*, by *Dorothy* daughter of the firſt *Thomas Howard* Duke of Norfolke; this *Henrie* begate of *Margaret* (daughter to *Henrie Clifford* Earle of Cumberland, by *Elianor Brandon* Niece to King *Henrie* the 8. by *Marie* his younger ſiſter) *Ferdinand* and *William*, ſucceſſively Earles of Derbie.

There departed this life alſo *Henrie Ratcliffe* Earle of Suſſex, and three renowned Barons, *Arthur Grey* of Wilton, *Henrie* Lord *Cromwell*, and *Henrie* Lord *Wentworth*; as alſo Sir *Chriſtopher Carlile*, whoſe warlike proweſſe at Sea and Land was notable, and worthie to be kept in remembrance.

The complaints of the Iriſh.

In Ireland *O-Conor Dun*, *Mac-Davie*, *O-Brien*, great men of Connaght, complained that they were unjuſtly ſued for the Lands of the *Mortimers*, anciently Earles of March, the which by long preſcription they had held and uſurped. They, together with the Potentates of Ulſter which feared their tyrannie would be curbed, began to rebell, and *Hugh O-Donell* on a ſuddaine ſeized the Caſtle of Mont-roſſe into his hands.

They enter into rebellion.

Amongſt them they enter a league to reſtore the Romiſh religion, and revenge the injuries of the Engliſh. *Mac-Guyr* was the next that brake forth into rebellion, entring Connaght with *Gauran* a Prieſt, whom the Pope had deſigned Primate of Ireland, who encouraged him with aſſurance of victorie. But it fell out otherwiſe, for by the valour of *Richard Bingham* *Mac-Guyr* was put to flight, and the Primate with many more ſlaine. At this time ſome of the meere Iriſh (who for the moſt part are unfaithfull to the Engliſh) were taken in to bee Commanders, but not very wiſely, as ſome thought, and the event proved. All this while the Earle of Tir-Oen waiting his time, *Turlogh Leinigh* being dead, aſſumed to him the title of *O-Neale* (which in Ireland is more ſet by than the ſtile of an Emperour) contrarie to his oath and the Law. Hee complained of injuries from the Deputie, the Marſhall, and Garriſon ſouldiers: yet diſſembling all, upon a ſuddaine ſubmitted himſelfe to the Deputie, promiſed to be obedient, and returned home.

1594. Reg. 37.

The Lord Zouch ſent into Scotland.

The Queene perceiving that the Spaniſh faction in Scotland fomented theſe treaſons and rebellions in Ireland, ſent *Edward* Lord *Zouch* into Scotland, to animate the Nobles of the Engliſh partie; to require greater ſeverity to be uſed againſt them of the Spaniſh ſide than was expreſſed in the late decree, it being evident that they frequented Maſſe, foſtered Jeſuites and Prieſts, and ſent blanke papers into Spaine with their hands and ſeales to them.

The King ſaid he would doe againſt thoſe of the Popiſh faction, all that he could according to the Lawes of the Kingdome: and *Zouch* urging ſomewhat importunately to perſecute them, the King demanded if he were under command of any? and if the Queene would preſcribe how he ſhould manage his Kingdome? yet proteſted withall, that he would defend the Religion with all his might, and maintaine conſtant amitie with the Queene. Yet the zealous Miniſters of Scotland traduced the King as a favourer of the Papiſts, and one that uſed them harſhly. *Bothwell* now raiſeth a new rebellion in Scotland, but was ſoone put to flight. The Queene alſo made Proclamation, that none neere the

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Borders ſhould entertaine him or any of his complices. Which the King tooke ſo kindly, that he called an aſſembly of the Kingdome for the out-lawing of the Popiſh Nobilitie. The Peeres, who were few in number, were there preſent, and were unwilling to give their ſuffrages againſt them; becauſe that albeit it were manifeſt that they had ſent blanke Letters into Spaine, yet there was no certainty of any traiterous deſigne they had in hand, other than by preſumptions and probabilities. Notwithſtanding, by the voices of the Miniſters and Burgeſſes, which were the greateſt number by farre, they were proſcribed, their Eſcutcheons (after the Scottiſh manner) torne, and thrown out of the windowes of the State-houſe, and the proſcription declared by the voice of an Herald. Forthwith the Earle of Argile was ſent out againſt them, who in a fight at Genlivet came off with the worſe. The King himſelfe adventured a tedious journey into thoſe parts, and ſuffered the Earle of Huntleyes houſes at Strath-Bolgy, Slany, and Newton, to bee demoliſhed; and drave the Earles to ſuch ſtreights, that Huntley was faine to eſcape into France, and the reſt of them to forſake the Kingdome. 1594.

The Popiſh Nobles of Scotland proſcribed.

This good correſpondence betweene the King and Queene *Eliſabeth*, beſides his conſtancie in the Religion, the lawes lately made againſt Jeſuites and Prieſts, and the aſſociation againſt the Papiſts, gave ſmall comfort to them that he would ever prove an inſtrument for the reſtoring of the Catholike religion. Whereupon ſome of them that way addicted in England, which had favoured his mother exceedingly, began to bethinke themſelves of ſome Engliſh Papiſt to ſucceed the Queene. But not finding any of their owne ranke a fit perſon, they fixed their thoughts toward the Earle of Eſſex, who alwayes ſeemed a very moderate man; and him they deviſed to have ſome kinde of right to the Crowne, by deſcent from *Thomas* of Woodſtocke King *Edward* the thirds ſonne.

Conſultation among the Papiſts about a ſucceſſor to the Crowne.

But the Engliſh fugitives were for the Infanta of Spaine, and deſiring to ſet the King of Scots and the Earle of Eſſex at oddes, they ſet forth a booke (the which they dedicated to Eſſex) under the name of *Dolman*, in deſpite unto him, a Prieſt of a quiet temper: for the Authors were *Parſons*, *Dolmans* bitter adverſarie, Cardinall *Alan*, and *Fr. Inglefield*. The maine purport of the writing was, to exclude all perſons whatſoever, and how neere ſoever allyed to the Crowne, unleſſe they were Roman Catholikes: contending farther for the right of *Iſabel* Infanta of Spaine, as being deſcended (forſooth) from *Conſtance* daughter to *William* the Conquerour, and wife to the Earle of Britaine; from *Elianor* eldeſt daughter to *Henry* the ſecond, married to *Alphonſo* the ninth King of Caſtile; from *Beatrix* daughter to *Henry* the third, King of England, &c. which matters let the Heralds diſcuſſe, and they which are better skild in Pedigrees than I am.

February 19. was *Henrie* Prince of Scotland borne to King *James*, to whom the Queene was Godmother, deputing *Robert* Earle of Suſſex in the buſineſſe.

Henry Prince of Scotland borne.

As thoſe perſons from abroad laboured to aſſert the right of the Infanta to the Engliſh Scepter, ſo others of their ſect plotted againſt the Queenes life. Some Spaniards thinking to make her away by poiſon:

1594. who not daring to truſt an Engliſhman in ſo weighty a buſineſſe, uſed the helpe of *Roderick Lopez*, a Jew, and Phyſitian to the Queene, *Stephen Ferreira*, *Emanuel Loyſie*, and other Portugals (for divers of that Nation came into England in theſe dayes, in relation to *Anthony* of Portugall) who being diſcovered by Letters of theirs which were intercepted, were arraigned at Guild-hall in London, and convinced by their owne confeſſions, to have conſpired againſt the life of the Queene. *Lopez* was a long time in good eſteeme, and not once ſuſpected, and now confeſſed that he was drawne by *Andrada* the Portugall, to be a ſecret intelligencer to the King of Spaine; and from one *Chriſtopher More* had received a jewell; had given notice to the King of Spaine of all the paſſages he could learne; and finally, made agreement for a ſumme of fiftie thouſand crownes to adminiſter poiſon to the Queene, giving ſuch intimation to Count *Fuentez*, who was in the Netherlands.

Practices againſt the Queens life by Lopez and others.

Their confeſſions.

Ferreira confeſſed, that the Count *Fuentez* and *Ibara* intimated to him in Letters and private conference, that a plot was laid to poiſon the Queene; that *Lopez* dictating, hee wrote the Letter, in which he promiſed to doe it, if the ſumme of 50000. crownes were readie; alſo that *Emanuell Loyſie* was ſent by *Fuentez* and *Ibara* to him, to haſten *Lopez* to put in execution the deſigne. *Emanuel* confeſſed, that Count *Fuentez* and *Ibara*, after hee had ſworne ſecrecie to them, ſhewed him the Letters which *Andrada* wrote in *Lopez* his name, concerning the making away of the Queene; that hee alſo was ſent by *Fuentez*, to deale with *Ferreira* and *Lopez* for the haſtening of the Queenes death, to give *Lopez* promiſe of the money for himſelfe, and great honours for his children. At the Barre *Lopez* ſpake little, but exclaimed that *Ferreira* and *Emanuel* were lyers, and made altogether of coſenage; that he had no evill meaning toward the Queene, but hated the tyrants gifts, and beſtowed upon the Queen that jewell which was ſent him from the King of Spaine: and that hee onely meant to delude the Spaniard, and gull him of his money.

They are condemned and executed.

The reſt had nothing to ſay for themſelves. They were all condemned, and executed at Tyburne; *Lopez* profeſſing that hee loved the Queene as well as Jeſus Chriſt; which onely moved laughter in the hearers, comming from ones mouth which was a Jew by his religion. The next day after them, was condemned *Patrick Cullen* an Iriſh Fencer, who was fed with great promiſes by the Engliſh fugitives, and ſent hither to be the Queenes aſſaſinate; and ſtraightwaies executed, though he were at that very time ſicke and ready to die. Other aſſaſſinates likewiſe were apprehended, *Edmund Yorke*, and *Richard Williams*, and others, which were ſent to fire the Queenes Navie. The Queene contemned theſe trecheries, ever and anon taking up that of the Pſalme, *Thou art my God, my time is in thy hands.* Yet ſhe intimated theſe paſſages to the Archduke of Auſtria, who now was Governour of the Netherlands, intreating him to give notice of the ſame to the King his maſter, and adviſe him to vindicate his owne reputation, by puniſhing the Authors of theſe treaſons againſt her, which were his ſubjects; and by delivering into her hands the Engliſh which had a hand herein, namely, *Owen Throckmorton*, *Giffard*, and *Worthington*. And that hee might not

not thinke that *Anthonie Perez* the Spaniſh fugitive had any countenance by her, ſhe proteſted that the French King had ſent him hither to his Embaſſadour without her privitie, and that ſhee neither protected nor would protect him. She verily deteſted the man, being treacherous to his owne Prince, and Burleigh the Treaſurer vouchſafed not to ſpeake to him. Yet the Earle of Eſſex entertained him into his houſe, and gave him liberall maintainance, yea held him as an Oracle; for hee had beene converſant indeed in the ſecrets of the Court of Spaine, and was a very active man beſide. 1594.

Not long after, the Queene having intelligence that certaine Spaniſh Leaders were come into Ireland to raiſe rebellion there, *Norris* (who had now beene in a hot conflict upon the ſea-coaſt of France againſt the Spaniard, in the taking of Quinpercorentine and Morlay, two ſtrong forts, and the ſiege of the fort neere Crodon, where many valiant men of the Engliſh were ſlaine, and Sir *Martin Fourbiſher* received his deaths wound) was called home out of Britaine. The ſhips that came for him, when they came neere Morlay could not be permitted to harbour in the Port, though it were winter, but were faine to ſhift as they could for a rode. This the Queene tooke hainouſly at the hands of Mounſieur *Aumont*; and the rather, becauſe the haven where he now held the maſterie, was gained by the ſervice and valour of the Engliſh.

Thus the Engliſh held daily bickerings with the Spaniard, and that not in France onely, but in the fartheſt part of America. *Richard Hawkins*, ſonne of Sir *John Hawkins* the famous ſea Captaine, a yeare ſince, under authoritie of the great ſeale of England, ſet forth with three of the Queenes ſhips, and two hundred men in them: now at the Iſle of St. *Anne*, while he tarried a while to refreſh his men, one of his ſhips by an ill chance was fired. Afterward hee tooke a Portugall ſhip neere the Plate, and in a foule tempeſt loſt another of his ſhips, which returned into England; but the Maſter eſcaped not ſcot-free for it. Hawkins voyage into America.

Hee, being left all alone, was driven up and downe with contrarie windes, till at length he maſtered the ſtreights of Magellan, being the ſixt man in the Spaniſh account which attained this renowne. Being now come into the wide Southerne ſea, upon the Coaſt of Chily hee tooke five ſhips laden with merchandize; one he carried away, the reſt hee ſuffered the owners to redeeme for two thouſand Duckets. At length *Bertrandus à Caſtro* was ſent out by the Vice-roy of thoſe parts with eight ſhips againſt *Hawkins*; but at two ſkirmiſhes they had much the worſe: inſomuch that the Spaniards, upon deliberation, reſolved to thunder againſt him at farther diſtance, which they did for three daies together inceſſantly. Then *Bertrand* ſent *Hawkins* his glove, and a promiſe withall in the King of Spaines name, of libertie, if they would yeeld themſelves. Whereupon, they being greatly wounded, and finding themſelves unable to hold out, accepted of the condition, and *Bertrando* uſed them very courteouſly. Nevertheleſſe *Hawkins* was ſent into Spaine, where he was held priſoner for certaine yeeres; *Bertrando* very honeſtly and earneſtly (but in vaine) ſuing that his faithfull promiſe might be made good. But the Spaniards thought good to uſe this ſeveritie, to deterre others from adventuring into thoſe parts; till at length He beleeveth the Spaniards, and ſuffereth for it.

1594. the Count of *Mirand* who was Preſident of the Councell, gave his verdict for his releaſe, in as much as he was not a Pirate, but a lawfull enemie; and that in affaires of warre the undertakings of Commanders muſt be made good, otherwiſe none would yeeld themſelves.

Lancaſtar ſent out by the Merchants, taketh Fernambuck.

But *James Lancaſter* in another part of America had better ſucceſſe againſt the Spaniards, being ſent forth by ſome London Merchants (upon whoſe goods the Spaniards had ſeized) with three ſhips, and a long boat. He tooke 39. Spaniſh ſhips, and taking into his companie *Venour* an Engliſhman, and certaine Hollanders and Frenchmen which were free booting thereabouts, reſolved to ſet upon Fernambucke in Braſile, where he underſtood that a great deale of wealth was lately unladen out of an Eaſt-Indian Caraque that was loſt upon the Coaſt. But ſeeing the enemies in great numbers upon the ſhore, he put ſome of the ſtouteſt of the Engliſh into boates, commanding them to row luſtily to the ſhore. Which adventure of theirs ſucceeded ſo well, that the enemies fled, and he gained the lower towne and the haven, which he held for thirtie daies, notwithſtanding all their force and cunning, admitting of no parlee, and loaded fifteene ſhips with the wealth of the Caraque, ſugar-reed, red wood called braſile, and other merchandize, returning home ſafely and victoriouſly.

The death of Cardinall Allan.

At Rome about this time died *William Allan*, commonly called the Cardinall of England: borne he was in Lancaſhire of an honeſt familie, brought up at Oxford in Oriall Colledge, in Queen *Maries* dayes he was Proctor of the Univerſitie, and after Canon of the Cathedrall Church of Yorke. Upon the change of Religion in England, he left the Kingdome, and was Divinitie Profeſſour at Doway in Flanders, and made Canon of the Church of Cambray. Hee procured a Seminarie to be ſet up at Doway for the Engliſh, another at Rhemes, a third at Rome; and through zeale to the Romiſh Religion forgat his love toward his Prince and Countrie.

The Biſhop of Yorke, and others.

At home died *John Piers* Arch-biſhop of Yorke, who had long time been Almoner to the Queen; *Matthew Hutton* ſucceeded him, being tranſlated from the See of Durham hither.

Ferdinand Stanley Earle of Derbie, of whom we ſpeake before, ſent forth his laſt breath at the beginning of this yeere, being now in the floure of his age, miſerably tormented, and vomiting ſtuffe of a darke ruſty colour, being thought to have beene poyſoned or bewitched. There was found in his Chamber a little image of waxe, with haires of the colour of his haire thruſt into the belly, which ſome of the wiſer ſort thought was purpoſely done, that men ſhould not ſuſpect poyſon was given him: His vomit ſo ſtained the ſilver Andirons, that it could never be taken out; and his body, though put in Cere-cloathes and wrapped in lead, did ſo ſtinke and putrifie, that for a long time none could endure to come neere the place where he was buried. The maſter of his horſe was ſorely ſuſpected, who the ſame day the Earle tooke his bed, tooke one of his beſt horſes and fled away. His brother *William* ſucceeded him in the Earldome of Derbie, betwixt whom and the three daughters of *Ferdinand* a ſtrife ariſing about the Ile of Man, the Queene knowing that the Engliſh fugitives, and the Spaniards caſt their eyes upon that,

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appointed Sir *Thomas Gerard* Governor of it, till the controverſie ſhould be ended. The meane while the Queenes Counſell, out of the niceties of the Law, inculcated the right to the Iland appertained to the Queene, and that the *Stanleies* and Earles of Derbie had wrongfully poſſeſſed it for 200. yeeres. But the Queene renounced her title, and the matter was agreed betweene the Uncle and the Nieces. 1594.

Alſo *Gregorie Fienes* Lord *Dacrès* departed this life about this time; he was man ſomewhat crazed, the ſonne of *Thomas* Lord *Dacres*, who was taken away by an untimely death in the reign of *Henry* the eight, being ſcarce 24. yeeres of age. For a homicide being committed by ſome of his acquaintance that were to ride a hunting with him, which he nevertheleſſe knew not of, he was called in queſtion for it, and perſwaded by ſome Courtiers, that gaped for his eſtate, that there was no way to ſave his own life, except he confeſſed himſelfe guiltie, and ſubmitted to the Kings mercy. The which hee doing unadviſedly, was condemned ſtraightwaies, and within two daies hanged: yet they failed of their purpoſe.

Sir *William Fitz-Williams* Lord Deputie of Ireland was now called home, and *William Ruſſell*, youngeſt ſonne of *Francis* Earle of Bedford, ſent in his roome. Preſently upon his comming, the Earle of *Tir-Oen*, having received letters of protection (as they call them) beyond all mens expectation came, and lying proſtrate at the Deputies feet, ſubmitted himſelfe, and in humble manner craved pardon of his fault, that he had not preſented himſelfe at the call of the late Lord Deputie. For excuſe pretending that his enemies lay in wait for his life, and lamenting that by their falſe reports he had loſt the Queenes favour, whom he had found a moſt gracious Prince, &c. *Bagnall*, Marſhall of the Iriſh Forces, was there ready to exhibit Articles againſt him, accuſing him to have ſent *Mac-Gwyr* into Conaught; to hold ſecret correſpondence and conſultations with him and the reſt of the Rebels, &c. All theſe particulars he ſtoutly denied, and ſeemed to ſtand ſo much upon his owne innocencie, that he profeſſed hee would renounce his letters of protection, if theſe matters could be proved againſt him. Sir William Ruſſell made Deputie of Ireland, to whom Tir-Oen ſubmitteth, and is releaſed.

Hereupon the Counſellors debate ſeriouſly amongſt themſelves, whether or no he ought to be detained till he had cleered theſe matters. The Deputy was of opinion he ſhould be detained; the reſt were otherwiſe minded: to whom hee yeelded, being but newly come amongſt them that had beene a long time converſant in the affaires of Ireland. Whereupon hee was diſmiſſed, his accuſers and their witneſſes not being once heard. Which thing troubled the Queene, ſeeing his treacherous projects and actions were as evident as the day light. Notwithſtanding put the Counſellors both of Ireland and England in great hopes of his duty and loyalty, promiſing readily to doe whatſoever they propoſed.

The Deputy ſoone after marched to raiſe the ſiege of the Rebells at Inis-kellin, whom hee drave away, releeved the Port, and placed a Garriſon there. Afterward hee perſecuted *Feach-Mac-Hugh*, who was alſo up in rebellion in Leinſter, and followed him ſo cloſe, that he had almoſt taken him. They tooke his wife *Rhice*, a woman of a maſculine ſpi- The Deputie purſueth the rebells.

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1595. rit, who in terrour to the reſt was adjudged to be burnt; but the Queene graciouſly ſpared her life. On the other ſide, the Marſhall being ſent by the Deputy, freeth the Caſtle of *Monaghan*, which *Mac-Gwyr* and *Mac-Mahon* had ſtreitly beſieged. But now the Deputy having once diſmiſſed the Earle of Tir-Oen, could by no meanes winne him to come at him againe, though he ſent many faire meſſages to him; at firſt hee objected that he was afraid of the Marſhall, but anon (forgetting his allegeance) began to capitulate touching truce and a peace; whereas Princes cannot endure to heare of ſuch like proffers from their ſubjects: and every one admired how he that was even now ſo ſtrangely ſubmiſſive, ſhould be thus altered on the ſudden.

1595. Reg. 38. Some traitors executed.

About the beginning of the next yeere, *Edmund Yorke* (his nephew that traiterouſly delivered up the Fort at Zutphen to the Spaniards) and *Richard Williams*, who (as I ſaid) were formerly apprehended, came to their triall, and were executed at Tyburne as Traitors. *Yorke* confeſſed, that *Hugh Owen* and others had exhibited to him an aſſignment or bill of exchange for fortie thouſand Crownes, under the hand and ſeale of *Ibarra* the Spaniard, if he himſelfe would kill the Queen, or aſſiſt the ſaid *Richard Williams* in the fact; that the money was depoſited in *Holts* hands, who kiſſing the holy Hoſt, ſware that the money ſhould bee paid as ſoone as the murder was committed; and bound *Yorke* and *Williams* by oath, and by the receiving of the holy Euchariſt, for the performance of the villanie.

A war againſt the Spaniard denounced by the French King,

The French King having now a purpoſe to proclaime warre againſt the King of Spaine, as one that laboured to change the French government, and raiſed a fatall warre in France, intimateth his ſaid purpoſe to the Queene, entreating her advice for the better proceeding in this warre; complaining alſo, that the calling home of the Engliſh out of Britaigne, would prove hurtfull to him, and advantageous to the Queen. She commendeth his advice, and wiſheth him good ſucceſſe; making anſwer, that all the world could witneſſe what open war ſhe had held with the Spaniard, in France, the Netherlands, Spaine, Portugall, and America, &c. That the Engliſh were called home upon urgent neceſſitie, becauſe tumults began in Ireland; neither were they by agreement to tarrie longer there, the Spaniards being driven from Breſt. She complaineth moreover, that they had beene evilly entreated, no retiring place allotted them, nor any forces (according to promiſe) ſent to joyne with them.

Who requeſteth aid of the Queen.

Now began a fierce warre betwixt the Spaniard and the French King, in Luxenburg and Picardie. The Spaniards tooke Caſtellet and Dorlant, and beſieged Cambray: *Chevaler* is ſent into England, to procure auxiliarie forces within 15. daies from the date of his letters, twelve of which were expired before his arrivall at the Court; yet is an armie levied without delay, to be ſent if need required. Now was it conſtantly reported every where from all parts of Europe, that the Spaniards were comming againe againſt England, with a farre greater Fleet than that in 88. and that it was already under ſaile: whereupon bands of ſouldiers were levied and placed upon the Sea coaſt, two Navies made ready, the one to expect them at home in the Chanell, and the other to goe for A-

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merica, under *Hawkins* and *Drake*. All the Queenes ſubjects prepared for a warre, lamenting the loſſe of ſo many valiant men, and ſo great ſums of mony in the French war. Amidſt theſe preparations M. *Lomine* poſteth hither from France, intimating that Cambray was taken, yet urging for aide firſt, and Delegates to be ſent afterward, to treat of a way to proceed againſt the Spaniard: which ſeeming prepoſterous to the Queen and her Councell, he in angrie maner imputeth the loſſe of Cambray to the Queene, ſaying, that ſhe was well pleaſed with the French Kings miſerie. She made him a preſent anſwer, and ſoone after intimated the ſame by letters to the French King, and Sir *Thomas Edmunds* her Embaſſadour; that it greatly grieved her that Cambray was loſt, but troubled her much more, that the fault ſhould bee laid upon her: the warning was too ſhort (ſhe ſaid) for the ſending of ſupplies; and ſo farre was ſhe from joying in the French Kings calamitie, or driving him to ſue for peace with the Spaniard, that neither the King himſelfe, nor any indifferent perſon could ſuſpect it, knowing what offices of friendſhip ſhee had ever ſhewed toward him. Wherefore ſhe entreateth him to caſt away theſe and the like thoughts, and eſteeme of her as his neereſt friend and allie. 1595.

The French King demandeth greater aide.

Moreover, by *Edmunds* ſhe ſendeth him wholſome advice in ſundrie particulars, tending to his good; and in eſpeciall, that it was the policie of his enemies, which laboured to ſet him at oddes with his friends, and then to make a prey of him; that ſhe could not beleeve he would condeſcend to a peace with the Spaniard without her allowance, or that ſo great a Prince would ſtaine his reputation by unfaithfulneſſe, which in another he would condemne to the pit of hell. Howſoever, if the Popiſh faction chanced to draw him hereunto, which God forbid, ſhee diſtruſted not the mercy of God, and his wonted goodneſſe toward England. Shee nevertheleſſe, when ſhee once ſaw what became of the Spaniſh preparation, would afford all the aide ſhee poſſibly could.

She giveth him good advice by her Embaſſadour.

Nevertheleſſe miſchiefes growing daily in France, a great number provoked the King to conclude a peace with the Spaniard, perſwading him that the Queene did nothing but fill his eares with a vaine noiſe. Others deterred him, and more eſpecially his ſiſter *Katharine* of Navarre, and the Duke of Bullion, laying before his eyes, how by ſundrie things it was evident that the King of Spaine gaped for the Monarchy of Europe. But the French King ſeemed to ſhut his eares againſt this counſell; and the Queene her ſelfe began to diſtruſt him, eſpecially having lately received intelligence out of the Popes Conclave, that hee was received into the boſome of the Church of Rome, with the Popes benediction, upon no other conditions but theſe; *That he ſhould abjure all hereſies, and profeſſe the Catholike faith in forme which ſhould be ſet downe at Rome. Hee ſhould bring in the Catholike religion into the Dukedome of Bearne, and nominate no Magiſtrates there, but ſuch as were Catholikes. He muſt ſee within a yeere that the Prince of Condee were taken from the Heretikes, and brought up in the Catholike Religion, &c. He muſt write to all the Princes of Chriſtendome, and in his letters intimate his converſion, abjuration, and profeſsion of the Catholike faith.*

Some adviſe the King to make peace with the Spaniards.

About

1595. About this time certaine Spaniards looſed from the ſea-coaſt of France, with foure Gallies, and betimes in the morning landed in Cornwall; where they fired a Church ſtanding alone in the fields, and three Villages of Fiſhermen, Newlin, Mouſehole, and Penſans, and by and by retired, not taking or killing any one perſon: & they were the firſt and laſt Spaniards that in hoſtile manner ever ſet foot upon the Engliſh ground.

Sir Walter Ralegh his voyage to Guiana.

But ſome of the Engliſh privately, and the Queen openly, attempted greater matters againſt the Spaniards. Sir *Walter Ralegh*, Captaine of the Guard, having defloured a maide of honour (whom he afterwards married) had loſt the Queens favour, and was held in priſon for certaine moneths: but being now ſet at libertie, though baniſhed the Court, and following his own Genius (which made him curious to ſearch out remote Countries, and ſecrets of nature) he undertooke a voyage to Guiana, which the Spaniards ſay yeeldeth much gold. Setting ſaile from Plymouth the ſixth day of Februarie, he arrived at Trinidada, where hee tooke without any difficultie S. *Joſephs* towne, and Don *Antonio* the Governour, but not a jot of money found he there. He asked *Antonio* many queſtions; and leaving his ſhip at Trinidada, entred that vaſte river Orenoquo, with boates and a hundred ſouldiers, and rangeth up in Guaina for 400. miles, ſcorched with the perpendicular beames of the Sunne, and maſtering many other difficulties. Whoſo deſireth more in this matter may read his moſt elegant treatiſe hereof.

In like manner *Amias Preſton* and *Sommers* pillage ſundrie townes of the King of Spaines in the Weſterne Ocean. Three ſhips of the Earle of Cumberland ſet upon a huge Caraque, which by a caſualtie was fired when they were in fight. Theſe were the attempts of private perſons; but the Queen being informed that great ſtore of wealth for the Spaniards uſe was conveied to Port-Rico, in St. *Johns* Iland, and holding it good policie to weaken the enemie, ſent thither *Hawkins*, *Drake*, and *Baskervill* with land forces, furniſhing them with ſixe ſhips out of her owne Navie, and 20. other men of warre. They ſet ſaile from Plymouth the laſt of Auguſt, and 27. daies after came upon the coaſt of the great Canarie, which they thought to ſet upon, but *Baskervill* landing, perceived it would prove a very difficult buſineſſe, the inhabitants being ready to fight; ſo they left it. A moneth after they came to the Ile of St. *Dominick*, when five Spaniſh ſhips being ſent forth to eie the Engliſh Fleet, lighted upon one of the ſmall Engliſh ſhips, which ſtraied from his companie; and putting the maſter and mariners upon the racke, found that the Engliſh Navie was bent to Port-Rico; whither they make all poſſible ſpeed, give notice the Engliſh are comming, hide their gold and ſilver, ſend Pinnaces with the tydings to all the adjacent Ilands, and dwellers upon the Coaſt; who being forewarned, were ſufficiently armed. As ſoone as the Engliſh had caſt Anchors in the Rode at Port-Rico, the Spaniards thunder againſt them from the ſhore; Sir *Nicholas Clyfford* and *Bruite Browne* were wounded at ſupper, and within two daies died. *Hawkins* and *Drake* likewiſe, partly of diſeaſe, and partly of griefe for their ill ſucceſſe, died ſoone after. At length at the end of eight moneths the Fleet came home, bringing very little bootie, and having onely fired a few townes and ſhips of the Spaniards. For the

The Queen ſendeth out a Fleet againſt the Spaniards.

The death of Hawkins and Drake.

Spa-

Spaniards indeed, who formerly thought themselves secured sufficiently in America, by their farre distance from Europe, having received of late yeeres some great damages from the French and English, which made voiages thither, provided now for themselves with fortifications, and other warlike defence, against the enemie. 1595.

A dissention betwixt the Queene and the States.

Now arose a friendly contention, betwixt the Queene and the States of the united Provinces. Burleigh the Treasurer recounted how much mony the Low-Countrie warres had cost the Queen for these ten yeeres past; what a deale of English bloud had been spilt in their quarrell, that they were secured, and their dominions enlarged by these meanes, insomuch that they were able now to lend aide to their neighbours. Wherefore the Queene being in a manner wearied with the continuance and greatnesse of the expence, by Sir *Thomas Bodley* her Legier Ambassador there made this proposition to them. First of all, that England was greatly exhausted both of mony and militarie men, with the long continued warre against the King of Spaine, who for no other cause is her enemy, but for assisting them in their greatest necessitie. Her request therefore was, that they would ease her of the burthen of expence, for the maintenance of the auxiliarie forces of the English in the Netherlands, returne some part of the charge; and finally, appoint Delegates to take some order to repay the money due to Sir *Horatio Pallavicine*, to whom shee had a long time paid hard interest on their behalfe.

The States answer.

The States acknowledged the Queens great kindnesse, and that she had beene their cheife stay under God: but protested they had disbursed so great summes of mony in 88. in providing against the Spanish Armado, and the next yeere in the Portugall expedition, and many other waies, whereby they were so exceedingly impoverished, that they were not able for the present to repay the whole due; but some part they would labour to make good. The Queene nevertheless pressed them farther. Sir *Thomas Bodley* at length drew them (out of feare of the Queens displeasure) to make these propositions. That they would out of hand ease the Queen of all charges in maintaining the English forces (which amounted to forty thousand pounds *per annum*;) that for certain yeers together they would repay twenty thousand pounds sterling yeerly, supply her with a certain number of ships upon any occasion, conclude no peace, nor hold any Treaty without her, and when they had peace repay a hundred thousand pound *per annum* for foure yeeres. Now they requested that these conditions might be admitted, for the foresaid reasons. The Queene would not endure they should excuse themselves out of povertie; but in commiseration yeelded to them, lest shee should seeme desirous to dissolve the League, drive them to despaire, and give the common adversarie occasion to triumph: but upon condition that they should set out thirtie ships in the Fleet, which she now was making ready against the King of Spaine, and for a while afford the auxiliarie forces of the English a monthly releese. So this controversie was laid asleepe for a while.

Complaints of the Hanse townes.

In the meane time the Hanse townes of Germanie make complaint to the Emperour and the Princes of the Empire, that their priviledges and immunities from Customes, anciently granted them by the Kings of England,

1595. land, began to be antiquated; that their goods were taken from them in the Portugall voyage, and a Monopolie of Engliſh Merchants ſet up in Germanie. Hereunto the Queene by Sir *Chriſtopher Perking* maketh anſwer, "That thoſe priviledges, by reaſon of ſome abuſes, and other "reaſonable cauſes, were abrogated by authority of Parliament in the "reigne of *Edward* the ſixt (from which there lieth no appeale) for "that they were found inconvenient for the times, as having been gran-"ted when Merchandize and Navigation lay neglected by the Engliſh; "wherefore the uſe of them in Queene *Maries* dayes was utterly pro-"hibited. Yet the Queene for her part, ſought not the utter aboliſh-"ment of the priviledges, which by law ſhe might have done, till ſuch "time as they diſcourteouſly drave the Engliſh out of Hamburgh, not "giving them any warning. Yet afterward ſhee ordered, that they "ſhould exerciſe as free trade as her owne ſubjects; but they refuſed, "unleſſe they might be preferred before them, which in any ones judg-"ment were intolerable, &c. The goods which they complaine were "taken from them, was munition, which they were carrying into Spaine "againſt England, which yet was expreſly contrary to their privi-"ledges, and they had open warning before hand to the contrarie. As "for the Monopolie they ſpeake of, the High-Dutch themſelves by "their publike writings teſtifie, that the trading of the Engliſh differeth "farre from a Monopolie. Wherefore the Queene hopeth that the man-"date for inhibiting of the commerce of the Engliſh (which thoſe of "the Hanſe townes had procured) ſhou'd be ſuſpended; eſpecially ſince "the States of the Empire could not order any thing touching privile-"ges, or other matters whatſoever, belonging to the rights of the King-"dome of England, which being a moſt abſolute Kingdome, acknow-"ledgeth no ſuperiour. Amidſt theſe jarres notwithſtanding, ſuch ſtore of corne was brought into England from the Hanſe townes (the Queene remitting Cuſtome to whoſoever ſhould bring it in) that the price fell exceedingly, which by reaſon of a wet ſummer, and ſecret tranſportation of graine was ſo riſen, that the poore people began to mutinie in London.

The death of the Earle of Arundel, and others.

About this time died *Philip* Earle of Arundel in the Tower of London, whoſe life the Queene had ſpared, although he were condemned in the yeare 89. being ſince that time wholly given to contemplation, and macerating himſelfe in a ſtrict courſe of Religion, leaving one onely ſonne, *Thomas*, by his wife *Anne Dacres* of Gilleſland. Alſo *William* Lord Vaulx, a zealous Papiſt, deceaſed; and *Thomas Heneage*, who from his youth had ſerved the Queene, firſt as Treaſurer of her chamber, after Vice-chamberlaine and Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaſter, a ſweet ſpoken man, and a daintie Courtier: he left behinde him one onely daughter, by whom the family of the *Finches* was bleſſed with faire wealth and a happie off-ſpring. Likewiſe, with the end of the yeare, ended their lives *William Whittaker* Doctor of Divinitie, Maſter of St. *Johns* Colledge in Cambridge, and Divinity Profeſſor, a man of great pietie and learning: Sir *Roger Williams* Knight, a valiant ſouldier oftentimes mentioned; and his couſen Sir *Thomas Morgan*, who for his valour and militarie experience gained great credit amongſt all

all men; but was endeered to the Queene by his ſingular fidelity, giving up into her hands an aſſignement of a yearely annuity of a great ſumme of money, made to him under the King of Spaines hand, to draw him to his partie. 1595.

By the laſt yeares tergiverſation of the Earle of Tir-Oen, *Ruſſell* Deputie of Ireland foreſaw a future ſtorme of warre; and for that purpoſe deſired to have ſome able military man ſent him from England, to aſſiſt him with his valour and counſell, deſigning *Baskervill* for the man, though he named him not. But Sir *John Norris* was ſent, a valiant and experienced Commander. As ſoone as the Earle of Tir-Oen heard that *Norris* was comming, with thirteene hundred old ſouldiers, which had ſerved in little Britaine and the Netherlands, and a new ſupply from England, out of his owne guiltineſſe ſet upon the fort of Black-water, and tooke it in the abſence of *Edward Cornwall* the Governour. And at one and the ſame inſtant, being wavering and doubtfull what to doe, offereth his helpe to the Earle of Kildare againſt the Deputies ſervants, maketh promiſe to the Earle of Ormond and Sir *Henry Wallop* of loyalty and obedience, beſeeched the Deputie and Sir *John Norris* that he might be more kindly dealt withall, and not thruſt on to his ruine. But *Bagnall* the Marſhall intercepted theſe letters, and the Earle was forthwith proclaimed Traitor, under the name of *Hugh O-Neale*, Baſtard ſonne of *Con-O-Neale*; wherein the heads of his rebellious carriage were reckoned up, and pardon and impunitie promiſed to all that ſhall forſake him.

At this preſent there were with the Rebels in Ulſter a thouſand horſe, and 6280. foot; and in Connaght 2300. all at Tir-Oens becke and call. And the forces of the Engliſh under *Norris* were no fewer, who was commanded to march againſt the Rebels, before the ſupply came, which they expected out of Spaine. The Deputie joyned himſelfe, and they marched together to Armagh; wherewithall the Rebels were ſo terrified, that Tir-Oen forſaking the fort of Black-water, ſet fire on the towne of Dunganon, and the Villages round about; and bewailing his owne fortune, began to hide himſelfe. Now the Deputy returned, leaving *Norris* to follow the warre; having by the Queenes appointment delivered him a Patent, with the Title of Generall of the Armie in the abſence of the Deputie, and abſolute power to pardon any Rebels whatſoever. Norris marcheth againſt Tir Oen.

Norris tarried in Ulſter with the armie, but performed nothing worth ſpeaking of, and out of an old grudge and emulation betwixt himſelfe and the Deputie, ſeemed to favour Tir-Oen as much as the Deputie hated him; inſomuch that hee entertained conference with him, to the great wondetment of all men, that ſo great a Captaine ſhould vouchſafe a Traytor parlee; who craftily exhibited a ſubmiſſion under his hand and ſeale, as likewiſe did *O-Donell*. Hereupon giving hoſtages, a truce was granted them till the firſt day of January. A little after, *Hugh Mac-Hugh* caſt himſelfe in like manner at the Deputies feet, howling and lamenting; whereupon hee alſo was pardoned and received into Protection. Grudges betwixt the Deputy and Norris.

When the truce was ended (albeit in that time the Rebels ſeized upon 1596.

1596 the Caſtle of Monaghan; Sir *Henrie Wallop* Treaſurer of the Armie, and *Robert Gardiner* Lord chiefe Juſtice, men of wiſedome and gravitie, were ſent to hold conference with *Tir-Oen*, *O-Donell*, and the reſt of the Rebels, and to perſwade them to peace; to whom they exhibited their petitions and grievances. *Tir-Oen* made complaint, That *Bagnall* the Marſhall had prevented all his honeſt endeavours; by falſe tales and devices had deprived him of the Queenes favour, intercepted his letters of ſubmiſſion to the Deputie and *Norris* (to his great prejudice) and ſuppreſſed them, and detained his wives dowrie. Proteſting moreover, that he never held correſpondence with forreine Princes, till hee was proclaimed Traitor; in humble manner craved pardon for himſelfe and his followers, that he might bee reſtored to his former dignities, and that the Marſhall would pay the thouſand pound due for his wives dowry; that no Sheriffe, or ſuch like officers, might be authoriſed within his Eatledome: and if this were granted, hee would undertake to omit no dutie belonging to a loyall ſubject, and ſuffer the Archbiſhop and Deane of Armagh to enjoy their lands and priviledges.

The Rebels grievances.

The Delegates anſwer.

The Delegates underſtanding the demands of him and the reſt of the ringleaders of the Rebels, required ſome to be mitigated, others to be referred to the Queene: and propounded theſe articles on the other ſide to the Rebels; To lay downe their armes, ſend away their armies, crave pardon for their rebellion, reſtore the Forts which they had demoliſhed, renounce under oath their treaties with forreine Princes, entertaine Sheriffes into their Territories, offer no moleſtation to the Garriſon ſouldiers, and bind themſelves from henceforth to have nothing to doe with forreine perſons. The Rebels were now growne ſo inſolent, that theſe termes ſeemed harſh and unequall, and ſo the conference brake off, and a truce was concluded till the firſt day of Aprill.

The Queenes opinion of theſe things.

The Queene, howbeit both now and at all times ſhe were willing to ſpare effuſion of bloud, and to condeſcend to any termes of peace, not derogatorie to Majeſtie, yet liked not this expoſtulation of the Rebels, or that they ſhould intercede on the behalfe of one another (as *Tir-Oen* and *O-Donell* for *Feagh Mac-Hugh* in Leinſter, *Mac-Williams*, *O-Conor*, and the reſt of the Rebels in Conaght) knowing how to be mercifull at her pleaſure, to thoſe that were penitent, and craved pardon for their faults. For the free toleration of the Romiſh religion, and alienation of the Church patrimonie (which they alſo put amongſt their demands) ſhe anſwered; that to her knowledge ſhe never had nor ever would give way to any to tranſgreſſe the lawes, or ſeize upon the goods of the Church: For any injuries, they ſhould be recompenced, if they were made apparant, blaming the rapine and exactions of her Miniſters and the Garriſon ſouldiers. And to this effect ſhe wrote to *Norris* and *Fenton* the Secretary, whoſe eaſie credulitie *Tir-Oen* abuſed too too much; and was offended at the indiſcretion of *Wallop* and *Gardiner* their Delegates, for giving the Rebels titles of honour and reſpect.

The Rebels, during the time of the Truce, deale ſecretly with the King of Spaine for ayde; from whom came a Meſſenger or two unto them, with whom they conclude, That if the King by a ſet time ſent them

them a ſufficient Armie, they would joyne their owne forces; in the meane while, if he ſupplied them with munition, they would reject all conditions of peace whatſoever. This agreement *O-Rorc*, *Mac-William*, and the reſt, ſubſcribed: *Tir-Oen* craftily forbare, but no body doubted of his conſent. The letters which hee had received from the King of Spaine, full of faire promiſes, he cunningly imparted to the Deputie; yet withall, relying upon the King of Spaines ayde, went backe from his promiſe and ſubmiſſion to *Norris*; the which *Norris* angrily expoſtulated with him. He being a crafty time-ſerver, when the time of the truce was almoſt expired, condeſcended to another conference with *Norris* and *Fenton*. At their procurement a pardon was framed, and given to the Earle of Tir-Oen, the which he received, pretending that he tooke it more joyfully, than the inſtrument which conferred his Earledome upon him. 1596.

Tir-Oen diſſembleth with the Deputie.

During theſe paſſages betweene *Norris* and *Tir-Oen*, the Deputie marched againſt *O-Maden*, who had raiſed a new rebellion, and beſieged his fort called Clohon-O-Maden. The ſouldiers being commanded to yeeld; made anſwere in barbarous and inſolent manner, *That if every one there preſent were a Deputie, they would not yeeld.* But the Fort was wonne within a few dayes, and they every man put to the ſword. *Norris* alſo and *Fenton* marching into Connaght, could hardly draw the Rebels to any peaceable termes; who being mad with anger againſt *Bingham* the Preſident, did nothing but make delayes, and at length condeſcended to a treacherous peace, having *Tir-Oen* (as it was thought) for their Counſellor; who firſt privately drew the Nobles of Mounſter to his partie, and afterward brake forth into manifeſt contumacie.

In the middeſt of theſe Iriſh affaires, *Albert* Arch-Duke of Auſtria, and Cardinall, whom the King of Spaine had newly ſet over the Netherlands, ſo ſoone as he was entred upon the government, muſtered together the Spaniſh forces, upon pretence to raiſe the ſiege of La Fere in Picardie; but upon a ſuddaine turneth aſide and beſiegeth Calis; and taking Neunham fort, the very firſt day became maſter of the Haven. The Queene no ſooner heard this dolefull newes by the French Meſſengers, but forthwith upon the very Sunday in time of divine ſervice commandeth to levie ſouldiers: for ſhe began to feare her owne houſe, her neighbours being thus on a light fire. The Armie thus muſtered in haſte ſhe committeth to the Earle of Eſſex: but before they were ſhipped, certaine newes came that the Towne and Fort was already in the Spaniards hands. For the Arch-Duke by his continuall thundrings (the noiſe whereof was heard to Greenwich) ſo battered the walles of the towne, that the Inhabitants were faine to take the fort; from whence hee alſo drave them within a few dayes, with loſſe of a great number of the French. Hereupon the Queenes Armie was diſmiſſed, and ſome money lent to the French King.

Calis taken by the Archduke.

But now after a few dayes were paſſed, a farre greater and more ſelected Armie is raiſed in England, wherein many of the nobleſt houſes ſerved as Voluntaries. The Queene, to divert the tempeſt of troubles which ſhe foreſaw from the King of Spaine, thought it the wiſeſt courſe

A Fleet prepared againſt the King of Spain.

1596. to ſet upon the enemie in their owne Ports; whereupon a Navie of 150. ſhips was made ready, where were ſouldiers under pay 6360. Voluntaries of the Nobilitie and Gentrie 1000. Mariners 6772. beſides the Dutch-men, who furniſhed 22. ſhips of the number. *Robert* Earle of Eſſex, and *Charles Howard* Lord high Admirall of England, (who themſelves alſo were at great charges in this expedition) are made Generals with equall authority; but the one to hold prerogative at ſea, and the other at land. To theſe, to make up a Councell of war, were joyned *Thomas Howard*, *Walter Raleigh*, *Francis Vere*, *George Carew*, and *Coniers Clifford*. The whole Fleet was divided into foure ſquadrons; the Admirall commanded the firſt, Eſſex the ſecond, *Howard* the third, and *Raleigh* the fourth. The Officers of the Armie, were *Francis Vere* Serjeant Major Generall, or Marſhal, *John Wingfield* Quarter-maſter Generall, *George Carew* Maſter of the Ordnance, *Coniers Clifford* Serjeant Major. Colonels were, *Robert* Earle of Suſſex, Sir *Chriſtopher Blount*, Sir *Thomas Gerard*, Sir *Richard Wingfield*: *William Wingfield* was commander of the Voluntaries, and *Anthonie Aſtley* Secretarie to the Councell of warre, who was to regiſter their acts and conſultations, and the reaſons which every one gave.

Their Inſtructions. Their Commiſſion was, to enquire diligently, what and how much munition was in their ſhips or ſtore-houſes, and to intercept the ſame by all meanes, or ſinke it and their ſhips withall; but ſo, that they raſhly hazzard not her ſubjects. If they tooke any townes, they ſhould ſpare the women and feeble perſons, offering violence to none but ſuch as reſiſted: to reſerve the ſpoiles for the making good of the charge, and rewarding of them which deſerved well. That the Counſellors ſhould freely give advice, make no parties, and doe every thing by moſt voices, &c. Then ſhe gave them a Prayer of her owne making, which they ſhould uſe daily in every ſhip.

The fleet putteth to Sea. This Fleet ſet ſaile from Plimmouth at the beginning of June; the wind was croſſe the firſt day, but after they had a faire gale. Nigh unto Cabo St. Vincent they lighted upon an Iriſh Barke, the Maſter whereof told them, that he ſet forth from Cales, that they were all ſecure there, no word of the Engliſh Fleet, nor any ſouldiers, but a few Garriſon ſouldiers in the whole Iſland; that in the Haven were at anchor Gallies, ſhips of warre, and a great many Merchants veſſels.

It arriveth at Cales. June 20. they caſt anchor on the Weſt ſide of the Iſland, neere St. *Sebaſtians* Chappell. Eſſex being full of metall, would have the Armie landed preſently; but *Raleigh* was of another opinion, and the Admirall eſpecially, who never could endure raſh attempts. Within two dayes they were agreed to ſet upon the Spaniſh ſhips, and the Earle of Eſſex for joy caſt up his cap. This buſineſſe was allotted to the leſſer ſhips to undergoe, becauſe the rode was not very deepe, and therefore dangerous for the great ſhips to venture in. But the Gallies quickly fled, and crept along the ſhore till they came to Pont Suaco, where the Iſland lyeth next the Continent, and there by helpe of an Engine ſhifted away into the open ſea, all ſave one or two, which *Wingfield* in the Vauntgard kept in awe. In the interim, the Spaniſh ſhips at anchor at Puntall

turned

turned their broad sides, and the English (the tide being come in by this time) fell courageously upon them. The fight lasted from breake of day till noone; at which time the Spaniards having their Gallioons miserably torne, and a great number of men slaine in them, resolved to fire the ships, or run them a shore. Many for feare cast themselves into the water, some of them compassed the shore, some were taken, and others drowned; others swimming for their lives called out for mercie, and the Admirall out of very pity saved a great number. The Spanish Admirall, 1500. tunne of burthen, was fired by a Moore, and two other ships, which lay next to her, tooke the fire and were lost likewise. 1596.

When this sea-fight was ended, Essex landed 800. souldiers at Puntall, a league from the Town, and presently sent Sir *Conyers Clyfford*, Sir *Christopher Blunt*, and Sir *Thomas Gerard*, to breake downe the Pont Suaco, and the Engine by which the Gallies made escape, that so there might bee no passage from the Continent into the Iland. Which they diligently effected, and he marched in haste towards the towne. Halfe a mile from the towne the Spanish horse and foot shewed themselves, and withall gave backe againe. Straightway commeth forth a greater number; then Essex commanded his forces to make a faire retreit, and having enticed forth their enemies, they turned upon them with such violence, that they put them to flight; and followed them so hard, that they had much adoe to get into the town and shut the gates. The Earle gat up to a bulwarke newly raised neere the gate, from whence he saw a passage into the towne, but so high from ground, that they must leape a speares length to get down. Yet *Evans*, the Earle of Sussex his Lieytenant, *Arthur Savage*, and others, leaped downe. The meane while Sir *Francis Vere* brake the gate, and rushed in, and the rest withall. Now was there a hot skirmish in the streets for halfe an houre, till they came to the Market place, where the English were exceedingly troubled with stones cast from the tops of the houses. *John Wingfield* was shot into the head, divers were wounded, amongst whom *Samuell Bagnall* received eight wounds, and *Arthur Savage* was bloudy all over, and were knighted in the place. At the same instant the Admirall with *Raleigh*, *Mansell*, and the rest of his Companie, hasted into the Citie. By this time the Spaniards are weary of fighting, and retire into the State-house and the Castle. That was yeelded incontinent, this the next day, upon condition that the inhabitants might depart with the clothes they should weare, the rest should be left for spoile; for 580000. Duckets the Castle was to be redeemed, & for the paiment forty of the chiefe Citizens should be sent hostages into England. By & by proclamation was made, that no person should offer violence to the Spaniards; that the women & Religious persons should have safe conduct. Now *Raleigh* was commanded to fire the Merchants ships lying at Port-Reall, but they proffered two millions of Duckets to redeeme them. This the Admirall would not heare of, saying, he was sent to destroy ships, not to dismisse them upon composition. A world of munition was found in the Citie, and great store of money privately conveied away, every one shifting for himselfe. The wiser sort noted that the Spaniard must needs be damnified twenty millions of Duckets by this expedition. None of note was slaine amongst the

Souldiers landed at Puntall by the Earle of Essex.

Many hurt and knighted in the place.

Money offered to save the ships from firing.

1596. Engliſh ſave *Wingfield*, who alſo ſlew a Spaniſh Captaine. At leaſt 60. militarie men were at this time honoured with knighthood.

Next, tranſ-action was made for the reſtoring of captives on both parts, and a conſultation held whether to hold Cales or leave it. Eſſex would have it kept, that ſo they might be a thorne in the Spaniards ſide; the reſt gave their ſuffrages to the contrarie; for having enriched themſelves, they now minded home. But firſt they ſpoyled the whole Iland, demoliſhed the forts, fired the chiefe houſes in the town; & July the fifth departed, with this Elogie of the Spaniards: *The Engliſh are heretickes for their Religion, but otherwiſe, wiſe, valiant, & truly noble.* Thence they came to Pharo in Algarbie, whence the inhabitants were fled with their baggage; a faire Librarie they left behind them, which became Eſſex his bootie. He would gladly they ſhould have ſet upon ſome other attempt, but they were all a fire for England: whereupon he complained of the militarie men, but they eaſily ſatisfied his objections, pretending ſickneſſe amongſt the men, and a failing of proviſion: and indeed the Admirall was on good advice joyned to Eſſex, to containe his valiant and ambitious ſpirit within the bounds of moderation.

The Queen welcommed them home with great affabilitie, giving eſpeciall thanks to thoſe of principall note, but extolling the Earle of Eſſex & the Admirall above the reſt. For (as I ſaid) but one only man of note was loſt, and never a ſhip. And now the Queen bethinking her ſelf of a fit man amongſt theſe Commanders, whom to make Governour of the Briel, which was given by the States as a caution towne for money due, made choice of Sir *Francis Vere*, of whoſe valour and truſt ſhe had found good experience; albeit Eſſex, who commended others to this place, tooke it grievouſly. But another thing he tooke ſo heinouſly, that he grew angry and furious, that in his abſence Sir *Robert Cecill* was made Secretarie, whereas he had formerly commended Sir *Thomas Bodley* to the Queen, & extolled him to the skies with commendations; and now detracted from *Cecill* with ſuch odious compariſons, that neither the Queen (who already began to diſlike ſuch as he commended) nor the Treaſurer, thought fit to joyne *Bodley* as a Colleague in that Office, which formerly they were reſolved on, ſuſpecting by the laviſh commendations of the Earle of Eſſex, that he was made ſure already for his faction.

Sir Francis Vere made Governor of Briel.

The King of Spaine, to recover his honour loſt at Cales, gathered together his forces, and fitteth his Navie at Lisbon, to ſet forth for England and Ireland, with a great number of Iriſh fugitives; but being at ſea, moſt of the ſhips (as it was reported) in a foule tempeſt were either run upon rockes, or caſt away in the ſtorme: ſo that this expedition came to nothing. The Queene notwithſtanding carefully tooke order for the ſtrengthning of the ſea-forts; & for better ſecuritie to her people, entred a league of defence & offence with the French King againſt the Spaniards, viz. "That as ſoone as might be an armie ſhould be made readie againſt "the King of Spaine. That all Princes and States, whom it might any "waies concerne to beware of the Spaniards ambitious attempts, ſhould "be invited to the ſame league. That neither the King, nor the Queen, "ſhould hold any treatie of peace or truce, but by mutuall conſent. The "Queene ſhall ſend foure thouſand foot this yeere to ſerve the King ſixe "moneths

The Spaniard prepareth a Fleet againſt England.

A league with the French.

1596.

"moneths in all places, within 50. miles diſtance from Boloigne at the "ſea-ſide. They ſhall ſerve as long the yeere following, if the affaires "of England permit, wherein the Queenes word ſhall be taken. When "matters are quiet in Ireland, it ſhall be at the Queenes courteſie to "augment the ſaid ſupply of forces. The Engliſh ſhall be entertained "into the Kings pay, from the time of their landing in France till the day "of their departure. The Queene ſhall fill up the number from time "to time. The Engliſh which ſerve the King, ſhall be ſubject to the "Kings Officers, and bee puniſhable by them; but ſo, that the Engliſh "Captaines ſhall bee called to be aſſiſtants to the Kings Officers in their "judicature. The King ſhall not ſuffer the Queens ſubjects to be trou-"bled for their Religion, &c. In caſe England be invaded, the French "King ſhall yeeld the like ſupplie, with the ſame conditions and limitati-"ons, &c. This Treatie the Queen confirmed by oath in the Chappell at Greenwich Auguſt 29. laying her hand upon the hand of *Henrie de la Tour* Duke of Bullion, and Marſhall of France, the Biſhop of Chicheſter holding forth the Evangeliſts, and a great companie of the Nobilitie ſtanding round about. The September following, *Gilbert Talbot* Earle of Shrewsburie is ſent on Embaſſie into France, to take the French Kings oath in like maner; to preſent Sir *Anthonie Mildmay* for the Queens Embaſſadour in ordinarie, in the roome of Sir *Henrie Unton*, who deceaſed in France; and to inveſt the King in the Order of the Garter, which was firſt inſtituted to honour militarie men, and hee was a moſt valiant Commander. Soone after *Baskervill* wafted into Picardie with 2000. ſouldiers; for by a latter agreement no more were to be ſent this preſent yeere.

The French King received into the Order of the Garter.

At home now the Queene was driven to take ſevere courſes for the reſtraint of villainous Promoters or Purſivants, who pretending the authoritie and badges of the Queenes ſervants, ranged up and downe England with counterfeit inſtruments, under the hands of the Councell, and the Queenes Commiſſioners for cauſes Eccleſiaſticall, and rifled the houſes of Widowes and Papiſts, taking away whatſoever veſſells or jewells had the pictures of Chriſt or the Saints upon them, as unlawfull goods. Divers of them were apprehended, enforced to reſtore the goods, loſt their eares, and were branded in the foreheads for counterfeits and impoſtors. Yet was not all this ſufficient, till the Queene by Proclamation gave libertie to the perſons cited, if they ſuſpected the Apparitors, to carrie them before the next Juſtice of peace to bee examined, &c.

Counterfeit Purſivants puniſhed.

This yeere *Thomas Arundell* of Wardour returned into England, being commended to the Queen by the Emperour, as his neere allie and kinſman, whom for his valiant exploits in the warre of Hungarie againſt the Turkes, he by his Leters Pattents had created Earle of the ſacred Empire, and all and ſingular his heires, and their poſteritie male or female, lawfully deſcended from him, to bee Earles and Counteſſes of the holy Empire for ever. Thoſe which are graced with this title, have a place and voice in the Imperiall Diets, may purchaſe lands in the Emperours Dominions, take up voluntarie ſouldiers, and are not bound to anſwer upon any matter before any Judge, ſave onely in the Chamber of

Thomas Arundel returnes into England.

1596. of the Empire. Now when as hee at his returne became glorious amongſt the vulgar, in regard of this reſplendent Title, a great queſtion came in agitation, whether Titles of honour given to the Queenes ſubjects without her privitie, ought to be accepted by them, or admitted by her. For this new Earle was an eye-ſore to the Engliſh Barons, they inwardly grudging to give place to him; and the matter was vehemently diſputed on all ſides; but what iſſue it had, or whether he were permitted this honour here at home, I find not: ſure I am that Sir *Nicholas Clifford*, and Sir *Anthonie Sherley*, whom the French King two yeeres ſince for their valiant ſervice in his warres received into the Order of St. *Michael*, were laid in priſon at their comming home, charged to reſigne their Robes, and ſee that their names were blotted out of the French Commentaries. And the Queene upon this preſent occaſion uttered theſe words: *As chaſt women ought not to regard other than their owne husbands, ſo ſhould not ſubjects caſt their eyes upon any Prince but him whom God hath ſet over them. I would not have my ſheepe carry anothers marke; I would not have them follow a ſtrange ſhepheards whiſtle.*

A ſpeech of the Queens at the returne of Arundell.

Thoſe which departed this life this preſent yeere, were theſe of more eſpeciall note: *John Puckering*, Lord Keeper of the great Seale; who albeit himſelfe were an upright man, yet was ill thought of amongſt the Clergie, for his ſervants merchandizing Church preferments. *Thomas Egerton* ſucceeded him, of whom there was great expectation, for the opinion which was generally holden of his integrity.

The death of ſome great perſonages.

Richard Fletcher, Biſhop of London, a glorious Prelate, being unfortunate in marrying a wife, for which alſo he incurred the Queenes diſpleaſure (who greatly liked not of married Biſhops) fell to cure his cares, by immoderate drinking of Tobacco, and ſo expired. *Henrie Carie*, Baron Hunſdon, Lord Chamberlaine of her Majeſties houſehold, Governour of Berwicke, and Knight of the Garter; a man of a great ſpirit, but very cholerike: he attained theſe honours by his neere alliance to the Queene, for hee was her Couſin germane. Sir *Francis Knolles*, who married Hunſdons ſiſter, and had beene an exile in Germanie for the Goſpel; firſt Vice-Chamberlaine to the Queene, then Captaine of the Guard, afterward Treaſurer of the houſe-hold, and Knight of the Garter. And at the end of the yeere, *Henrie Haſtings* Earle of Huntington, and Preſident of the Councell in the North, who ſpent his eſtate upon Puritan Miniſters. He was buried at Aſhbey-Zouch in Leiceſterſhire, and at the ſame time with him *Francis* Lord *Haſtings*, Nephew to him by his brother *George*, who ſucceeded in the Earldome. The Preſidentſhip of the Councell at Yorke, *Matthew Hutton*, Archbiſhop, had committed to him, with all manner of juriſdiction belonging to it, but not the Title. *Margaret Clifford* Counteſſe of Derbie, who out of vaine credulitie, and ſome ambitious thoughts (for ſhe was deſcended of the bloud-royall from *Charles Brandon*) conſulted with Sorcerers and cunning men, and a little before her end in a manner was ſhut from the Queenes favour.

The Queene having intelligence that the King of Spaine was preparing a new Fleet againſt Ireland, began now to make ready a Navie of

ten

ten Engliſh ſhips, and as many Dutch. But theſe being held too ſmall a number for the enterpriſe, more were provided; five thouſand ſouldiers preſſed, beſides a thouſand old ſouldiers, which were brought from the Netherlands; ſo that now there were in the Fleet 120. ſhips, 17. of the Queens, 43. leſſer ſhips of war, the reſt for the carriage of proviſion. They were parted into three ſquadrons, Eſſex commanded the firſt, who alſo was chiefe Commander in the expedition; *Thomas Howard* the ſecond, and *Raleigh* the third. In this expedition were ſundrie of the Nobilitie and Gentrie, *Charles Blount* Lord *Mountjoy*, *Vere*, *Carew*, Sir *Chriſtopher Blount*, the Earles of Rutland and Southampton, the Lords, *Grey*, *Cromwell*, *Rich*, and many others. The ninth of July they weighed anchor from Plymoth; they were to direct their courſe to Feralie and the Groyne, to ſeize upon the Spaniſh Fleet in the harbour, and toward the Iſles called Azores, to intercept the Indian Fleet at their returne into Spaine. This upon mature deliberation here at home was held beſt; for if they tooke the Azores, where the Spaniſh Fleet at their returne from both the Indies uſe to water, the Queene would get the abſolute command of the Sea, and offend the Spaniard, or driue him to honourable conditions of peace. By that time they had ſailed 48. leagues from Plymouth, they were ſhaken with ſuch a horrible tempeſt for foure daies together, that the ſouldiers were even affrighted, the mariners themſelves at their wits end, and the Fleet toſſed up and downe, had much adoe to recouer Plymouth, and the Harbours in the Weſt Countrie. The Admirall her ſelfe was ſo ſhattered with the ſtorme, that it was hardly ſerviceable; and ſome of the tender Gallants, freſh water ſouldiers, were ſo ſea-ſicke and amazed with the foule weather, that they got to ſhore as ſoone as they could, and would returne to ſea no more.

1597. Reg. 40.

A voyage againſt the Spaniard.

The fleet driuen backe by tempeſt.

When the Navie was mended, though for ſtrength and number alſo much impaired, they hoiſe up ſaile againe; but the wind preſently fell ſo croſſe, that for a whole moneth they could not get out of the Haven; by which time the proviſion was greatly waſted, which could not bee made good, but from the Eaſt parts of England, and that upon no ſhort warning. Wherefore they thought good to diſmiſſe all the ſouldiers, ſave the thouſand old ones, and many of the leſſer ſhips, and not to goe at all to Feralie or the Groyne. Then they conſulted if they ſhould goe to the Azores. This expedition they all approved, but *Vere*, who argued that it would bee neither for the Queenes profit nor honour, for that with ſo ſmall forces nothing could be done, to anſwer mens expectation; and England, while the choice Commanders and the Queenes ſhips were away, might eaſily be invaded by the Spaniard. Hereupon Eſſex and *Raleigh* ride poſt to the Queen, to know what they ſhould reſolve on: Eſſex propoſed great matters, if it might be left to him, to goe to I know not what place with the one halfe of the Fleet and ſouldiers. But the Queene liked not this, nor other motions which he made. At laſt, all was left to be ordered by their common conſent.

Returning to Plymouth, they got forth of the Haven with a ſide wind Auguſt 17. but ere they came in view of Spaine, they were diſperſed by another horrible tempeſt, wherein of the two great ſhips which were taken at Cales, one was daſhed in peeces, and the other wandred

They get forth to ſea with much adoe.

1597. wandred from her fellowes. But ſoone after the Fleet met againe, yet *Raleigh* tarrying to mend a croſſe yard, which was broken in the ſtorme, was left behinde. Having wandred a great while, he found the Fleet at the Iſland Flores. In his abſence ſome traduced him to Eſſex, that he had purpoſely forſaken the Fleet, and Eſſex had ſent letters with that import for England: but he welcommed *Raleigh* at his comming, and craved pardon of him, that he had falſly informed the Queen againſt him.

Raleigh landeth at Faial, and taketh it.

Raleigh was here diſtreſſed for water, and went aſhore without leave: ere he had watered, he had charge to follow Eſſex to Fayal; but not finding him there, he obſerved the Port, and calling a Councell, the Commanders wiſhed to ſet upon the place, and not let ſlip ſo faire a booty. But *Merick*, who was of Eſſex party, earneſtly perſwaded them not to adventure, he being away: but having looked for him foure dayes, *Raleigh* with ſome of the prime Voluntaries got aſhore. The Spaniards came to reſiſt them, but were beaten backe. At length they gained the Towne, but found no body there.

Eſſex is offended with him.

The next day came Eſſex to Faiala, having beene all this while ſeeking the Spaniſh Fleet: *Merick* informeth him what *Raleigh* had done, detractingly affirming, that it was done onely to prevent him in the credit of the exploit; which he (being ambitious of himſelfe, and knowing well *Raleighs* ſiniſter affection towards him) eaſily beleeved. Others perſwaded him to call a Councell of warre, and diſplace him; ſome againe to take off his head, for going to land without the chiefe Commanders leave; ſaying, that hee was never like to have ſuch another opportunitie to be rid of his adverſary. Hereupon *Sidney*, *Bret*, *Berrie*, and others of *Raleighs* companie, were diſplaced and laid by the heeles; he himſelfe ſent for, and entertained with a grimme looke by Eſſex and all his partie: Eſſex rebuketh him angrily, for contemning his command, and breaking the diſcipline, ſeeing none upon paine of death might land any forces without the Generals command. He made anſwer for himſelfe, that the Captaines, Ship-maſters, and the reſt, were within the compaſſe of that law, not the three prime Commanders, of whom he was one: that he had a long time waited his comming, and would have tarried longer, but that the Iſlanders would not ſuffer him to water, and challenged him to fight. *Howard* now mediated that no ſeverity might be uſed againſt *Raleigh*, and perſwaded him to acknowledge his fault; which being done, all were friends, and the Commanders reſtored to their places. For the Earle was of a good diſpoſition, he would ſoone take up, and as eaſily lay downe an offence: ſo this enmitie was laid aſleepe for this time. Amidſt theſe doings, the Spaniſh garriſon abandoneth the fort neere the Towne, where were found two Engliſh men having their throates cut. Spies were ſent out, but could bring no tidings. Whereupon they carried away the Ordnance, and burnt up the Towne to aſhes.

Raleigh ſubmitteth, & they are reconciled.

Hence they ſaile to Gratioſa; where the inhabitants crave mercy, and obtaine it. Eſſex would have gone aſhore to view the pleaſant Iſland, and to tarry there in expectation of the Indian fleet; but *Graves* the Pilote diſſwaded him, becauſe it was not a good harbour. Within an houre or two after the Engliſh had unluckily hoiſed ſaile from Gratioſa

tiosa, loe the American fleet, wherein were forty ships, and seven of them laden with treasure, commeth thither; and finding that the English were there, direct their course to Tercera, where they gained the Haven, except three ships onely, indifferent wealthy, which they tooke. Minded they were to set upon them in the Port, but finding the attempt not feisible, they passe from hence to St. *Michaels*, where *Southampton*, *Rutland*, *Evers*, *Brodon*, and *Docwray*, were knighted. Essex landed within 6. miles of the Towne, nigh unto Villa Franca, a daintie Towne, and well provided of Merchandize, Wine, Woad, and Corne; where they tarried 6. dayes, and the common souldiers found good bootie; *Raleigh* all this while knowing nothing, and in vaine tarrying for the Earle of Essex at St. *Michaels*. Then was espied a Caraque out of the East-Indies, which perceiving that the English were there, by a warning peece shot off in a Dutch ship, ran her selfe a shore, unladed her merchandise, and then fired her selfe. Thus had the English ill hap every where in this expedition, and the 9. of October they hoised saile for England. But within two dayes, a foule tempest from the Northward dispersed them, and the Spanish fleet at the same time; insomuch that they never came in view of one another. Not one English ship was lost, but divers of the Spanish (if report were true) whereof one was at last cast upon Dertmouth, and the Marriners and souldiers halfe starved in her. They intimated, that the Spanish fleet intended to seize upon some haven in Cornewall, which being nigh the mouth of the channell, would be convenient to receive forces from Spaine; but the over-ruling providence of God, as you see, frustrated both the English and Spanish designes. 1597.

The Fleet returneth from America.

Divers censures passed amongst the people of this expedition, Essex being generally beloved, and *Raleigh* as generally hated, because there was a suspicion of him that he was Atheisticall. Surely in them both were these vertues conspicuous, fortitude in dangers, prudence in counsels, and diligence in their businesse; but now they brake forth into open enmities, one laying fault upon the other for the crosse successe. Essex also was displeased, that Sir *Robert Cecil* was now againe in his absence made Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaster: but most heinously hee tooke it, that *Charles Howard* Admirall, was in his absence created Earle of Nottingham, with relation in his Patent to the victory in 88. and his good service at Cales. This glory he envied him; and besides, stomached it that he must now take place of him; it being enacted in the reigne of *Henrie* the 8. that the chiefe Officers of the Kingdome should take precedencie of all men of their own degree. Whereupon the Queen, to give him content, was faine to create him Earle Marshall of England; so he recovered his place againe.

Grudges betwixt Raleigh and Essex.

About this time came an Embassadour into England from the King of Poland; who having audience given him, and the Queene expecting he should give thankes for the peace which shee had procured from the Turke for the Pole, loe an oration of another stamp in the Latine tongue; wherein he complaineth, that not onely the ancient priviledges of the Prussian and Poland trade in England were broken, but likewise (contrarie to the law of Nations) they were hindred by the Queene from traffique

An Embassadour from Poland.

1597. fique with the King of Spain, and upon that pretence their goods ſeized upon for booty. This the Pole could not let paſſe, both in regard that his ſubjects were damnified, and for the affinity betwixt him, the King of Spaine, and the houſe of Auſtria. Wherefore he requireth reſtitution of the goods, and liberty to ſaile without diſturbance into Spaine: otherwiſe, his maſter would take a courſe to right himſelfe and his ſubjects, and cauſe the Authors of this injurie to repent it.

The Queenes anſwer.

The Queene ſuddainly curbed the mans boldneſſe, in this elegant ſpeech. "How was I deceived? I expected an Embaſſadour, but loe "an Herald. Such a ſpeech I never heard in all my life time. I cannot "wonder enough at ſuch boldneſſe and temerity. If you had this Com-"miſſion from your King (which I greatly doubt) it was becauſe he "underſtandeth not theſe affaires, nor what hath paſſed betweene Us "and his predeceſſors. As for your ſelfe, you ſeeme indeed to have read "many books, but to have little skill in Politiques. For wheras you ſpeak "ſo much of the law of Nations, you muſt know, that warre being rai-"ſed betweene Princes, it is lawfull for one party to intercept the aides "or ſupplies ſent to the other, and that both by the law of nations, and "of nature alſo. Whereas you boaſt ſo greatly of your Kings affinitie "with the houſe of Auſtria, you may remember, that ſome of that houſe "would have bereft him of the Kingdome. For the reſt, you ſhall un-"derſtand our pleaſure by our Counſellors. Having ſo ſpoken, ſhe re-tired into her Cloſet.

The Embaſſadour, in his private conference with ſome of the Councell, excuſed himſelfe, ſaying, that the Oration was made by others, and given him in writing. The Queene, by the Teaſurer, and others of the Councell, gave him the ſame anſwer to his errand, which was heretofore given to the Hanſe townes upon the like occaſion.

The Engliſh Merchants forbidden to trade in Germany.

Theſe townes now, by their importunities, obtained of the Emperour to prohibit the Company of Engliſh Merchants Adventurers all manner of trade in Germany: and when the Queene could not prevaile with the Emperour to have the Edict ſuſpended, ſhe preſently interdicts the Hanſe-men here, and giveth order to the Mayor of London to take away their houſes, and put them from the Stiliard. Hereupon they call an aſſembly of all the Hanſe townes at Lubecke, conſpiring to exclude the Engliſh nation from all manner of trading in Germany and Poland. The Queene for prevention, diſpatcheth *George Carew* Maſter of the Chancerie into Pruſſia, to the King and State of Poland, promiſing graciouſly to permit their Merchants to carry corne or any proviſion without diſturbance for Spaine, excepting onely munition for warre; and that the Hanſe Townes might enjoy their priviledges, if they would uſe them as priviledges, not claime them as lawes. *Carew* wrought with thoſe of Dantzick ſo farre, that they promiſed they would not joyne themſelves with the Hanſe townes, nor goe to their meeting at Lubeck. From thence he paſſeth into Sweden, where the King of Poland was ſtreightned by his unkle *Charles*, but effected nothing; the King giving him an ingenuous anſwer, That by the lawes he could make no tranſaction with forreine Princes of himſelfe alone.

This yeare came the Chancellor of Denmarke into England to reſtore the

the Garter, which the Queene had bestowed upon the Kings father; and (besides other matters in his Commission) offered the Kings helpe to make a peace for the Queen with the Spaniard. The Embassadours were received with all humanity: as for the errand, the Queen was content to renew the ancient leagues, to make restitution of what goods were seized on, upon certaine conditions, promising no more violence should be offered; and that the fishing in Norway and Island should be no otherwise exercised but according to ancient agreement. As for a peace with the Spaniard, the Queene thought it was not for her honour to seeke it. For now indeed he molested the French King her Allie by a fierce warre, and by a stratagem had newly taken Amiens, the strongest Towne of Picardy; whereupon he was driven to require the ayde of 4000. souldiers from the Queene. She was willing to supply them, if he would give them pay: hee protested that he was not able to pay them; and for the better gaining of his purpose, intimated, that a very commodious peace was offered him by the Popes Nuntio, if he would forsake the Queene; and that the French Nation greatly desired a peace. She made answer, that shee could not beleeve the King upon any colour would violate his oath, and prove unthankfull, because the Queen was not able to satisfie all his demands, being now oppressed with so many difficulties here at home. These things *Mildmay* expostulated freely, and not without offence, girding the French for their levity and mockery. But whiles the Queene upon honourable conditions thought to releeve the French King, Amiens was recovered againe by the valour of *Baskervill* (who died in time of the siege) and by the proweſſe of Sir *Arthur Savage*, and the English, as the King in his letters thankfully acknowledged. 1597.

The French King craveth ayde of Queen Elisabeth.

He recovereth Amiens.

The Spaniard now growing old, and besides old age feeling other inconveniences of State, inclined to a peace with the French King, wherein the Pope was to be an honourable Arbitrator. And the Queen having suspicion they would grow to terms of peace, which she beleeved could not be very convenient for the state of England, about this time assembled a Parliament at Westminster, where she enacted many wholesome lawes, to the great contentment of her subjects, who to enable her against future necessity, lovingly granted her supplyes of money; the Clergy three entire subsidies, and the Laity three also, with sixe fifteens and tenths.

To this Parliament the Baron *La-Ware* was called, and restored to his blood, which by Act of Parliament in the reigne of *Edward* the sixt was tainted. As also *Thomas Howard*, second sonne to the Duke of Norfolke, by the Title of Baron *Howard* of Walden. But to an higher assembly were taken about this time, *William Brooke* Lord Cobham, Knight of the Garter, Chamberlaine to the Queene, Constable of Dover Castle, Warden and Chancellour of the Cinque Ports, leaving his sonne *Henrie* in his heritage: and *William Powlet* Marqueſſe of Winchester, more renowned for his greatnesse and wealth, than any other vertue; leaving behinde him one onely sonne legitimate, by his wife *Anne Howard* of Effingham.

The death of the Lord Cobham,

And the Marqueſſe of Winchester.

In Ireland matters were very turbulent at this time, for all Ulster

1597 beyond Dundalke, except ſeven Forts which had Garriſons in them, and almoſt all Connaght, were in Rebellion. Hereupon *Ruſſell* the Deputie was called home, and *Thomas* Lord Borough ſent in his place, a man ſtout and couragious enough, but no ſouldier. Hereby was *Norris* his expectation fruſtrate, who for his deſerts and skill in military affaires made ſure of this place for himſelfe. But ſeeing his adverſaries in Court too prevalent againſt him, his friends there forſake him, his Rivall now preferred before him, to whom he thought himſelfe in a ſort equall for birth, and farre ſuperiour to him for deſert, and (which was moſt trouble to him) that he was made Preſident of Mounſter under him, loe, he that had atchieved ſo many renowned victories, is overcome of diſcontent, and in a ſhort time, payeth his debt to Nature.

The Earle of Tir-Oen, that knew how to lead on his men (finding it for his behoofe) ſubmiſſively craveth a truce of the new Deputie (which the Iriſh call a ceſſation of armes;) and it was thought good for the Common-wealth to grant a Moneths truce, albeit the Deputie held all Ceſſations and Protections generally inconvenient. At the Moneths end the Deputy muſtered his forces, and marched againſt the Rebels, and valiantly gaineth the Fort at Blackwater, newly ſtrengthened; by which there was a way into the County of Tir-Oen, and was the onely fence the Rebels had, beſides the Woods and bogges. Now that very day that the Deputy was giving God thankes for the victory, the Rebels ſhew themſelves ſuddainly upon a Hill neere unto them; againſt whom the Earle of Kildare marcheth, and putteth them to flight, with a wing of horſe and ſome noble Voluntaries. But certaine of the Engliſh were ſlaine; namely, *Francis Vaughan* the Deputies brother in law, *Turner* a Serjeant Major, a man of tried valour, and two foſter brethren of the Earle of Kildare: whoſe death he tooke ſo heavily, that within a few dayes he followed them.

The Deputie taketh the fort at Blackwater.

As ſoone as the Deputy had fortified the Caſtle with new workes, and withdrawne his armie, the Rebels begin to beſiege the ſame very ſtrongly, as lying moſt convenient for their deſignes; and Tir-Oen thought his credit and fortune lay a bleeding, unleſſe he gained it. The Deputy with all ſpeed made thither againe, but unhappily died by the way. Theſe tidings arriving with the Rebels, they grow more fierce than ever, at every hand with clamour and violence ſetting upon the Fort, but were ſtill repelled with greater loſſe: inſomuch, that their forces failing, they comforted themſelves herein, that there was not many dayes proviſion left in the Fort. But the admirable fortitude of *Thomas Williams* the Captaine, and the Garriſon ſouldiers, ſaved the place: who when their horſe fleſh was all ſpent, fed upon weeds growing within the trenches, and endured all kind of miſerie. Now by direction from England, the Armie was to be committed to the Earle of Ormond, under the Title of Lievtenant Generall; and the Government unto two Lords Juſtices, *Adam Loftheuſe* Archbiſhop of Dublin and Chancellor, and *Robert Gardiner*, after that *Norris* had executed the place a moneth before his death. Tir-Oen now exhibiteth a tedious bill of his grievances to this new Lievtenant, making a feigned ſubmiſſion, with requeſt of pardon; and at the ſame time ſtirreth up *Mac-Hugh* to a new rebellion in Leinſter.

The Deputie dieth.

The fidelitie and valour of the Garriſon ſouldiers.

Amongſt

1598. Reg. 41.

Amongſt theſe Iriſh troubles, ſome difficultie alſo ariſeth from France. For the French King, albeit he had recovered Amiens, yet being even toiled with warre, and importuned by the Pope and his owne ſubjects, began now to incline to a Peace upon their motion; whereof hee had lately given the Queene intimation, being bound thereunto by oath as well as treatie. The Queene, for the French Kings ſatisfaction, ſent her Delegates into France, *Robert Cecill*, *Herbert*, and *Wilkes*, that died at his landing in France. The States likewiſe ſent thither *Juſtine* of Naſſaw, and *Barnevelt*, and others likewiſe into England, to diſſwade the peace. The French King meeting with the Delegates, made a ſpeech unto them, declaring how neceſſary a peace would be for himſelfe, and not inconvenient for England; howſoever, for his owne part, albeit hee were bred a ſouldier, and therefore delighted in the courſe of warre, yet through his owne ambition he durſt not (out of conſcience) expoſe his people to miſeries, when a faire peace was offered. *Cecill* made anſwere, That the Queen had indifferently revenged her ſelfe, and would not be backward in an honourable peace; but he deſired to know what conditions the Spaniard propoſed. He anſwered, That the peace was ſincerely intended on the King of Spaines part, that he would give up whatſoever he held in France, yea Calice it ſelfe. Now while theſe matters were debating, the French King minding his owne ends, held ſome private parlee with the Archduke, which the Queene expoſtulated with him, but he laboured to excuſe himſelfe. But the Delegates from the States were utterly averſe from a Peace, and that it might not bee concluded, made proffers of very great aide to the French King, both by ſea and land; which he confeſſed were very honourable, yet the miſeries wherein France lay by reaſon of the preſent warre, required him to encline ſtill to termes of agreement.

The French King inclineth to a peace.

Cecill (whoſe Commiſſion was generall only) could proceed no farther, but requeſted in the Queens name a longer time to deliberate of the matter. When this might not be granted, he minded him of his vow and oath; and at his returne, the Queene by letters importuneth him to have regard to his conſcience before God, and reputation amongſt men; affirming, that if in humane affaires there be any ſinne againſt the Holy Ghoſt, doubtleſſe it is ingratitude; that an old friend is better than a new one, &c. Which diſcourſe was nothing welcome to him, and hee excuſing himſelfe out of the urgent neceſſity, which compelled him in a ſort, ſhortly concluded a peace, to the great good and eſtabliſhment of the French Common-wealth. Nevertheleſſe minding his honour, he had ſtill a due reſpect toward the Queene, and omitted no endeavour for the procuring of a peace betweene England and Spaine likewiſe.

The Queen ſeeketh to diſſwade him.

The Queene now providing for her owne and her peoples ſafety, ſent Sir *Francis Vere* to the States, to know if they were willing to joyne in a treaty of peace with the Spaniard; if not, what they would afford toward a war; and to deale ſeriouſly with them about repayment of money due from them. At home, in the meane time, a great diſpute was holden, whether or no it were convenient to conclude a peace with the Spaniard, and reaſons on all ſides were alleaged, as are uſuall in the like argument, with regard had to the particular circumſtances. Burleigh

Conſultation concerning peace with Spaine.

1598. Lord Treaſurer inclined to a peace for many reaſons, but theſe principally: That the event of warre is uncertaine, the charge infinite, the Treaſurie already exhauſt, and the King of Spaines wealth inexhauſtible; but (which is more than all the reſt) that by this warre hitherto, nothing hath accrued unto England, but a diverſion of evill from the ſtate, which muſt be reckoned amongſt the leaſt goods. Eſſex (on the other ſide) being bred a ſouldier, could endure no peace, but declaimeth againſt the ſubtiltie and ambition of the Spaniſh Nation, that their Religion taught them to keepe no faith with Heretikes: inſomuch that the Treaſurer, ſeeing that he breathed nothing but warre, ſlaughter, and bloud, after a long bickering, in a ſtrange manner of preſage reached forth the booke of the Pſalmes to him, pointing him to that verſe, *The bloudy minded man ſhall not live out halfe his daies*. Some notwithſtanding thought he intended ſincerely the honour and ſecuritie of his Countrie; others, that being ambitious, he aimed at his owne ends & advancement, againſt whom he afterward ſet forth an apologie. When this matter was finally diſcuſſed, there chanced a great breach between the Queen and Eſſex, concerning the deputing of a fit man to the government of Ireland; ſhe was minded to ſend Sir *William Knolles*, Eſſex his Unkle; but he peremptorily contended for Sir *George Carew*, whom hee had a mind to remove from the Court; and when he could not prevaile with the Queene, forgetting himſelfe and his duty, uncivilly and contemptuouſly hee turned his back upon the Queen, and muttered: whereupon ſhe waxing impatient, gave him a box on the eare, and bid him be gone with a vengeance. He laid his hand upon his ſword hilt, and, the Admirall ſtepping between, ſware a great oath that he could not, nor would not put up ſuch an indignitie; no, that he would not have taken it at King *Henrie* the eighths hands, & ſo in a rage flung away from the Court. Being gravely admoniſhed by letters from the Keeper of the privie Seale, to ſubmit himſelfe to the Queene, and crave her mercy, with much more good counſell, he angrily replyed at large, and appealed from the Queen to the Almighty. But afterward, becomming more calme, hee found grace with the Queene againe.

Burleigh is for the peace, and Eſſex againſt it.

Diſſention betweene the Queen and Eſſex.

About this time *William Cecill* Lord Burleigh Lord High Treaſurer of England began to droope with age and diſeaſes, and ſent letters to the Queen, entreating her to releaſe him of his publike charge. She came to viſit & comfort him; but within a few daies he paied nature her debt, in a good old age (for he had lived 77. yeeres) and was the ſtay of the Engliſh Common-wealth in his daies. By his wiſedome, a little before his death, England was freed from a great burden, which lay upon it by reaſon of the Netherlandiſh war, the States being brought to a compoſition for the paiment of eight hundred thouſand pounds by 30000. pounds yeerely, and a new league concluded with them. Which alſo was well furthered by Sir *Thomas Bodleyes* diligence, who was of the States Privie Councell for the Queene; and having happily diſcharged that employment, gave himſelfe wholly to the advancement of learning, and ſhall live in everlaſting renowne, for being the founder and furniſher of the famous Librarie at Oxford.

The death of the Lord Burleigh.

The King of Denmarkes ſubjects having lately ſeized upon ſome goods of the Engliſh as prize, to the value of an hundred thouſand Dollers,

Dollers, the Queene ſent the Lord *Zouch*, and *Chriſtopher Perkins* Doctor of Law on Embaſſie to the Dane, to congratulate his late marriage with the Electors daughter of Brandenburg; and to crave reſtitution the Engliſh goods, in lieu whereof 60000. Dollers were repaied. Now alſo the Earle of Cumberland, *George Clifford*, who had furniſhed a Navie of eleven ſhips againſt the Spaniard at his proper charges, returned into England, having waited for Portugall Caraques, and the American Fleet till the ſeaſon of the yeere was paſt, but they durſt not ſtirre forth. Hereupon he ſet upon Port-Rico, and tooke it; but 700. of his men falling ſicke of Calentures, and dying within 40. daies, he was faine to repaire home, returning into England with more victorie than bootie. 1598.

The Earle of Cumberland taketh Port-Rico.

In thoſe daies likewiſe *Edward Squier*, a fellow of vulgar condition, was arraigned upon high Treaſon. He had beene at the firſt an ordinarie Scrivener, afterward a Groome in the Queens Stable, and going as a ſouldier in *Drakes* laſt expedition, was taken priſoner in that ſmall Barke which the Spaniards lighted on. In Spaine hee came acquainted with *Walpoole* an Engliſh Jeſuite, who cauſed him to bee put into the Inquiſition for an Heretike; and the fellow taſting of miſerie, was eaſily drawne to bee a Papiſt, and afterward to attempt any thing for the Catholike cauſe. His ghoſtly father perſwaded him it were meritorious to make away the Queen and the Earle of Eſſex, and ſent him into England with a certaine poyſon, wherewith to anoint the pommell of the Queenes ſaddle, and the Chaire in which the Earle ſhould ſit: which he accordingly performed, but neither of them tooke effect. *Walpoole*, as it ſeemeth, taking it in ill part that the buſineſſe ſucceeded not, ſuſpected *Squiers* fidelitie, and was bent to revenge it. Whereupon hee ſent one into England, that in generall termes ſhould lay this aſperſion upon him; whereupon *Squier* was called in queſtion; and not dreaming his Confeſſor would detect him, preciſely denied all at firſt; but after, ſeeing himſelfe betraied, confeſſed all that I have now laid downe, and was executed.

Squiers treaſon.

This whole yeere the Rebellion was hot in Ireland. For Tir-Oen, albeit he had pocured pardon under the great Seale of England from the Lievtenant, all on the ſudden beſieged the Fort of Blackwater. For the raiſing of this ſiege, the Lievtenant Generall of the Armie (for as yet there was no Deputie) ſent 13. Companies under the command of the Marſhall, Tir-Oens ſworne adverſarie. From Armagh they marched in treble array: ere they had gone a mile, Tir-Oen, inſtigated with hatred toward the Marſhall, ſet upon the firſt armie, where he commanded, ſlew him, and put the reſt to rout, and atchieved ſuch a victorie with ſo great loſſe to the Engliſh, as they had never felt the like ſince they firſt ſet footing in Ireland: for thirteen valiant Commanders, and 1500. common ſouldiers were ſlaine at this ſkirmiſh; and ſoone after the Fort at Blackwater was yeelded up, the Garriſon not being able to hold out any longer, and the hope of reliefe vaniſhed.

Tir-Oen gaineth a great victory againſt the Engliſh.

This victorie proved glorious to the Rebels, Tir-Oens fame began to reſound, as the Aſſertor of the libertie of the Nation, and upon a ſudden all Mounſter brake forth into Rebellion. For the cheriſhing where-

1599 of Tir-Oen ſent thither *Ouny-Mac-Rory*, and *Tirell* (who originally was an Engliſhman, yet now a deadly enemie of the Engliſh Nation) with 400. Kerns. Againſt theſe *Thomas Norris*, Preſident of the Province, marcheth to Kilmalocke with a good force: but finding that the Iriſh ſouldiers of his Companie were ready to revolt, he was faine to diſperſe his armie and retire to Corke. Hereupon the Rebells grew inſolent, ſpoiled the Territorie, drave booties, pillaged and fired the houſes of the Engliſh round about, and in cruell manner put them all to the ſword. Furthermore, they declare *Fitz-Thomas* Earle of Deſmond; yet upon condition he ſhould hold of *O-Neale*, that is, the Earle of Tir-Oen, who now diſpatched letters to the Spaniard, relating his victories with full mouth, and vowing to accept no termes of peace with the Engliſh. Yet at the ſame inſtant (after his wonted treacherous manner) proffered ſome kind of ſubmiſſion to the Lievtenant, but withall made vnreaſonable demands.

1599. Reg. 42. Conſultation whom to ſend into Ireland.

The State of Ireland being thus deplored, ſerious conſultation is holden in England, who ſhould be the fitteſt man to extinguiſh the Rebellion. The Queen, and moſt of the Counſellors, had their eyes fixed upon Sir *Charles Blount* Lord Mountjoy: but Eſſex covertly intimated, that he had no militarie experience, and was too bookiſh to prove a good Commander. Hee held it meet ſome man of the Engliſh Nobilitie ſhould be ſent, whom the ſouldiers would reſpect, and who had beene a great Commander in former ſervice; inſomuch that he ſeemed to point out himſelfe for the man: inſomuch alſo that the Queene had a purpoſe to appoint him as chiefe Commander, both of the Kingdome of Ireland and the whole armie, though he would ſeeme modeſtly to refuſe it, as unmeet for ſo weightie an imployment; and yet was ſtill ready with his exceptions, if any other were nominated. And he bare himſelfe in ſuch ſort, that his adverſaries perceived he affected nothing more than to have an armie at his command, doubting alſo that hee hatched ſome monſter within his breaſt. For hee daily carried himſelfe more malapartly toward the Queene, and his creatures talked of great matters: that he forſooth was deſcended of the bloud-royall of Scotland and England, and had better right to the Crowne than any other of the Competitors.

The Earle of Eſſex is ſent.

Theſe things alſo ſome at Court, which rather deſired his roome than his companie, aggravated to the higheſt, putting the ſpurre to him that ranne too faſt alreadie; beſeeching him, that out of love to his Countrie he would undertake this province, extolling him in all places, yea, before his face, wherein hee blinded with flatterie, perceived not that they ſought his ruine. In a word, he is appointed Vice-Roy, with ample authoritie, to make warre or conclude peace, and pardon all offenders, even Tir-Oen himſelfe. An armie is allotted as great as he deſired, and ſuch as Ireland had never ſeene the like, namely 20000. foot, and 1300. horſe; yea, he could crave nothing, but the officious Courtiers would lend him their furtherance. And that they might the better enſnare him, they ſent along ſpies to obſerve his carriage, to regiſter his words, and wreſt all to the worſt. The Queen alſo ſent a Declaration before hand, ſhewing, that ſhe was ſo farre from endevouring to over-run Ireland (as

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ſome wickedly gave out) that it never came into her thoughts; nor was there any cauſe why it ſhould, ſhe being well perſwaded of the loyaltie of the greateſt part of the Nobilitie and Communaltie. She proffereth pardon to the Rebells which returned to their allegeance, but threatneth the reſt with deſtruction. For this purpoſe ſhee had made choice of the Earle of Eſſex, as the Miniſter both of her mercy and juſtice, of whoſe valour, wiſdome, and fidelitie, ſhee had found good experience.

He arriveth in Ireland.

Soone after he followeth, with a great retinue of the Nobilitie, and happy acclamations of the common people. As ſoone as he had taken the ſword, contrarie to his Commiſſion (which was to goe immediately againſt the arch-Rebell) by perſwaſion of ſome of the Councell there, minding their owne utilitie, he marcheth toward Mounſter againſt the pettie Rebells, taketh the Caſtle of Cahir, and driveth the Rebells into the Woods and Groves adjoyning. But hee returned not till the latter end of July: at which time hee grew very much diſpleaſed, hearing that the maſter-ſhip of the Wards, which hee gaped for, was in his abſence conferred upon Sir *Robert Cecill*. His forces being now impayred, hee tarrieth to make them up; but in the meane time ſendeth direction to Sir *Coniers Clyfford*, Preſident of Conaught, to ſet upon the Rebells in one place, thereby to ſever their forces, while hee aſſaulted them in another. *Clyfford* marcheth toward Belike, over the Mountaines of Curlew, with 1500. ſouldiers, where the Rebells are upon them at unawares, under the conduct of *O-Rorke*, his ſonne that was hanged here in England. The Engliſh repell them at firſt with eaſe, and march along; but the Rebells finding they wanted powder, ſet upon them againe, and now that they were wearie with the tedious journey, put them to flight: at which time *Clyfford* and a great many of the old ſouldiers were ſlaine.

He marcheth into Mounſter, contrary to his Commiſſion.

He receiveth a ſupply, and marcheth againſt Tir-Oen.

Eſſex having by this time received his ſupply out of England, and a checke for neglecting the Queenes command, ſetteth forth at length toward the borders of Ulſter, with 1300. foot and 500 horſe. When he was come thither, Tir-Oen by a meſſenger requeſteth parlee; Eſſex refuſeth, ſaying, if hee would he might ſpeake with him next morning between the two Armies. The next day tidings is brought to Eſſex, that Tir-Oen craved the Queenes mercy, and that he might onely be heard ſpeake, appointing the ſhallow of Balla-Clinch for a moſt convenient place. Thither came Eſſex alone, having firſt enquired of the nature of the place; Tir-Oen riding his horſe in to the girts, had private conference with Eſſex for a full houre. A while after, *Con Tir-Oens* baſe ſonne came to the Deputie, requeſting in his fathers name a ſecond parlee, and that ſome of the chiefe on both ſides might bee preſent. He conſented, ſo there came not more than ſixe. At the day appointed many words had not paſſed, but it was agreed that their Delegates ſhould treat the next day concerning a peace. Betweene them it was concluded, that a truce ſhould bee held from ſixe weekes to ſixe weekes till May-day.

By this time the Earle of Eſſex his letters came to the Queenes hands; whereby ſhe underſtanding that no more was done after ſo much time

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1599. and money ſpent, in a great anger taxed his proceedings, as unluckie and precipitate; and (I know not how) it fell from her to ſome that ſtood by, that he had other thoughts in his mind than the good of his Prince and Countrey. Yet would ſhe not call him backe, though ſome counſelled her ſo to doe: but diſpatched letters to him and the Councellors of Ireland; That ſhe greatly wondered wherefore the Deputie did nothing, but bring one delay after another, and let ſlip every faire opportunitie; who, while he was in England, was of opinion, that Tir-Oen was chiefely to be perſecuted. If the armie be now diminiſhed and in evill caſe, why did he not ſet upon the enemie when it was full, ſtrong, and complete? If the ſpring were no fit ſeaſon to make warre in Ulſter, why was the Summer and Autumne neglected? was no time of the yeere fit to make warre there, &c. Wherefore ſhe would adviſe both him and them to bee more circumſpect for the common good, and withall, to write her word in what ſtate Ireland ſtood, &c.

The Queen writes to the Deputy.

Eſſex was ſo nettled with theſe letters, and the Queenes former objurgations; but chiefly troubled (as I ſaid) that the Queene had made *Cecill* maſter of the Wards, that he began to caſt ſtrange projects within himſelfe, and held private conſultations of returning into England with part of the forces, and ſurprizing his adverſaries. But the Earle of Southampton, and Sir *Chriſtopher Blount* deterred him from this, as a wicked, bloudy, odious, and dangerous enterprize. Whether this came to the Queen eares or not, it is not certaine: but at the ſame time, doubtfull rumors of the Spaniſh Fleet comming againſt England were taken hold of, and an armie of ſixe thouſand preſently levied; the one halfe were commanded to attend the Queenes perſon, and reſt to be ready upon all occaſions: a greater armie alſo was making ready, and the Admirall *Howard* made Generall, with all manner of authoritie as well againſt Rebells at home as forrein enemies. But the armie within a few daies was diſſolved.

He caſteth dangerous projects.

Within a moneth, Eſſex (when no body thought on it) came to the Court at None-ſuch, to informe the Queen of the ſtate of Ireland. By the way, the Lord *Grey* of Wilton croſſed him, but ſaluted him not; one of his followers offered to kill him, but Eſſex would not permit, and made ſuch haſte, that earely in the morning he was upon his knees before the Queene in the Privie Chamber. She entertained him courteouſly (but not with the countenance ſhee was wont) and after a little talke bid him keepe in his Chamber. Hee had offended her before and now made his fault more unpardonable by leaving Ireland without licence. Whereupon ſhe commited him to cuſtodie in the Lord Privie Seale his houſe; from whence ſome conſpired to reſcue him, but hee would not allow of their enterpriſe.

He returneth into England.

He is committed to cuſtody.

During his impriſonment, ſome of the Queenes unruly ſubjects extolled him to the very skies up and downe the ſtreets, and at their Taverne meetings; yea, ſome zealous Miniſters in the very Pulpit, and the ſame perſons, or ſome others, libelled againſt the Lords of the Councell, and the Queene her ſelfe indirectly, that they were careleſſe of the Common-wealth, and regarded not the good of the Kingdome of Ireland. Inſomuch that when the Counſellers, according to the cuſtome,

cuſtome, were aſſembled in the Star-Chamber, the morrow after the end of Michaelmas Tearme, the Lord Keeper of the Privie Seale, having firſt admoniſhed the Nobles to repaire from the Citie to their Countrie houſes, to keepe hoſpitalitie amongſt their neighbours, &c. he gravely confuteth the falſe cavills and cenſures of the multitude; unfolding how ſedulouſly the Queenes thoughts were bent for the quieting of Ireland, in what prepoſterous ſort the Earle of Eſſex had gone on againſt the Rebells, and what diſhonourable agreement he had made with the Earle of Tir-Oen; who being hereby puffed up, made his brags that he would come ſhortly into England to marke himſelfe out an inheritance, &c. and to like effect ſpake the reſt, *Buckhurſt*, who was made Treaſurer in Burleighs place, the Earle of Nottingham Lord high Admirall, &c. Now we will leave Eſſex for a while, who is priſoner in the houſe of the Lord Privie Seale, where he wholly giveth himſelf to divine contemplation, and writeth wonderfull letters to his friends of the vanitie of the things of this life. Beſides theſe occurrents at home, *Andrew* of Auſtria, who was Governour of the Low-Countries in the abſence of *Albert* the Arch-Duke, ſendeth *Charles Lanfranke*, and *Hierom Goeman* into England, to treat of a peace betweene the Spaniard and Queene *Eliſabeth*. The Queene ſeemed not averſe to a peace, in caſe the King of Spaine authorized them to a treatie, provided that the States of the Low-Countries might bee included; for ſhee might in no caſe forſake them. Upon this mention of a peace notwithſtanding, the Queene and the States began to diſtruſt treacherie, for about the ſame time there went conſtant reports up and and downe, that a Navie was making ready in Spaine. 1599.

Embaſſadors from the Arch-Duke.

Now alſo *Charles* by the grace of God (for this title he uſed) Prince and Heire apparant to the Kingdomes of Sweden, Goths and Vandals, ſent a Meſſenger to the Queene, to take away the calumnies and aſperſions which were laid upon him; that he endevoured to depoſe his Nephew *Sigiſmund* from the Dominion of Sweden, & ſtudied an innovation in the Common-wealth; beſeeching her not to beleeve ſuch like reports againſt him, nor give credit to his traducers. The Queene gave a preſent anſwer, wiſhing that hee would ſtill continue ſuch as he pretended, not making the profeſſion of the Goſpel a pretext for diſloyaltie. Yet it is certaine that hee afterward violently depoſed his Nephew, and left the Kingdome of Sweden to his ſonne *Adolphus*, who now reigneth.

And from Sweden.

At this time likewiſe *Richard Hooker* rendered up his ſoule into the hands of the Almightie, a Divine for his modeſtie, temperance, meekneſſe, & other vertues worthy of imitation, beſides his profound learning, which his bookes of Eccleſiaſticall Policie ſufficiently make manifeſt, written by him in the Engliſh tongue, but deſerve to ſpeake in another language.

The death of Maſter Hooker.

At the beginning of the next yeare, the Queene (the better to furniſh her ſelfe with money toward the Iriſh warre) delegated certaine Commiſſioners, to confirme the Crowne lands to the poſſeſſors, that held any of controverted title, and to take money for the confirmation: for a nation of men, whom they call Concealers, had lately beene very troubleſome 1600. Reg. 42.

1600. bleſome unto them. She ſendeth forth Proclamations likewiſe againſt the tranſportation of gold or ſilver, wrought or unwrought, anſwerable to former Acts of Parliament in that caſe made and provided.

Great troubles in Ireland.

The troubles of Ireland alſo call upon her, to take order for the quieting of that State. For Tir-Oen now began to beare himſelfe for Monarch of Ireland, ſince the departure of the Earle of Eſſex, commeth in perſon to hearten the Rebels in Mounſter, and under colour of a holy Pilgrimage to the holy Croſſe at Tipperary, thruſteth forward divers others into Rebellion, ſome by large promiſes, and others by taking more ſevere courſes, cauſing them to give hoſtages whom he any waies ſuſpected. Alſo he ſendeth Kernes, to make ſpoyle in the poſſeſſions of ſuch as continued in their loyaltie, under *Mac-Guir* their Captaine; who lighting caſually upon Sir *Warham St. Leger*, thruſt him thorow with a ſpeare, and was himſelfe thruſt thorow withall.

The Lord Mountjoy made Deputy.

Hereupon the Queene ſent Sir *Charles Blount* Lord Montjoy, to take upon him the Deputies authoritie in Ireland. Hee arrived there in Februarie without any noiſe, and found Ireland in moſt pitifull and languiſhing eſtate: the Rebells growne inſolent, both by reaſon of their victories, as alſo being lately animated by the Indulgence of Pope *Clement* the eighth. The Deputie notwithſtanding loſeth no time, but firſt of all marcheth toward Ulſter, buildeth a Fort within eight miles of Armagh, which in honour of Sir *John Norris*, under whom he had his firſt militarie rudiments, he calleth by the name of *Mount-Norris*; there he placed *Edward Blanie*, who vexed the Rebells ſorely in theſe parts: from thence back into Leinſter, where in the Glinnes he reduceth into order *Donel-Spaniah*, *Phelim Mac-Pheogh*, and the rebelling Nation of the *O-Tooles*, taking hoſtages of them: then into Ulſter againe, being victor whereſoever hee commeth; and at Tredagh receiveth into protection *Mac-Henry*, *Mac-Cowley*, and other Rebells which fell at his feet for mercie.

He prevaileth againſt the Rebells.

All this, and more than this (for I relate not every particular) did the Deputie bring to paſſe ere his firſt yeere went about. And no leſſe ſucceſſefull was *Carew* Preſident of Mounſter, which Province was even ſicke of Rebellion under the titularie Earle of Deſmond, whom hee drave out of the Countie; and having raiſed a diffidence amongſt the Rebels, by counterfeit letters ſent betweene them, he ſo maintained that ſtratagem, that they grew out of heart and were diſperſed. In a word, the Preſident, who found Mounſter a turbulent Province in April, made the ſame ſo quiet by December following, that the Rebells maintained not one Fort in it againſt the Queene.

Things paſſing on thus in Ireland, a new conſultation was holden in England touching a peace with the King of Spaine; the which he ſought both by the French King and *Albert* the Arch-Duke, who was now returned into the Netherlands out of Spain, where he was married to the Infanta.

The Queene, howſoever ſhee was not ignorant of the utilities, which the King of Spaine might foreſee would accrue to him by a peace, yet was ſhe perſwaded alſo, that a peace would bee both for the good of England

England and her owne reputation; wherefore the French King procuring the buſineſſe, ſhe left it unto him to nominate both the time and place for the meeting of the Delegates; who ſet downe the moneth of May, and Boloigne in France. Now foreſeeing that a queſtion would ariſe for the precedencie, ſome were appointed to ſearch the by-paſt ſtories concerning that point. Theſe men found in the booke of the Ceremonies of the Court of Rome, which (according to the Canons) giveth a rule to the reſt, as their Lady, Mother, and Miſtris, That amongſt Kings the firſt place is due to the King of France, the ſecond to the King of England, and the third to the King of Caſtile; that the Engliſh quietly held this priviledge in the generall Councells of Baſil, Conſtance, &c. Beſides, that the Kingdome of Caſtile, which is the Spaniards firſt title, is but an upſtart in regard of England, which had Earles, but no Kings, before the yeere of Chriſt, 1017. In like manner, that Pope *Julius* the third gave ſentence for *Henrie* the Seventh of England, againſt *Ferdinand* King of Caſtile, &c. 1600.

But to let theſe matters paſſe; at the day appointed the Delegates met at Boloigne: Sir *Henrie Nevill* Legier Embaſſadour, Sir *John Herbert*, *Robert Beale*, and *Thomas Edmunds* for the Engliſh, and others for the King of Spaine and the Arch-Duke. The Engliſh had inſtructions to have chiefe reſpect to the honour, ſafetie, and publike good of the Queen and Kingdome of England. As for prioritie of place, in no caſe to give way to the King of Spaine: yet if they contended, to put the matter to the deciſion of Lots, rather than the Treatie ſhould bee diſſolved. For the reſt, to propoſe the renewing of the ancient Burgundian league, freedome of commerce, &c. Delegates meet about a peace with Spaine.

When they had ſeverally ſhewed the warrant of their Commiſſion, and ſome objections of inſufficiencie made and anſwered on both ſides; the Engliſh challenge the precedencie. Hereupon the Spaniards in anger made anſwer, It was ſtrange the Kings of England ſhould make themſelves equall to the Catholike King, much leſſe contend for prioritie of place. The Engliſh replied, That the precedencie of the Kingdome of England was well known to all the World, could be maintained by ſolid arguments, and that howſoever it were, the Queenes Embaſſadour reſident ought to be preferred before him that was meerely ſent under the name of a Delegate. This the Spaniards would in no caſe heare of; and whiles the diſpute was hot, and ſuſpicions grew on all ſides, that a peace was propounded, but ſomewhat elſe intended, the Spaniards intimated, that the Catholike King would by no meanes grant precedencie, or equalitie, and had given peremptory injunction to his Delegates to diſſolve the Treatie. This newes greatly troubled the Delegates of the Queene and the Arch-Duke: and that the Treatie might not be broken off, the Engliſh made a propoſition, to let paſſe that queſtion of precedencie, and tranſ-act the buſineſſe by writing and Meſſengers betweene them; or that the Treatie might be intermitted onely for 60. dales, not quite broken off. But all was to no purpoſe, and at three moneths end they parted. Contention about precedencie. The Treatie is diſſolved.

The States the meane while were ſo farre from regarding a peace, that at this time they had a thought about reducing the Sea coaſt of Flanders

1600. ders into their command. Hereupon they landed an armie there of 14000. foot, and 3000. horſe, under the conduct of *Maurice* of Naſſaw; and 1500. of the Engliſh under the command of Sir *Francis Vere*, and his brother *Horatio*: at which time happened the famous battell of Newport againſt the Arch-Duke and the Spaniard, wherein 9000. of the Spaniards fell, and the victorie by the valour of the Engliſh redounded to the Dutch. For of their fifteene hundred, 800. were ſlaine and ſore wounded, eight Captaines loſt, and of the reſt every man hurt. Yea, the Spaniards themſelves imputed the victory principally to the magnanimitie of the Engliſh.

The battell of Newport.

A treaty of Repriſalls betwixt the Engliſh and the French.

Betweeh the Engliſh and the French, all this yeere and the yeer paſt, aroſe ſundrie quarrels and complaints touching *Repriſalls* of goods taken from each other by Pyrats of either Nation. And upon a Treatie held, and grievances heard, it was agreed, That both Princes ſhould take the ſubjects of either Kingdome into their protection, for the exerciſing of free trade; that ſhips ſhould be ſent out to skoure the Narrow Seas, that Proclamations ſhould be ſet forth againſt the buying, receiving, or concealing any goods, which were not firſt found to be lawfull prize by the Judge of the Admiraltie, &c. Other contentions alſo were on foot, touching cuſtomes and impoſitions contrarie to the Treatie of Blois, and deceit in Engliſh cloathes, to the great infamie of our Nation. The Queen likewiſe in faire termes requeſteth that moneyes due from the French King might bee repaied: and ſome part of the debt was allowed with many faire words, and much kind reſpect from the French King toward the Queene.

Not onely in France, but in Denmarke likewiſe aroſe controverſies touching commerce, and the fiſhing of the Engliſh upon the coaſt of Iſland and Norway; the Danes having lately ſeized upon the Hull Merchants, made their ſhips and goods confiſcate, and ſet the Mariners upon the racke for fiſhing without licence. This the Queene interpreted as hoſtilitie, without all regard of her ſubjects or her owne royall perſon, and diſpatched her Embaſſadours to the Dane to expoſtulate with him concerning theſe injuries, and the many priviledges touching fiſhing granted to the Engliſh by the ancient Kings of Norway, before Denmarke and Norway were made one Kingdome. Whereupon the Queen demanded to have the whole matter referred to Delegates, or elſe to the honourable arbitrement of the Elector of Brandenburg, the Kings father-in-Law, and the Dukes of Mekelborough and Brunſwicke.

The Eaſt-India Company inſtituted.

The Queene alſo at this time, for the increaſe of navigation and commerce, founded the Companie of Eaſt-India Merchants, allowing them ample priviledges. But whether this hath proved beneficiall to the Common-wealth, there having beene by this meanes ſuch a maſſe of money carried out of the Kingdome, and ſo many Mariners loſt every yeere, let poſteritie judge, and wiſe men queſtion.

About this time alſo Pope *Clement* the eighth, perceiving the Queen to be in her declining age, ſent two Breeves into England, the one to the Popiſh Clergie, the other to the Laitie, to ſuffer no perſon whatſoever to take the Kingdome upon him after the Queenes death, but one that ſhould promiſe by oath to promote with all his might the Roman Catholike

tholike Religion, how neere ſoever otherwiſe hee were allied to the bloud royall of the Kings of England. 1600.

This yeere, by reaſon of intemperate weather, happened great ſcarſitie of corne in England, and greivous complaints occaſioned thereby. The common people, who uſually are led by opinion rather than reaſon, caſt out reproachfull ſlanders, and ſcurrulous libells againſt the L. Treaſurer *Buckhurſt*, as the granter of licences for tranſportation of graine. He flying to the Queene, ſhe forthwith defended his innocencie by open Proclamation, laid the fault upon the broggers of Corne and foreſtallers of Markets, and gave order that the ſlanderers ſhould be apprehended and puniſhed: but (as the nature of the multitude is to doe) they complained more than formerly, ſecretly alſo traducing him as confeſſing himſelfe guiltie. Complaints about dearth of corne.

The Earle of Eſſex, who had now beene priſoner ſixe moneths in the houſe of the Lord Privie Seale, upon his owne ſerious conſideration, and the advice of his friends, began to repent in good earneſt, reſolving to put away his perverſe Monitors, namely, *Merick* and *Cuffe*; and ſhewed ſo much patience and humilitie, that all men extolled him, to the envie of his adverſaries. But the Queene, upon his ſubmiſſion, was ſo farre pacified, that ſhe ſent him to his owne houſe to bee there confined, alwaies proteſting, ſhe would doe nothing for his ruine, but onely for his amendment. Neverthleſſe, when as the common people extolled his innocencie, it ſeemed good to the Queene for the removall of ſuſpition of injuſtice, ſeveritie, and prejudice from her ſelfe and her Counſellors, to bring him to a triall; not in the Star-Chamber, leſt the cenſure ſhould fall too heavie on him, but in the houſe of the Lord Privie Seale, where the cauſe ſhould have a plaine hearing before the Lords of the Councell, foure Earles, two Barons, and foure Judges of the Realme; and ſome gentle cenſure paſſed upon him, without branding him with diſloyaltie. The objections were, That contrarie to his Commiſſion he had made the Earle of Southampton Generall of the horſe, had drawne his forces into Mounſter, neglecting Tir-Oen the Arch-Rebell, entertained a parlee with him, againſt the dignitie of the Queens Majeſtie, and the perſon of a Vice-Roy, which he repreſented; and that the ſaid parlee was ſuſpicious, in regard it was private. The Lawyers aggravated theſe particulars, from ſome abrupt ſentences in his letter to the Lord Privie Seale, written two yeeres ſince (the Copies whereof his creatures had lately diſperſed) *No ſtorme is more fierce than the indignation of an impotent Prince. The Queens heart is hardned. What? cannot Princes erre? may they not injure their ſubjects? &c.* Hence they argued, that hee taxed the Queene of impotencie in judgement, and of injuſtice, that he compared her to *Pharaoh*, &c. Eſſex ſent to his own houſe. He is conveted before the Lords of the Councell. The crimes objected to him.

He falling upon his knee at end of the board, gave God thankes for all his benefits, and the Queene for her mercy, who would not have his cauſe heard openly in the Star-Chamber, but was willing that cup ſhould paſſe from him (this word he uſed) and that his matter ſhould be debated in a private houſe. Wherefore he profeſſed he would not conteſt with her, not excuſe the faults of his young yeeres, raſhneſſe, and weakneſſe, either in whole or in part: proteſting finally, that he alwaies

1600. meant well, howſoever it fell out otherwiſe; and that now he would bid the World adieu; withall he ſhed many teares, and the ſtanders by in tender pittie wept alſo. Yet could hee not containe himſelfe, but began to lay downe his excuſes, till the Lord Privie Seale interrupted him, adviſing him to proceed as he began, to flie to the Queenes mercy, who would not have him queſtioned for diſloyaltie, but only for a contempt; and that he did not well to pretend obedience in words, which in deeds he had not performed. At length, in the name of the reſt, he pronounceth ſentence againſt the Earle; which was, That he ſhould be depoſed from the office of a Privie Counſellor, ſuſpended from the functions of Earle Marſhall, and Maſter of the Ordnance, and be impriſoned during the Queens pleaſure. She had given expreſſe charge not to ſuſpend him from the office of Maſter of the horſe (minding to take him ſhortly into favour) and that his cenſure in no caſe ſhould be recorded.

Eſſex cenſured.

He now made ſhew of wonderfull humilitie and mortification; which ſo greatly affected the Queene, that ſhortly ſhee removed *Barkley* his Keeper, and gave him leave to goe at large; onely ſhe admoniſhed him, to make himſelfe and his owne prudent care his Keeper, and not come at the Court or into her preſence.

Hee is releaſed out of cuſtody.

After this ſentence *Cuffe* (who alwaies perſwaded the Earle not to betray his cauſe or honour, but ſtand ſtoutly in his owne defence, and by no meanes to plead guilty) began now ſo plainely to taxe him of cowardiſe and puſillanimitie, and thoſe which counſelled him otherwiſe, of lack of judgement, that the Earle in anger commanded his name to be put out of the rowle of his ſervants: yet *Merick* the Steward did it not, for he was of the ſame mind himſelfe.

Eſſex being now ready to goe into the Countrie, remembred himſelfe to the Queen by *Henry Howard*, in theſe words: *That he kiſſed the rod, and the Queenes hands, which had onely corrected, not overturned him. Yet ſhould he never enjoy ſolid comfort till he might ſee thoſe bleſſed eyes, which had beene load-ſtarres to him, by guidance whereof he had happily ſteered his courſe whiles he held on his way at lawfull diſtance, but now he reſolved to repent him of his fault, and to ſay with* Nabuchodonoſor, *Let my dwelling be with the wild beaſts and the beaſts of the field, let me eate graſſe with the Oxe, and bee watered with the dew of heaven, till it pleaſe the Queene to reſtore my ſenſes.* She being greatly joyed with theſe ſpeeches; *Would to God* (ſaith ſhe) *his deeds might bee anſwerable to his words; he hath long tried my patience, and I muſt make ſome triall of his humilitie. My father would not have endured ſuch ſtubbornneſſe, &c.* And albeit ſhe had a purpoſe (as I ſaid) to receive him ſhortly into grace, yet ſuing to her for the Farme of *Sweet wines*, he received anſwers nothing pleaſing; *That ſhe muſt firſt know what the value of it was, and not beſtow benefits hoodwinked.* Alſo ſhe praiſed that Aphoriſme of the Phyſitians, *The more you pamper foule bodies, the more you hurt them.*

The Queene denieth his ſuit.

Eſſex conceiving great diſpleaſure at theſe anſwers, grew unreaſonably angry, and giving way to his paſſions, began to hearken to *Cuffe* now againe, and other turbulent wits, that inſpired theſe things to him: that the Queene and his adverſaries, it was certaine, had now determined to make him as poore as *Job*, that hee ſhould live of the basket, and gather

He hearkeneth to evill counſells.

crummes

crummes under the table: and that being brought to extreme poverty, and neglected of the Queene, he might bee forsaken of his friends, and become a scorne to his adversaries. Hereupon he returned to London, Southampton is sent for out of the Low-Countries, and some Oxford Divines consulted withall, but I know not concerning what matters. Sir *Christopher Blount* was vexed, that he had hindred him from bringing the armie along with him when he returned to England, and now advised him to make a passage to the Queen, promising there should be Gentlemen ready to bring him safely on and off againe. This the Earle said he would pawse on, & advise with some Preachers about it. Now the doors are set open for all commers, *Merick* his Steward receiveth to his owne table decayed souldiers, bankrupts, discontented and audacious persons; Sermons are made there every day by one Puritan Minister or other, to which the Citizens flocke; his sister, the Lady *Rich* (who was in the Queenes displeasure for wronging her husbands bed) commeth daily to visit him. 1601.

These matters comming to the Queenes eares, alienated her affection from him daily more and more: but especially she was exasperated, that her person was depised by him. For (not to say all) he had muttered that the Queene was now old and decrepite, and withered as well in mind as body. 1601. Reg. 43. The Queen more and more incensed against Essex.

Now againe he runneth upon desperate counsells, such as hee began to hatch in Ireland, for the removall of his adversaries from the Court; useth all the waies of popularitie to gaine the multitude to him; seeketh to screw himselfe into the King of Scots favour, by letters full of respect and observance. To him he traduceth his adversaries, by name, *Raleigh Cobham, Carew, Cecill*, and the Admirall, as inclined to the Spanish faction. At one & the same time he seeketh to win to him the Puritan Ministers & their disciples, & seemeth to the Papists to pitie their calamitie. And albeit he drew together great numbers to be his partakers, yet (by *Cuffes* advice) he maketh but few of his counsell; they were the Earle of Southampton, Sir *Charles Danverse*, Sir *Ferdinando Gorge* Captaine of the Garrison at Plymouth, &c. With these he met privately in *Drurie* house, to shunne suspicion; where he first giveth them a Catalogue of the Nobilitie and Gentrie which favoured him, to the number of 120. then they consult, whether it were best to set upon the Tower of London, or the Queenes Palace. This latter they pitch upon, which should be done by this meanes: *Blount* should keepe the great gate with a selected number of men, and *Danverse* seize upon the presence Chamber. Then Essex with his Companie should come from the Mues, and present himselfe before the Queene. But suspicions arising from the great multitude thronging to Essex house, upon pretence to heare sermons, and some words the Preachers let fall, how the higher Magistrates have power to curbe Kings, *Herbert* one of the Secretaries was sent to call him before the Councell at the Treasurers house. He suspecting he should be sent againe to prison, excuseth himselfe, that he was not very well: and now that advcie which had beene foure moneths contriving was dashed, feare bidding use a more speedy remedy. When they spake of surprising the Queenes Palace, they found themselves unprovided

He accuseth his adversaries to the King of Scots.

The matters propounded at Drurie house.

1601 of ſouldiers, and munition; and entring into diſcourſe of the love of the Londoners, and levitie of the vulgar, loe, there commeth one to them (ſome of Eſſex his adverſaries having laid the plot) as if he had beene ſent on purpoſe, promiſing the Citizens aide againſt his adverſaries. Upon this Eſſex waxeth very jocund, applauding his owne great good fortune.

Some of the Councell ſent to the Earle.

At this time the Queene ſent divers of the Lords to Eſſex houſe, who could hardly bee ſuffered to come in; all their attendants were kept out, ſave hee that carried the Seale before the Keeper. In the Court they found a confuſed number of people, and the Earles of Eſſex, Rutland, and Southampton in the midſt of them. The Keeper turning himſelfe to Eſſex, telleth him, the Queene had ſent him and the reſt to underſtand the cauſe of this concourſe, promiſing juſtice if any perſon had done them wrong: *Popham* alſo Lord Chiefe Juſtice ſpake to the like effect. Eſſex with a loude voice crieth out; They lie in wait for my life, we are met to defend our ſelves, our adverſaries cannot be content with our miſerie, unleſſe they may drinke our bloud alſo. Southampton alledged that the Lord *Grey* ſet upon him with his ſword drawne: But he was ſent to priſon for it, quoth *Popham*. The Keeper urging Eſſex againe to unfold ſome part of his grievance, the unruly multitude crieth out, Away, let us be gone, they abuſe your patience, they come to betray you, time flyeth away, kill them, caſt away that great Seale, &c. Eſſex retireth into the houſe, the Lords follow him, he chargeth to make the doores faſt; and turning him to the Lords, Have patience for a while, quoth he, I muſt goe into the Citie to diſpatch a little buſineſſe with the Maior and Sheriffes, I will be with you preſently.

He keeps them as priſoners, and haſtens into the City.

There are they kept priſoners; Eſſex maketh haſte into the Citie with a troope of 200. men at his heeles, the Earle of Bedford, the Lord *Cromwell*, and other Nobles meeting him by the way joyne themſelves. Comming into London, he cryeth out aloud, For the Queene, for the Queene, They lay wait for my life. The Citizens, in a wonderment come to gaze upon him; he entreateth them to take up armes, otherwiſe they could ſtand him in no ſtead: yet not ſo much as one perſon obeyed him. Paſſing along the Citie, hee came by and by all in a ſweat to the Sheriffes houſe; hee whom the Earle credulouſly thought to be his faſt friend ſhifteth forth at a back doore, and goeth to the Lord Maior. By this time certaine of the Nobilitie entred the Citie with a Herald, declaring Eſſex and his adherents Traitors. Now hee exclaimeth that England was to be given to the Infanta of Spaine, and entreated the Citizens to take up Armes, but all in vaine. Hereupon hearing alſo that the Admirall made towards him with an Armie, he began to be diſheartned: *Gorge* taketh care wiſely for himſelfe, requeſteth he might be ſent to releaſe the Counſellors, and with them to crave the Queenes mercy whiles the iſſue was yet doubtfull. The Earle was content, but would have *Popham* onely freed: hee refuſed, unleſſe the Keeper alſo might be diſmiſſed. Then *Gorge* freeth them all, and goeth along with them to the Court by water.

He and his adherents proclaimed Traitors.

Now when Eſſex thought to returne, hee findeth a chaine faſtned croſſe the ſtreet at the Weſt ends of *Paules*, and men in armes on the other

other ſide: then began he to draw his ſword, and having once given the word, *Blount* letteth flie at them, ſlew one of them incontinent, himſelfe was ſorely wounded and taken. Eſſex himſelfe had his hat ſhot thorow; whereupon he retiring tooke boate at Queen-Hith, and went from thence to Eſſex houſe, where finding the Counſellours diſmiſſed, he grew very angry, and caſt certaine papers into the fire, ſaying, they ſhould tell no tales. By and by the Admirall beſiegeth the houſe, but before he offered violence, commandeth them to yeeld. Southampton asketh to whom they ſhould yeeld? to their adverſaries? that were to expoſe themſelves to ruine. To the Queene? that were to confeſſe themſelves guilty. Nevertheleſſe, if the Admirall would give hoſtages to ſecure them, they would preſent themſelves to the Queene. The Admirall by *Sidney* againe giveth them to underſtand, that Rebels are not to proffer conditions; nor ſhould any hoſtages be given them: withall, that the women if they pleaſed might ſafely depart. Within an houre, Eſſex finding the caſe deſperate, reſolved to ruſh forth; and the Lord *Sands*, the moſt aged in the companie, greatly urged it; ſaying, it was better to die valiantly, than by the ſtroke of a hang-man. But Eſſex his mind changing preſently upon a little deliberation, they fell upon their knees, and deliver their weapons to the Admirall. It was now ten of the clocke at night; *Owen Salisburie* and one or two more were ſlaine with Muſket ſhot, and as many of the beſiegers. 1601.

He returneth home and fortifieth his houſe.

Eſſex and Southampton were firſt carried to Lambeth, to the Archbiſhops houſe, becauſe it was a darke night; but anon were ſent to the Tower, by the Queenes direction: and with them, *Rutland*, *Sands*, *Cromwell*, *Mounteagle*, *Danverſe*, and *Bromley*; the reſt were put in common priſons.

They are ſent to the Tower.

The next day the Queen making Proclamation in the Citie, commendeth the loyalty of the Londoners. Feb. 15. all vagabonds and idle perſons (a great number of them flocking daily to the Citie) are commanded upon paine of death to depart. *Thomas Lea*, Commander of a Companie of ſouldiers in Ireland, who to one *Croſſe* a Sea-Captaine (that detected him) intimated how noble an exploit it were for ſixe ſtout companions, to goe to the Queene, and compell her forcibly to releaſe Eſſex and Southampton, was preſently apprehended, examined, found guilty, and executed.

After this, Eſſex and Southampton were called to their arraignment before their Peeres in Weſtminſter Hall Febr. 19. where *Buckhurſt*, Lord Treaſurer was appointed Lord High Steward of England for the time.

The Peeres being ſeverally called by their names, Eſſex demanded, If it were not lawfull for them to except againſt ſome of the Peeres, as private perſons might doe againſt the Jurors. The Judges made anſwer, That the credit and fidelitie of the Peeres of England was preſumed to be ſuch, that in trialls they were not bound to take an oath, nor are they lyable to any exception. Then were they joyntly endited of high treaſon, viz. That they plotted to deprive the Queene of her life and Kingdome, to ſurpriſe her in her very Palace, and that they brake forth into open rebellion by impriſoning the Counſellours of the Kingdome, by exciting

The crimes objected to them.

1601. citing the Londoners to Rebellion with vaine fictions, by aſſaulting the Queenes loyall ſubjects in the City, and by defending of Eſſex houſe againſt the Queenes forces. Hereunto they pleaded *Not guilty*; Eſſex withall averring, that they had done nothing but by neceſſity and the law of nature. *Elverton* aggravateth the ſpecialties, comparing Eſſex with *Catiline*; that as hee in the Romane ſtate made an uprore with a company of deſperate fellowes, ſo Eſſex had gathered to his partie a hotch-potch of Villaines, Atheiſts, and Papiſts. Hee upbraideth him with ingratitude toward the Queene, with his hunting after popular and military applauſe, and his inſatiable ambition, which never ſtayeth, but like the Crocodile groweth ſtill as long as it liveth. *Edward Coke* Atturney, out of *Fitz-Herbert*, and other Oracles of the Law, argueth, That they had verily committed high Treaſon; neither could the Earle excuſe himſelfe from the Law of Nature, ſince Majeſty is not to be affronted for private revenge. Then he alledgeth the Queenes manifold deſervings, and ſpinneth forth an hiſtoricall narration of the former paſſages, concluding with a biting Epiphonema: *It were to be wiſhed that this* Robert *might be the laſt of that name Earle of Eſſex, who affected to be* Robert *the firſt of that name King of England.*

Eſſex anſwereth for himſelfe.

The Earle of Eſſex with great confidence and ſecurity made anſwer, That oratorie was the Lawyers proper faculty, wherewith they oppreſſe innocent perſons, and then glory in it. He beſeecheth the Peeres to conſider the truth of the matter, not to attend their verball aggravations, profeſſeth his ſincere affection to Religion, that hee knew not *Daviſe* was a Papiſt, that he heard not the reprochfull ſpeeches of the multitude againſt the Counſellors (whom he highly honoureth;) indeed he was forced by the company, and for his owne ſafeguard, to hold them in cuſtodie, having certaine intelligence (not bare conjectures onely) that his enemies would ſuddainly aſſault him. To his Prince and Country he alwayes had and ever would beare a loyall affection. Nor did he ſpeake all this to ſave his owne life, for he was wearie of it, but in reſpect to his partakers, whoſe valorous ſpirits and ſtout bodies might doe good ſervice to their Country. What ſhould become of him was manifeſt by that which *Raleigh* ſaid to *Gorge*, willing him to depart from Eſſex, as he would leave a Barke that ſhould preſently be caſt away, &c.

Gorge his teſtimonie produced.

Then was *Gorge* his teſtimony produced, *viz.* That Eſſex had reſolved to ruſh into the Court, to call a Parliament, and that he relyed upon the Londoners: he himſelfe alſo was brought from the next priſon to teſtifie thus much. Eſſex, when he ſaw him, ſuppoſing that he came as a voluntarie witneſſe, gave him a few girdes, and from his pale lookes ſought to elevate his teſtimonie, as doubtfull and uncertaine.

Southamptons anſwer.

Then it was objected, That they held a conſultation in Drurie-houſe about ſurpriſing the Tower of London, and the Queenes Pallace. The Earle of Southampton mildly and modeſtly craved pardon for his offence, his love to the Earle of Eſſex having brought him into inconvenience. Such matters indeed were propounded, but not reſolved on: neither was that which they conſulted of put in practice, but the entrie into the City, which onely was done to finde meanes of free acceſſe

ceſſe to the Queene, &c. The Attorney demanded of him, whether to ſet upon the Queenes Pallace, and ſeize upon her perſon, were crimes of treaſon or no? Southampton mildly asked him, what he thought in his conſcience they would have done to the Queene? The ſame (quoth he) which *Henry* of Lancaſter did to *Richard* the ſecond: he came as a ſuppliant to the King, under pretence to remove bad Counſellors from him; but having the King once in his hands, he deveſted him both of his kingdome and life. Then were the teſtimonies produced againſt Eſſex, and it was proved by ſundry witneſſes, that the heads of the conſultation were written with his owne hand, and that he threw ſome papers into the fire, that (as he himſelfe ſaid) they might tell no tales. 1601.

When he heard theſe things, which he thought had beene concealed; Hope of life and impunity (ſaith he) hath extorted theſe teſtimonies from ſome perſons; much good may it doe them, to me death is much more welcome than life; the injuries of *Cobham*, *Raleigh*, and *Cecill*, drave me to defend my ſelfe: and howſoever the Lawyers interpret the entry into the City, my owne conſcience witneſſeth to mee, that I had no thought of diſloyaltie. *Cobham* riſing up, proteſteth he had done nothing maliciouſly againſt him. But (quoth Eſſex) I would have loſt my right hand to remove ſuch a detractour from the Queene. Eſſex accuſeth his adverſaries.

Francis Bacon, next of all, in a polite oration taketh away that colourable pretence, taken from the feare of their enemies, by the diverſitie and contradiction in the ſurmiſes, and the vanitie of them likewiſe; as when he cried out that the Crowne of England was ſold to the Spaniard: adding, in defence of *Cobham*, *Cecill*, *Raleigh*, *&c*, whoſe integrity he maintained, that it was a uſuall thing with Traitors, to ſtrike their Princes (not directly, but obliquely) through the ſides of their truſty Miniſters. Hereto Eſſex replied, that he heard indeed that *Cecill* the Secretary ſhould ſay to one of the Lords of the Councell, that the right of the Infanta of Spaine to the Kingdome of England, was as good as any of the Competitors. Upon this, *Cecill* (who ſtood by as an Auditor) ſteppeth in, and falling upon his knees, beſeecheth the Steward that with his good leave he might quit himſelfe from this foule aſperſion: which leave being granted him, he provoked Eſſex, if he durſt, to name the Counſellour. He would not. Therefore, ſaith *Cecill*, it is a fiction. Eſſex denieth that. And *Cecill* turning himſelfe to Southampton, beſought him by all manner of obteſtations to name the man. He referreth it to the honourable aſſembly, and to *Cecill* himſelfe, if in honour and good reaſon he ought to doe it. They affirming he might, Southampton nameth Sir *William Knolles*, the Earle of Eſſex his Uncle. He being ſent for at *Cecils* entreaty, ſaid, that *Cecil* two yeares ſince told him, that one *Dolman* in a booke had aſſerted the right of the Infanta, and he had ſpoken no otherwiſe than ſo. Upon this paſſed words betweene Eſſex and *Cecill*, which are beſide this preſent matter. Bacon anſwereth him. Eſſex accuſeth Cecill.

The Attorney now chargeth Eſſex with hypocriſie; becauſe, making publike profeſſion of the Goſpell, he had yet promiſed *Blunt* a toleration of the Popiſh Religion; this he denied. Now after the Judges had delivered their opinion what was law in theſe preſent allegations, the Earles by the Stewards direction were taken aſide. Then the Peeres

roſe

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Southampton in moſt humble manner craveth the Queenes mercy, and beſeecheth the Peeres to intercede in his behalfe; proteſting againe, that he never harboured a wicked thought againſt the Queene; and by his ingenuous modeſty moved the hearts of the ſtanders by to great pitie.

They are condemned. The high Steward, in a grave ſpeech, adviſed Eſſex to implore the Queens mercy, and then giveth ſentence. Now the fatall edge was turned towards them, and Eſſex brake forth into theſe words; *This Bodie* (quoth he) *might have done the Queene better ſervice, had it pleaſed her: I ſhall be glad if it may any wayes ſtand her in ſtead.* He craved pardon of the Earle of Worceſter, and the Lord chiefe Juſtice, that hee had held them priſoners; of the Lords Morley and La-Ware, for bringing their ſonnes into danger; deſireth that he might receive the Sacrament before his death, and that *Aſhton* the Miniſter might be permitted him for his ſoules health. So the high Steward brake his ſtaffe and departed.

Others arraigned. The next day, Sir *Robert Vernon*, Sir *William Conſtable*, Sir *Edmund Bainham*, *Littleton*, *Cuffe* Eſſex his Secretary, Captaine *Whitlocke*, *John* and *Chriſtopher Wright*, and *Orell* an old ſouldier, were called to their triall. By and by came the Queenes Letters (ſhe being informed by Sir *Fulke Grevill* that moſt of them were drawne unwittingly into the danger) and commanded that onely *Littleton*, *Bainham*, and *Orell*, ſhould have their triall, ordering the reſt to bee ſent backe to priſon. Theſe were all condemned, but their lives ſpared; which favour *Raleigh*, for a round ſumme of money received of *Bainham*, procured.

Eſſex relenteth. Eſſex in the meane while was ſo ſtung in his conſcience, that he requeſted he might ſpeake with ſome of the Counſellors, naming *Cecill* for one. But there were ſent to him the Lord Keeper, the Treaſurer, the Admirall, and *Cecill*. Having entreated pardon of the Keeper for the affront offered in detaining him priſoner, and of *Cecill* for laying an aſperſion on him in the matter of the Infanta, there was a Chriſtian reconciliation made betweene them. Then he intimated, that the Queene could not be in ſafetie while he lived; hee requeſteth that he might be executed privately in the Tower; he grievouſly inveigheth againſt ſome of the conſpiracy, as men that longed for the deſtruction of their Prince and Country: he wiſhed to ſpeake with ſome of them, but eſpecially with *Blunt* and *Cuffe*. As ſoone as he ſet eyes upon them, he brake forth into theſe ſpeeches: "O *Cuffe*, aske pardon of God and the Queene, "and ſee you deſerve it; my thoughts are wholly bent upon another "world, and I have reſolved to deale ſincerely with God and men. I

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The 25. of February, which was to be the fatall day, there were sent to him Doctor *Monmford*, and Doctor *Barlow*, with that *Assiton*, to give him ghostly comfort. Before these he gave God hearty thanks, that his dangerous attempts had wanted successe, that he had now beheld the nature of his offence, and was sorry he had so stiffely defended an evill cause at his arraignment. He giveth the Queen thanks, &c. saith he had now learned how vaine a thing was popular applause, acknowledging that he had deserved to be spewed out of the Common-wealth, &c. The Queen now wavering in her selfe, one while remembring the ancient kindnesse she had shewed him, she commanded he should not be executed; then againe his stubbornesse, that he would not once aske her mercy, and had said openly, that he could not live but she must perish, countermanding her first word, she gave order that he should be dispatched.

He is brought to the scaffold.

Then was he brought forth into the yard, where was a scaffold erected, and there were present sundry of the Nobility, and *Raleigh* also amongst them. But he being told it was an inhumane thing, to stand by and behold the downefall of his adversary, withdrew himselfe into the Armory, and from thence beheld the Tragedy.

Essex being ascended the scaffold, uncovered his head, cast up his eyes towards Heaven, and cryed God mercy for the manifold sinnes of his youth; but this last especially, which he said was a bloody, crying, and contagious sinne; craved pardon of the Queene and her Counsellors, commended his spirit into the hands of God; his head was taken off at the third blow, but the first had bereft him of sense and motion.

He is executed.

His commendations.

Thus piously and Christianly departed this life *Robert D'Evereux* Earle of Essex, so called of a Towne in Normandie of that name. In his younger yeares he was first brought up at Cambridge, and commended to the Queen by the Earle of Leicester his father in law, but might hardly be received into favour, in regard the Queen was something alienated from his mother. Yet having once gotten footing, he grew so gracious in her eyes, that she received him into her privie Councell, and created him Knight of the Garter ere he was full 23. years of age; and he grew afterward so prevalent, that no request might be denied him; still not enduring any should have place in the Queens favour but himselfe, hunting after popular applause, and carrying himselfe contemptuously toward the Queen, she first grew displeased, and was afterward in a manner wholly alienated from him. And indeed he seemed not to have beene made for a Courtier, being very open and free, and could not dissemble love or hatred, but they might still be even read in his countenance. He had to wife *Francis*, daughter to Sir *Francis Walsingham*, and widow

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1601 widow of Sir *Philip Sidney* (whom he married without the Queenes privitie, who was therefore diſpleaſed; as alſo for that ſhe thought it too meane a match for him) by her he had iſſue *Robert*, *Francis*, and *Dorothy*; but *Walter* by his Leman *Southwell*.

Blount, Danverſe, and others, arraigned.

The 5. of March, Sir *Chriſtopher Blount*, Sir *Charles Danverſe*, Sir *John Davis*, Sir *Gillie Merick*, and *Cuffe*, were brought to their triall in Weſtminſter hall, before the Queens Delegates. The heads of their enditements were the ſame which were objected to Eſſex and Southampton; That they had plotted the Queens deſtruction by conſulting, &c. The three firſt denied the former part; to wit, that they had any thought of offering violence to the Queens perſon; whereupon the Judges pronounced, as formerly they had done, that whoſo rebelleth that he may give law to the Prince, plotteth his deſtruction, &c. The latter part of the objections was too manifeſt to be denied.

Blount anſwereth for himſelfe.

Blount being urged with the confeſſion of Eſſex under his hand and ſeale, at firſt ſtood amazed; but afterward, *Good God* (ſaith he) *thou knoweſt from what enterpriſes I deterred him.* *Danverſe* and *Davis* had little to ſay for themſelves, only *Danverſe* alledged, that he regarded not his life nor eſtate, that he might expreſſe his love toward the Earle of Southampton. Hee indeed had concealed *Danverſe* when he was ſought after for man-ſlaughter, and conveyed him for France, where he followed the warres, till ſuch time as the Queene (with much adoe) was entreated to ſigne his pardon.

Merick and Cuffe, called to the Barre, 5

Then Sir *Gilly Merick* and *Cuffe* were called to the barre. *Cuffe* was preſſed with the teſtimonies of Sir *Henry Nevill* and the Earle of Eſſex, that he was the Author and inſtigator of the whole treaſon. Hence the Atturney argueth againſt him in Syllogiſticall manner, and he anſwered ſo acutely and promptly, that *Cecil* ſaid he was a ſubtle Sophiſter; and *Anderſon*, chiefe Judge of the common Pleas, in angry manner cryed out, that they both made fooliſh Syllogiſmes, urging the Law touching treaſon made in the reigne of *Edward* the third.

Cuffe anſwereth.

In a word, *Cuffe* placed his whole ſtrength and refuge in theſe two anſwers; "Whereas (ſaith he) I am challenged of Treaſon, becauſe I "was in Eſſex houſe the day of the Rebellion, by the ſame argument "the Lyon in the Cellar might be endited: all that day I lamented the "Earles fortune, and dealt with him to flye to the Queens mercy. But "the conſultation in Drurie houſe, is no more to be called high Trea-"ſon, having not taken effect, than an Embrion may bee accounted a "perfect man. The Lawyers (on the other ſide) demonſtrated, that no neceſſity lay upon him to tarry in the houſe; that every one had his peculiar Province allotted him, ſome to defend the houſe (of which number he was one) and others to enter the City, who were all equally Traitors; and that the conſultation it ſelfe was treaſon, and had broken forth into act, &c.

Merick was accuſed upon the ſame ſpecialties; and moreover, that he gave mony to have the old Tragedy of *Richard* the ſecond acted, which the Lawyers ſo interpreted, as though they beheld that one day upon the ſtage, which the next day they meant to put in practice againſt the Queene. He was ſilent to all this, ſaying onely, *The Earle of Eſſex raiſed me, and he hath overturned me.*

Being

Being found guilty by the Jurie of 12. men, the ſentence was given againſt them. *Blount* and *Danverſe* requeſted that they might have the favour to be put to death after the manner of the Nobilitie. 1601.

March 13. *Merick* and *Cuffe* are drawne to Tyburne. *Cuffe* made a long ſpeech to the multitude, ſaying. "None of you are ignorant of the "tumult Feb. 8. raiſed by that great inconſiderate Earle; I call God "and his Angels to witneſſe, that I knew not of the ſame, but wept and "lamented all that day in Eſſex houſe. As for the machination, it was "twofold. Here he was interrupted, and admoniſhed not to elude the truth by diſtinctions, nor ſow fig-leaves together to hide his crime. Now he craveth pardon that he had drawn into danger that noble Gentleman Sir *Henrie Nevill*, for which he was heartily ſorry, proceeding till ſuch time as being againe interrupted, he betooke himſelfe to fervent prayer, deſiring God and the Queene to pardon him. Then was he caſt from the Ladder, ſo ending his daies: a man of an exquiſite wit and learning, but of a turbulent diſpoſition. In the ſame manner *Merick* followed him, onely requeſting the ſtanders by, to beg of the Queen that the reſt might not be queſtioned, which unwittingly were drawne into the Treaſon. Merick and Cuffe executed.

March 15. Sir *Charles Danverſe* and Sir *Chriſtopher Blount* were beheaded on the Tower hill; albeit *Danverſe* offered ten thouſand pounds to redeeme his life, though with perpetuall impriſonment. *Blount* made a long narration of the whole proceedings, and how farre hee had inſtigated the Earle in this treaſon, and courageouſly tooke his puniſhment. Danvers and Blount put to death.

Thus was a dangerous rebellion in good time laid a ſleep, and tranquillitie reſtored to the Common-wealth. The Earle of Southampton and *Smith* Sheriffe of London were held priſoners. *Smith* was brought into this danger by falſe imputation, and the vaine credulitie of Eſſex, who without ground relyed much upon his aſſiſtance; but upon ſuerties he was ſuffered to enjoy his libertie. July 8. Sir *Henrie Nevill* was cited before ſome of the Lords of the Councell; and it was laid to his charge, That he was preſent at the conſultation in Drury houſe, yet had not revealed their ſiniſter purpoſes, and had imparted to Eſſex the ſecrets of his French Embaſſage. Hee confeſſeth that at the Earles entreatie he ſhewed him the commentaries of the French proceedings, was preſent at one of their conſultations onely, but contemned their counſells; yet durſt not be an informer againſt ſo great perſonages. Hereupon hee had a grievous checke given him, and was committed to priſon. Sir Henry Nevill queſtioned, and committed to priſon.

One Actor more muſt be removed from the Scene, ere the Tragedy be perfect. Eſſex at his arraignment had complained that his handwriting was counterfeited; and for a fact of that nature one *Daniel* was now queſtioned in the Star-Chamber. The Counteſſe of Eſſex being fearefull on the behalfe of her husband, gave a letter which ſhe had received from him into the cuſtody of one *Rihove*, a Dutch-woman that waited on her; *Daniel* her husband by an accident lighted upon the letter; and perceiving ſome paſſages in the ſame which might bring the Earle of Eſſex into danger, got a cunning fellow to draw a counterfeit copy of the ſaid letter. With this he commeth to the fearefull Lady, who was newly brought a bed, threatning to give the ſame to her husbands

adverſaries,

1601. adverſaries, unleſſe ſhe would give him three thouſand pounds in preſent money. She, to ſhun the danger, paied him eleven hundred and ſeventie pounds at the very inſtant, yet did he deliver her the counterfeit copy only, thinking to make uſe of the true one, to get another ſum of money of the Earles adverſaries. This impoſture being found out, he was cenſured to perpetuall impriſonment, condemned in three thouſand pounds (two of which were to goe to the Counteſſe) and his eares nailed to the Pillory, with this writing over his head, *A notorious Cheater.*

Monopolies reſtrained.

Soone after the State and Commons of the Land were aſſembled in Parliament, where ſundry wholſome lawes were enacted, for the reliefe of poore and feeble perſons, and maimed ſouldiers, touching coſenage in making of Clothes, &c. But when as grievous complaints were tendered to the Lower houſe touching Monopolies (for ſome minding their own private benefit, had gained licence for the ſole venting of certain commodities, to the great damage of the Common-wealth,) the Queene by way of prevention ſendeth out Proclamations, declaring the ſaid Licences and Patents to be void in part, leaving ſome part to the diſcuſſion of the Lawes. Which thing was ſo acceptable to the Lower Houſe, that they preſently ſent 80. ſelected perſons, together with their Speaker, to give the Queene thankes. She entertained them with marvellous affabilitie, and in her Speech gave them thanks for being ſuch faithfull Monitors to her, to recall her from an error, whereinto through ignorance, not wilfulneſſe, ſhee was fallen. That her reputation, might in time to come have greatly beene blemiſhed, had not theſe Harpies and horſeleaches by their care been diſcovered, &c.

The Deputie marcheth againſt the Rebels.

In Ireland the Deputie at the entry of the Spring, leſt the idleneſſe of his forces ſhould give occaſion of ſedition and mutinie, muſtereth them together, and paſſeth to Mogherie; where he buſieth his ſouldiers in hard labour, cauſeth them to fell a great deale of wood, clearing the way where the paſſage formerly was wonderfull difficult, and buildeth a fort there, and removeth Tir-Oen from Blackwater, where he had taken great paines to fortifie himſelfe. He had a purpoſe to goe forward, but

Rumours of a Spaniſh Fleet ſetting forth againſt Ireland.

that rumors of an invaſion from the Spaniards called him backe. Hereupon the warre was tranſlated into Mounſter. Tir-Oen, and the Rebels of this quarter, ſend their Emiſſaries to beſeech the King of Spaine to afford them aide under the conduct of *Don John D' Aquila*, aſſuring him that all Mounſter would revolt from the Engliſh, and that the Earle of Deſmond, and divers of the reſt of the Iriſh, would be ready to joyne their forces. *Carew* the Preſident, by great good hap intercepteth the titularie Earle of Mounſter, having after much diligent ſearch found him lurking in a Cave. He alſo gaineth intelligence, that conſultation being held amongſt the Rebels, where the Spaniards ſhould land, they agreed upon Mounſter as the moſt convenient Province; but varied for the Port, ſome holding Limirick, and others Corke, to bee moſt advantageous. The Preſident could by no meanes perſwade the Deputie in Ireland, nor the Counſellors in England, to beleeve that the Spaniards had any deſigne for Ireland; yet he being certified of it, made ſure proviſion in Corke, having happily received a late ſupply of two thouſand ſouldiers out of England.

In

In the midſt of September, he had certaine newes that the Spaniards were under ſaile; this he intimated to the Deputie, who making haſte to Kilkennie ſent for him thither. As the Preſident was on his way, newes came againe that the Spaniards were in ſight: they wanted wind to carrie the Fleet to Corke, wherefore they put in to Kinſale Septemb. 23. and land their ſouldiers without reſiſtance. *Richard Percy*, who defended the towne with 125. ſouldiers being not able to reſiſt them, was commanded to bring his Companie to Corke. Thus was Kinſale left to the Spaniards; the Gates are ſet open, and they march into the towne with 35. Enſignes diſplaied; the chiefe Magiſtrate and the Inhabitants receive them, and bid them welcome. The Preſident giveth charge to drive away all the cattell on this ſide the River Averley, and ſendeth *Flower* with 400. foot to make ſpoile of the Countrey round about Kinſale. 1601.

The Spaniards land at Kinſale.

D' Aquila, who commanded the Spaniards, under the title of Maſter Generall and Captaine of the Catholike King in the warre of God, for the defence of the faith in Ireland, publiſheth a Declaration; wherein he ſheweth, *That Queene* Eliſabeth *was depoſed from her Kingdome by the ſentence of the Popes of Rome, her ſubjects abſolved from their allegeance, and that the Spaniards were come to deliver Ireland from the jawes of the Divel.* The Deputie all this while prepareth to lay ſiege to the Towne. Having pitched his Tents, he appointeth the Preſident, who was now made Lievtenant Generall of the Armie, to ſet firſt upon the Caſtle of Rincarran, where there were left 150. Spaniards. The which (having firſt made ſure that no aide could come at them, neither by ſea nor land) he ſo battered with great Ordnance, that hee ſhortly forced them to yeeld without condition. *Leviſon* Vice-Admirall of England came with two or three of the Queenes ſhips to keepe the Haven. But Tir-Oen comming into Mounſter, with the chiefe of the Rebells and their forces, to him the Spaniſh Leader *Alphonſo O-Campo* joyned his freſh men, inſomuch that they were 6000. foot, and 500. horſe, and promiſed themſelves aſſured victorie over the Engliſh, who were not ſo many in number, and beſides were wearied with a laborious journey.

A Declaration made by D'Aquila.

December 24. (which very day there was felt an Earthquake at London) the Deputie with his forces joyneth battell with the Rebells and *O-Campo*; and after a long fight, and much bloud ſpilt, the victorie enclined toward the Engliſh. *Tir-Oen*, *O-Donel*, and the reſt, caſt away their weapons, and ſaved themſelves by flight; *Alphonſo O-Campo* was taken, together with three other Spaniſh Captaines, and ſixe Enſigne bearers; 1200. were ſlaine, nine Colours taken, whereof foure belonged to the Spaniards. Of the Engliſh not many were loſt, but a great number wounded.

The Rebels overthrown.

This victorie was great and uſefull many waies. Hereby Ireland, which before ſeemed to totter, was made ſure; the Spaniards removed out of Ireland; Tir-Oen the Arch-Rebell forced to hide himſelfe, *O-Donel* fled into Spaine, and the reſt of the Rebells diſperſed. The next day the Deputy provided to finiſh the ſiege formerly begun againſt the towne of Kinſale. After ſixe daies *D'Aquila* ſendeth letters to the Deputie by a Drum-

1602. a Drummer, wherein he requeſteth that ſome perſon of Nobilitie and credit might be ſent into the towne, with whom he might have conference. To this office Sir *William Godolphine* is deſigned; to whom *D' Aquila* intimateth, that he had found the Deputie, though an enemie, yet an honourable one, but the Iriſh were rude, barbarous, cowardly, & he feared treacherous alſo: that he was ſent from the Catholike King to relieve two Earles; but he now doubted if there were any ſuch men in the world, ſince one ſtorme of warre had blowne away one of them into Spaine, and the other into the North, ſo that they were quite vaniſhed. Wherefore he was willing to make a compoſition, ſuch as might be uſefull for the Engliſh, and not inconvenient for the Spaniards, albeit he wanted nothing to hold out the ſiege, and did dayly expect new forces from Spaine. Briefly, they came at laſt to theſe termes of agreement: "The "Spaniards ſhould yeeld up to the Deputie Kinſale, the Caſtles and "Forts at Baltimore, Bere-haven, and Caſtle-haven, and ſhould de- "part with life and goods, and colours diſplayed. The Engliſh at a "reaſonable price ſhould furniſh them with ſhips and proviſion into "Spaine. They ſhould not carrie armes againſt the Queene of England, "till they were arrived in Spaine, &c.

The Spaniards driven out of Ireland.

1602. Reg. 44. An expedition againſt Spain.

Although the Spaniards were now driven out of Ireland, the Queen nevertheleſſe (to hold them worke) that they might not intend a new invaſion, diſpatcheth eight ſhips taken out of the Navie Royall, and ſome ſmaller ſhips of warre, on a new expedition toward the coaſt of Spaine, under the command of *Richard Leviſon*, and *William Monſon*. *Leviſon* hoiſeth ſaile March 19. and *Monſon* followeth him, having in vaine tarried behind for ſome Dutch ſhips to joyne with them. *Leviſon* in the interim lighted upon the Spaniſh Navie of 38. ſhips, which brought the treaſure from America, and ſet upon them, but to no purpoſe. When *Monſon* was come with the reſt of the Fleet, they had certaine notice that a mighty Indian Caraque of 1600. tunne, and richly laden, was upon the coaſt of Portugall. There indeed they found it, but it lay cloſe under a Fort, attended with eleven Gallies, and the Caraque it ſelfe appeared as big as a Caſtle. Notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties which preſented themſelves, they were reſolved to trie what they might bring to paſſe, and to fire the Caraque if they could not take it. The next day they caſt anchors out of five of the Queens ſhips, and thundred ſo violently againſt the Gallies, that within ſeven houres the Marqueſſe of S. Croſſe, together with Portugall Gallies which hee commanded, withdrew themſelves. Two of them were taken and fired, and in them was great ſtore of powder, which was going for the Low-Countries. *Leviſon* now intimated to the Captaine of the Caraque, that the Gallies which they truſted to were driven away, and they become Maſters of the harbour: it was not the Caſtle which was able to withſtand the ſtrength of the Engliſh, much leſſe the Caraque; wherefore if they refuſed mercy when it was offered, they muſt expect the utmoſt ſeverity that might be. After much ſpeech too and fro, it was agreed, That the Caraque with the Ordnance and merchandize ſhould be yeelded up. Thus the Engliſh, having a faire wind, returned homeward with goodly booty, to the value of a million of Ducats by the Portugall account, and no more than five men were loſt.

The Fleet returneth home.

Like

1602.

Like as theſe differences were agitated betweene the Catholike King and Queen *Eliſabeth*, even ſo about the ſame time aroſe a conteſtation amongſt the Popiſh Clergy here in England. For on the one ſide the Jeſuites, on the other ſide the Secular Prieſts, made bitter invectives in their writings one againſt the other. The originall of the Prieſts quarrell was, that *Blackwell*, one wholly at the becke of the Jeſuites, was ſet over them as Arch-Presbyter. He firſt of all deſpoiled them of their faculties, and when they appealed to the Pope, cauſed them to be declared Schiſmaticks and Hereticks. They in ſundry bookes extolled the Queen very highly, as one that dealt mildly alwayes with the Catholicks, till they ſet all in a combuſtion in England, and by their Treaſons cauſed moſt ſevere lawes to be enacted againſt the Catholicks. *Parſons* they traduced as a Baſtard, an Equivocator, a Traitor, &c.

Diſſention betwixt the Prieſts and Jeſuites.

Whether they contended thus in good earneſt, or in jeſt onely, is hard to ſay; but the Biſhop of London politikely nouriſhed the contention; and all he gained was this, that the Queene and her Councell finding them dangerous to the Common-wealth, both the one, and the other, upon penalty of the Lawes, were by Proclamation commanded to depart out of the Kingdome preſently.

They are both baniſht out of England.

In France, *Biron* the Marſhall for entring into dangerous attempts againſt the publike peace, was arraigned, and loſt his head. His confeſſion brought ſome others into danger; and amongſt them the Duke of Bullion of the Proteſtant religion, that when he was cited, he durſt not appeare, but fled into Germany. Hereupon the King of France ſendeth a great complaint againſt him to Queen *Eliſabeth*, that he held his marriage unlawfull, and the Popes diſpenſation nothing worth, pronouncing his ſonne illegitimate, deſtined the Prince of Condee to the ſucceſſion of the Crowne, conſpired the deſtruction of the prime of the Nobility, &c. The Queen, by her Legier Embaſſadour, giveth the King to underſtand how honourably ſhe tooke it, that in difficulties of this nature he conſulted with his neere friends and allyes; highly commending his moderation: but withall, adviſeth him ſeriouſly to be exceeding wary, and not too credulouſly to entertaine thoſe reports, doubting leſt theſe ſuggeſtions might proceed from ſome of the Spaniſh faction. Hereupon the King grew very angry, ſaying the Queen held a better opinion of the Duke than he deſerved, that he was one of the chiefe Architects of Eſſex his treaſon, and when the King queſtioned him concerning the ſame, was not able to deny it, &c. About this time alſo, the Duke of Savoy by cunning ſlights and open force practiſed againſt the State of Geneva, and the Queene releeved them with a great ſumme of money, gathered amongſt the Clergy and Laity all over England.

This yeare in the Moneth of February, *Alexander Nowell*, Deane of Paules and Doctour of Divinity, departed this life in a good old age; who in his younger yeares in the dayes of Queene *Mary* was in exile in Germany for the reformed Religion, the which after his returne into England he defended by his diligent preachings and learned writings. He endowed Brazen-noſe Colledge in Oxford, where he was brought up, with 200. pound *per annum*. In the Deanrie *John Overall* Divinitie Profeſſor in Cambridge ſucceeded him (who alſo was afterward Biſhop

The death of Dr. Nowell.

1602 of Norwich) a man highly accompliſhed with deepe learning, whom Sir *Fulke Grevil*, a patron of learned men, commended to the Queen.

Tir-Oen driven to his lurking holes.

After that the Spaniards were driven out of Ireland, the Earle of Tir-Oen with all the ſpeed he could make betooke himſelfe to his lurking-holes in Ulſter, and out of continuall feare changed the ſame daily. Toward the end of this yeare, Sir *Arthur Chicheſter* and Sir *Henry Docwray* had reſolved to perſecute him; but the waies were ſo difficult, and the paſſages ſo darke and dangerous, that they were faine to forſake their purpoſe. Nevertheleſſe, the Queenes Garriſon ſouldiers ſo awed him and the reſt of the Rebels, that many of them ſubmitted themſelves to the Deputy; and he alſo perceiving himſelfe in a deſperate eſtate, reſolved to ſue for mercy. Wherefore in moſt ſubmiſſive letters to the Queen and the Deputy he craved pardon for his offence, with teares and entreaties, and ſeemed to ſhew ſuch evident tokens of penitencie, that ſhe gave authority to the Deputy to receive him into mercy and favour, if he came perſonally to implore it. The which he underſtanding, made diligent ſuit to the Deputy by his brother *Arthur Mac-Baron*, and others: but being ſtill rejected, he promiſed to ſubmit his life and fortunes to the Queens pleaſure, without condition.

He ſubmitteth himſelfe to the Deputie.

The Deputy, who had received newes that the Queens health declined, permitted him to come to Mellifont: whither he haſtened immediately with one or two companions. Being admitted to the preſence, at the very entry of the roome he fell on his knees: After a while the Deputy willed him to come neerer; then he aroſe, and paſſing on for a few ſteppes, proſtrated himſelfe againe, ſaying: "I confeſſe and crave par-"don for my great fault againſt God, and a moſt bountifull Prince my "dread Soveraigne; I flye to the Queens mercy as a ſacred anchor, per-"mitting her to diſpoſe of my life and fortunes at her pleaſure: of whoſe "great bounty I formerly taſted, and have lately felt her power, but "now I moſt humbly crave that I may finde her lenity alſo, and be an "eternall patterne of her royall clemencie. Nor is my ſtrength ſo en-"feebled, my body ſo enervate, or my ſpirit ſo weake, but that I may "happily expiate this Rebellion with my truſty and loyall ſervice. The Deputy, upon this his ſubmiſſion, commanded him to goe aſide, and the next day tooke him along to Dublin with him, minding alſo to bring him into England, that the Queen might deale with him according to her royall pleaſure.

The Queene ſickneth.

But the Queen, who hitherto had enjoyed perfect health, by reaſon of great abſtinence and temperance, which ſhe would alwayes ſay, was the moſt noble part of Phyſicke, being now in the Climactericall yeare of her age, began to feele ſome infirmities of old age and ſickneſſe, and retired to Richmond at the latter end of January, that there ſhee might with more privacie enjoy God and her ſelfe. Which very day, in a kinde of preſage, ſhe uttered theſe words to the Admirall, who was alwaies very deare to her: *My Throne hath beene the Throne of Kings, and none but the next heire ought to ſucceed me.* At that time alſo, in a ſad *omen*, ſhe commanded the ring to be filed off her finger, wherewith ſhe was ſolemnly at the firſt inaugurated into the Kingdome, and ſince that time had never taken it off, it being now growne into the fleſh, in ſuch man-

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ner that it could not be drawne off. At the beginning of her ſickneſſe the Almonds of her jawes began to ſwell, and her appetite by little and little failed her. Likewiſe ſhe gave her ſelfe wholly to ſadneſſe and heavineſſe, which ſome imputed to her care for the loſſe of the Earle of Eſſex; others, becauſe ſhe heard that divers of the Nobility ſought the favour of the King of Scots, adoring him as the riſing Sunne, and neglecting her: ſome interpreted one way, ſome another. Certainly ſome of the Peeres at Court began to fall off from her in unthankfull manner; for ſhe was ſtill the ſame, though their opinion altered. But a laſting government, though never ſo happy, oftentimes ſeems tedious, and moſt men affect change: yea ſome of them, although they could not diſcern her diſeaſe to be deſperate, made propoſitions of ſending for the next heire. Hereupon ſhe eſteemed her ſelfe as one forſaken and forlorne, that griefe of heart ſometimes extorted theſe ſpeeches from her: "They have yoaked me: I have none to truſt to, &c. 1602.

Divers of the Courtiers poſt into Scotland.

But when the rumour waxed ſtrong, that her diſeaſe grew upon her, and that according to her uſuall wont, ſhe could not endure Phyſick, it is even incredible what poſting there was into Scotland night and day, by ſea & land; and that by Puritans, Papiſts, and all ſorts of perſons, to currie favour with the King of Scots. His right to the ſucceſſion ſhe alwayes held undoubted, though in her wiſdome ſhe liked not to have the queſtion diſcuſſed. In like manner, all ſorts of perſons were addicted to him, as the undoubted heire, albeit ſome falſe rumors were diſperſed concerning the marriage of the Lady *Arbella*, his Uncles daughter; and the French Embaſſadour here began to lay plots to hinder the uniting of the Kingdomes of England and Scotland. In March a kind of benummednеſſe ſeiſed upon her, with a deep melancholy; inſomuch that ſhe would ſit ſilently, refraine her meat, and not admit of any conference, unleſſe with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, with whom ſhe prayed devoutly and frequently, till ſuch time as her ſpeech failed her. About that time the Admirall recounting to the Counſellors her former ſpeech to him, it was thought good that he, together with the Lord Privie Seale and a Secretarie, ſhould go to her in the name of the reſt, to know her mind concerning a ſucceſſor. To whom ſhe gave this anſwer; *I ſaid my Throne hath been the Throne of Kings; I would not a mean perſon ſhould ſucceed me.* The Secretarie requeſting her to ſpeak more plainly: *I will have a King ſucceed me, and what King but the King of Scots my neereſt Kinſman?*

The Archbiſhop after this exhorting her to thinke of God: That I doe (quoth ſhe) nor doe my thoughts at all wander from him. And when her tongue no longer ſerved her, it was evident by the lifting up of her hands and eyes, that her thoughts were fixed upon him. Now March 24. being the Eve of the Annuntiation of our moſt bleſſed Lady the Virgin *Marie*, ſweetly and mildly ſhe ſent forth her vitall breath, in the 70. yeare of her age: which age none of the Kings of England her Predeceſſors had attained unto. What ſaid I? ſhe dyed? yea ſhe liveth ſtill, and ever ſhall live, in the hearts and mouthes of the Engliſh Nation, as long as one of them ſhall be alive; whoſe prayer it is, that it would pleaſe God to bleſſe them with many Princes like unto her; for none ſhall ever goe beyond her.

The Queene dieth.

FINIS.

THE SUCCESSIONS OF THE DUKES AND EARLES OF THIS KINGDOME:

Together,

With a list of the *Dukes*, *Marquesses*, *Earles*, *Viscounts* and *Barons* of England to this present.

LONDON,
Printed by ROBERT YOUNG.
1638.

Princes of VVales
ſince the Conqueſt.

John Speed 97.

1 *Edward Caer-Nervon*, ſon to King *Edward* the Firſt, afterwards King *Edward* the Second.
2 *Edward* of Windſor, ſonne to King *Edward* the Second, afterward King *Edward* the Third.
3 *Edward* the Black Prince, ſonne to King *Edward* the Third.
4 *Richard* of Burdeaux, ſonne to the Blacke Prince, afterwards King *Richard* the Second.
5 *Henry* of Monmoth, ſonne to King *Henry* the Fourth, afterwards King *Henry* the Fifth,
6 *Henry* of Windſour, ſonne to King *Henry* the Fifth, afterwards King *Henry* the Sixth.
7 *Edward* of Weſtminſter, ſonne to King *Henry* the Sixth.
8 *Edward* of Weſtminſter, ſonne to King *Edward* the Fourth, afterwards King *Edward* the Fifth.
9 *Edward Plantagenet*, ſonne to King *Richard* the Third.
10 *Arthur Tuthar*, ſon to King *Henry* the Seventh.
11 *Henry Tuthar*, ſonne to King *Henry* the Seventh, afterwards King *Henry* the Eighth.
12 *Edward*, the ſonne of King *Henry* the Eighth, afterwards King *Edward* the Sixth.
13 *Henry*, the ſonne of King *James*.
14 *Charles*, the ſonne of King *James*:
15 *Charles*, the ſonne of King *Charles*.

THE

THE SUCCESSIONS OF THE DUKES AND EARLES OF THIS KINGDOME OF ENGLAND.

Albemarle and Holdernes.

EUDO (ſonne to the Earle of *Champaigne*) married one of the Conquerours ſiſters, and was by him created Earle of *Albemarle*, and of *Holdernes*. *Conq.*

Stephen their ſonne ſucceeded, and was Earle of *Albemarle*, and of *Holderneſſe*.

William, ſirnamed *Le Groſe* (being his ſon) ſucceeded, and was Earle of *Albemarle*, and *Holdernes*.

William de Fortibus, married *Hawſe* or *Avice*, the daughter and heire of the aforenamed *Stephen*, and was in her right created Earle of *Albemarle*, and of *Holdernes*, by King *Stephen*. *K. Steph.*

William de Fortibus, their ſon, ſucceeded, and was Earle of *Albemarle* and of *Holdernes*.

William de Fortibus, his ſon, was Earle of *Albemarle* and *Holdernes*, and dyed without iſſue Male.

Thomas Plantagenet, otherwiſe called *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, a younger ſonne to King *Edward* the Third, was by his Nephew King *Richard* the Second created Earle of *Albemarle*, *Holdernes*, *Darby*, *Lancaſter*, and *Leiceſter*. *R. 2.*

Henry Plantagenet his ſon, was Earle of *Albemarle*, *Holdernes*, *Darby*, *Lancaſter*, and of *Leiceſter*.

Edmund Plantagenet, the ſonne of *Edmund* of *Langley*, another of the younger ſonnes of King *Edward* the Third, and Duke of *Yorke*, was by King *Richard* the Second, his Couſin, created Earle of *Rutland*, and Duke of *Albemarle*. *R. 2.*

Thomas Plantagenet, Duke of *Clarence*, and ſonne to King *Henry* the Fourth, was by him created Earle of *Warwick*, and of *Albemarle*. *H. 4.*

Sir *John Ramſey*, Viſcount *Hadington*, was by Letters Patents by King *K. James.*

King *James* bearing date the 22. of January 1620. created Earle of *Holdernes*.

St. Albans.

Richard Burgh, was by King *Charles*, in the fourth yeere of his reign, honoured with the title of Earle of St. *Albans*.

Ulich, his ſonne and heire, is now Earle of St. *Albans*.

Angleſey.

Chriſtopher Villers, was by King *James*, in the 21. yeere of his raigne, created Earle of *Angleſey*.

Charles his ſonne, is now Earle of *Angleſey*, 1638.

Arundell.

Conq. *Roger Mountgomery*, was by *William* the Conquerour created Earle of *Arundell*, and of *Shrewsbury*.

Hugh Mountgomery, his ſonne, ſucceeded him, and died without iſſue.

Robert Mountgomery, his brother (being Earle of *Beleſme*) ſucceeded, and dyed without iſſue.

Maud. *William de Albeney*, was by *Mawd* the Empreſſe created Earle of *Arundell*, and *Suſſex* becauſe he tooke her part againſt King *Stephen*: he married *Adeliza*, the widow of King *Henry* the Firſt, and was confirmed

H.2. in his honours by King *Henry* the Second.

William de Albeney, his ſon, ſucceeded in thoſe honours.

R.1. *William de Albeney*, his ſonne, was by King *Richard* the Firſt reſtored to the ſaid Earldomes, which for diſpleaſure had been kept from him by *Henry* the Second.

William de Albeney, his ſon, ſucceeded in thoſe Earldomes.

Hugh de Albeney, was Earle after his brother, and dyed without iſſue.

H.3. *William de Albeneto*, was created Earle of *Arundell* by King *Henry* the Third, and dyed without iſſue.

E.1. *Richard Fitz-Alen*, married *Iſabel* (who was one of the daughters of the laſt Earle *William*) and was by King *Edward* the Firſt created Earle of *Arundell*, he was (before that time) Lord of *Clun*, and *Oſwalſtrey*.

Edmund Fitz-Alen, their ſonne, was Lord of *Clun* and *Oſwalſtry*, and ſucceeded in the Earldome of *Arundell*; but was beheaded on diſpleaſure, and by the commandement of Queene *Iſabel*, the wife of King *Edward* the Second.

Richard Fitz-Alen, his ſonne, ſucceeded in all thoſe honours: he was alſo Earle of *Warren*, and of *Surrey*.

Richard Fitz-Alen, his ſonne, was Lord of *Clun* and *Oſwalſtrey*, and Eale of *Arundell*, *Warren*, and of *Surrey*: hee was alſo Lord of *Bromfield*

field, and *Tale*; and was beheaded at *Briſtow*, whileſt King *Richard* the Second lived.

Thomas Fitz-Alen, his ſonne, was Lord of *Clun*, *Oſwaldſtrey*, *Bromfield*, and *Yale*, and Earle of *Arundell*, *Warren*, and of *Surry*, and died without iſſue Male.

John Fitz-Alen, and Lord *Maltravers*, being the next heire Male to the ſaid *Thomas*, was by King *Henry* the Sixth created Earle of *Arundell*, and Duke of *Toroyne*. *H.6.*

Humfrey Fitz-Alen, his ſonne, was Earle of *Arundell*, and died without iſſue.

William Fitz-Alen, his Uncle, and Brother to the laſt Earle *John*, was Lord of *Clun*, and *Maltravers*, and Earle of *Arundell*.

Thomas Fitz-Alen, his ſonne, ſucceeded, and was Lord of *Clun*, and *Maltravers*, and Earle of *Arundell*.

William Fitz-Alen, his ſonne, was Lord of *Clun*, and *Maltravers*, and Earle of *Arundell*

Henry Fitz-Alen, his ſonne, was Lord of *Clun*, and *Maltravers*, and Earle of *Arundell*, and dyed without iſſue Male.

Thomas Howard Earle of *Surrey*, and the fourth and laſt Duke of *Norfolk*, married *Mary*, one of the daughters and co-heires of the ſaid *Henry Fitz-Alen*, and was in her right Lord *Maltravers*, and Earle of *Arundell*. The other moitie deſcended to the Lord *Barkley*.

Philip Howard, his ſonne, was Lord *Maltravers*, and Earle of *Arundell* and of *Surrey*.

Thomas Arundell, his ſon, is Lord *Maltravers*, and Earle of *Arundell*: to which honours he was reſtored by the mighty Prince King *James*. *K. James.*

Barkeſhire.

Francis Lord *Norris* of *Ricot*, was by Letters Patents, bearing date 28. of January 1620. created Earle of *Barkeſhire*.

Thomas Howard, was by king *Charles* in the firſt yeere of his reigne created Earle of *Barkſhire*.

Bath.

Philbert de Chandew, a *Britan* borne, was by King *Henry* the firſt created Earle of *Bath*: he died without iſſue Male. *H.1.*

John Bourchier, Lord *Fitz-Warren* of *Towſtock* in *Devon*, being the ſonne of *Foulke Bourchier*, Lord *Fitz-Warren*, who was the ſonne of *William Bourchier*, Lord *Fitz-Warren*, who was the yonger ſonne of *William Bourchier*, Earle of *Ewe* in *Normandy*; who was the yonger brother of *Henry* the firſt Earle of *Ewe*, was by King *Henry* the eight, created Earle of *Bath*. *H.8.*

John Bourchier, his ſon, was Lord *Fitz-Warren* of *Towſtock*, and Earle of *Bath*.

William Bourchier, the ſonne of *John Bourchier*, who was the ſonne of the ſaid *John*, laſt Earle of *Bath*, is now Lord *Fitz-Warren* of *Towſtock*, and

and had iſſue one ſonne onely, who was named *Edward*, Lord *Fitz-Warren* of *Towſtock*.

Edward Bourchier, the ſonne of *William Bourchier* Earle of *Bath*, was after the death of his father Lord *Fitz-Warren* of *Towſtock*.

Sir *James Bourchier*, now Earle of *Bath*.

Bedford.

E. 3. INgram, Lord *Coney*, a *Frenchman* borne, married *Iſabel*, the daughter of King *Edward* the third: and being by him created Earle of *Bedford*, he died without iſſue Male.

H. 4. *John Plantagenet*, the third ſonne of King *Henry* the fourth, was by his father created Duke of *Bedford*; and whileſt King *Henry* the ſixt lived (to whom he was Uncle) he was Regent of *France*, ruled it with great wiſedome and valour, and died without iſſue.

E. 4. *George Nevil* was by King *Edward* the fourth created Duke of *Bedford*, and died without iſſue.

H. 7. *Jaſpar Tuthar*, ſurnamed *Jaſpar* of *Hatfield*, ſon to *Owen Tuthar* and Queen *Katherine*, the widow of King *Henry* the fifth, was by his halfe brother, King *Henry* the ſixt, created Earle of *Pembroke*, and was after by his Nephew King *Henry* the ſeventh created Duke of *Bedford*, and died without iſſue.

H. 8. *John Ruſſel*, was by King *Henry* the eight made Lord *Ruſſel*, and by King *Edward* the ſixt, he was created Earle of *Bedford*.

Francis, Lord *Ruſſel*, his ſonne, ſucceeded, and was Earle of *Bedford*.

Edward Lord *Ruſſel* (Granchild to *Francis* Earle of *Bedford*, by his ſonne *Francis* ſlaine by the *Scots*) ſucceeded his Grandfather in the Earledome of *Bedford*.

K. James. *Francis Ruſſel* Earle of *Bedford*, and Lord *Ruſſel* of *Thornehaugh*, hee was the ſonne of Sir *William Ruſſel* Knight, a yonger ſonne of *Francis* Earle of *Bedford*, who was created Lord *Ruſſel* of *Thornhaugh* by our late Soveraigne Lord King *James*, in the firſt yeare of his Raigne; the which *William* Lord *Ruſſel* was the father of *Francis* now Earle of *Bedford*.

Bridgewater.

H. 8. GIles *Dawbeny* was by King *Henry* the Seventh made Lord *Dawbeny*, and his ſonne *Henry* was (after his fathers death) created Earle of *Bridgwater* by King *Henry* the Eighth, and died without iſſue. But *Alice* his ſiſter and heire was married to *John Bourchier*, Lord *Fitz-Warren* of *Towſtock* in *Devon*, from whom *William* Lord *Fitz-Warren* of *Towſtock* and Earle of *Bath* is deſcended.

K. James. *John Egerton* Viſcount *Brackley*, Baron *Elleſmer*, and Knight of the *Bath* at the Coronation of King *James*, ſecond ſon and heire Male of *Thomas Egerton*, Baron *Elleſmer*, Viſcount *Brackley*, and Lord Chancellor

lor of England, was by Letters Patents, bearing date the ſeven and twentieth day of May 1617. made Earle of *Bridgewater*.

Briſtoll.

John Digby was by king *James*, in the twentieth yeer of his raigne, created Earle of *Briſtoll*.

Buckingham.

Walter Gifford, Earle of *Longuile* in *Normandy*, and couſen to the Conquerour, was by him created Earle of *Buckingham* and *Pembroke*. *Conq.*

Walter Gifford his ſon ſucceeded, and dyed without iſſue.

Thomas Plantagenet, ſirnamed *Thomas* of *Woodſtocke*, the ſixth ſon of king *Edward* the Third, was by his Nephew king *Richard* the ſecond created Earle of *Buckingham*, *Northampton*, and *Eſſex*, and afterwards he made him Duke of *Gloceſter*.: and for his good counſell to the ſame king, he was ſent priſoner to *Callice*, and there murdered. *R.2.*

Humfrey Plantagenet, his ſonne, was Earle of *Buckingham*, *Northhampton*, and *Eſſex*, and died without iſſue.

Humfrey Stafford, Lord of *Brecknock* and *Holdernes*, being Earle of of *Stafford*, was by king *Henry* the Sixth created the firſt Duke of *Buckingham*. *H.6.*

Henry Stafford, his ſonne, being Lord of *Brecknock* and *Holdernes*, was Earle of *Stafford*, and Duke of *Buckingham*, and was beheaded by king *Richard* the third.

Edward Stafford his ſonne, being Lord of *Brecknock* and *Holdernes*, and Earle of *Stafford*, by reſtitution from king *Henry* the eighth was the third and laſt Duke of *Buckingham*, and was beheaded whileſt king *Henry* the eighth reigned. *H.8.*

Sir *George Villers* Knight, fourth ſonne of Sir *George Villers* of Leiceſterſhire Knight, was created Baron of *Whadden*, and Viſcount *Villers*, at *Woodſtocke*, the 27. of Auguſt 1616. and the 16. of January after hee was created at White-Hall Earle of *Buckingham*; and on New-yeers day 1617. he was created Marqueſſe of *Buckingham*; and laſtly, in the 21. yeere of our late Soveraigne Lord king *James*, he was created Duke of *Buckingham*, and Earle of *Coventrey*.

Bullingbroke.

Oliver St. John, was by king *James*, in the 22. yeere of his reigne, created Earle of *Bullingbroke*.

Cambridge.

E. 3. *John* of *Henault*, brother to *William* Earle of *Henault*, and Uncle to Queen *Philip*, the wife of king *Edward* the Third, was by him created Earle of *Cambridge*. But hee revolted to the *French* king, and thereby loſt his honour.

E. 3. *William* Marqueſſe of *Julier*, *Bergen*, and *Cleveland*, was by king *Edward* the Third created Earle of *Cambridge*.

Edward Plantagenet, ſirnamed *Edmund* of *Langley*, being the fifth ſon of king *Edward* the Third, and Duke of *Yorke*, was by his father created Earle of *Cambridge*.

Edward Plantagenet his ſon, was Duke of *York* and *Albemarle*, Earle of *Rutland* and of *Cambridge*, and being ſlaine in the battell of *Edgingcourt*, he died without iſſue.

Richard Plantagenet, his brother, was Earle of *Cambridge*, and had iſſue *Richard*.

Richard Plantagenet was Lord of *Clare* and of *Wigmore*, Duke of *Yorke*, and Earle of *Ulſter*, *March*, and *Cambridge*, and was ſlaine in his wars againſt king *Henry* the ſixth.

Edward Plantagenet his ſonne ſucceeded him in all thoſe honourable dignities, and was afterwards king *Edward* the fourth.

James Marqueſſe *Hamilton*, Earle of *Arran*, Lord *Aven*, and *Aberbroth* in Scotland, was by Letters Patents, bearing date the 16. of June 1619. created Earle of *Cambridge*, and Baron of *Ennerdaill* in *Cumberland*.

James Marqueſſe *Hamilton*, being his ſon, is Earle of *Cambridge* now living, 1638.

Carlile.

Randolph Meſchines ſonne of *Randolph* Viſcount of *Baieulx*, married the baſe daughter of *Richard* the third Duke of *Normandy*, came into *England* with *William* the Conquerour, who gave him the Earledome of *Carlile*.

Andrew Harckley of *Weſtmerland*, Knight, for his good ſervice done *Edward* the ſecond, was made Earle of *Carlile*.

John Plantagenet, third ſon of king *Henry* the fourth, was in the fifth yeere of king *Henry* the fifth, his brother, made Protector of the Realme of *England*, and Earle of *Carlile*.

Richard, the fourth ſonne of *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, and brother to king *Edward* fourth, was in the firſt yeer of the ſaid kings reigne, 1460. created Duke of *Gloſter* and Earle of *Carlile*.

James Hay was by king *James* in the 20. yeere of his raigne created Earle of *Carlile*.

James Hay his ſonne Earle of is *Carlile*, 1638.

Carnarvan.

Robert Dormere, was by king *Charles*, in the fourth yeere of reigne, honoured with the title of Earle of *Carnarvan*.

Chester.

Hugo Lupus, Viſcount of *Auregnes* in *Normandy*, nephew to the Conquerour, was by him created Earle Palatine of *Cheſter*. *Conq.*

Richard Lupus his ſon ſucceeded, and died without iſſue.

Ralph Meſchines (being the ſonne of *Margaret*, the ſiſter and heire of *Hugo Lupus*) was by king *Henry* the firſt created Earle of *Cheſter*. *H. 1.*

Ralph Meſchines his ſonne ſucceeded, and was Earle of *Cheſter*.

Hugh Meſchines, ſirnamed *Kevelliock*, becauſe he was there born, ſucceeded his father in the Earldome of *Cheſter*.

Ralph Meſchines, ſirnamed *Blundevile*, his ſonne, being Lord of *Little Britaine*, was Earle of *Cheſter*, *Lincolne*, and of *Richmond*.

John, ſirnamed *Scot*, was by king *John* created Earle of *Cheſter*, and died without iſſue Male. *K. Joh.*

Edmund Plantagenet, ſirnamed *Crowch-backe*, the ſecond ſonne of *Henry* the Third, and brother to king *Edward* the Firſt, was by his father created Earle Palatine of *Cheſter*. *H. 3.*

Edward the Prince, ſonne and heire apparent to King *Edward* the Firſt, was by his father created Earle Palatine of *Cheſter*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Prince of *Wales*. Hee was afterwards King *Edward* the Second. *E. 1.*

Edward the Third was in his fathers daies created Earle Palatine of *Cheſter*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Prince of *Wales*, and was afterward king *Edward* the Third. *E. 3.*

Edward Plantagenet, ſirnamed *The Blacke Prince*, the eldeſt ſon of king *Edward* the Third, was in Parliament created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle Palatine of *Cheſter*.

Richard Plantagenet, ſonne to the *Black Prince*, was Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle Palatine of *Cheſter*, and was after that king *Richard* the Second.

Henry Plantagenet, the eldeſt ſonne of king *Henry* the Fourth, was Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle Palatine of *Cheſter*, untill he was king *Henry* the Fifth.

Edward, the ſonne of king *Henry* the Sixth, was Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle Palatine of *Cheſter*, untill he was ſhamefully murdered.

Edward Plantagenet, the ſonne of king *Richard* the Third, was Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle Palatine of *Cheſter*, and died without iſſue.

Arthur Tuthar, the eldeſt ſon of King *Henry* the Seventh, was Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle Palatine of *Cheſter*, and died without iſſue.

Henry Tuthar, the ſecond ſon of king *Henry* the Seventh, was Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle Palatine of *Cheſter*, untill hee was king *Henry* the Eighth.

Edward Tuthar, his ſon, was Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle Palatine of *Cheſter*, untill he was king *Edward* the Sixth. He died without iſſue.

Henry Steward, the eldeſt ſonne of the illuſtrious Prince king *James* the Firſt, was Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle Palatine of *Cheſter*, and died witho ut iſſue.

Charles Steward, his brother, was Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Yorke*, *Cornwall*, and *Roſſay*, and Earle Palatine of *Cheſter*.

Cheſterfield.

PHilip Stanhop was by king *Charles* in the fourth yeere of his raigne honoured with the title of Earle of *Cheſterfield*.

Clarence.

K. Steph. *GIlbert de Clare* was by king *Stephen* created Earle of *Clarence*.

Roger de Clare, his brother, ſucceeded, and was Earle of *Clare*.

Richard de Clare, his ſon, ſucceeded, and was Earle of *Clare*.

E. 3. *Lionel Plantagenet*, the third ſon of king *Edward* the Third, was by his father created Duke of *Clarence*. Hee had no iſſue Male: but his daughter and heire *Philip* was married to *Edmund Mortimer* Earle of *March*, from whom the Familie of *Yorke* did lineally deſcend.

H. 4. *Thomas Plantagenet*, the ſecond ſonne of king *Henry* the Fourth, was by his father created Earle of *Albemarle*, and Duke of *Clarence*.

George Plantagenet, the third ſonne of *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, and brother to king *Edward* the Fourth, was by him created Duke of *Clarence*, and was murdered in the Tower.

John Hollis: this family was honoured with the title of Earle of *Clare*, by our late Soveraigne Lord king *James*, in the 22. yeere of his raigne.

John Hollis, Earle of *Clare*, his ſon, is now living, 1638.

Cleveland.

THomas Wentworth, was by King *Charles*, in the firſt yeere of his raigne, created Earle of *Cleveland*.

Corn-

Cornwall.

Candor a *Britan* was Earle of *Cornwall* at the time of the Conqueſt, and did homage to the Conquerour for the ſame.

Candor his ſon was the ſecond Earle of *Cornwall*.

Robert Earle of *Mortaigne* in *Normandy* was by the Conquerour created Earle of *Cornwall*. *Conq.*

William his ſonne, being Earle of *Mortaigne*, was alſo Earle of *Cornwall*.

Reynold, the baſe ſon of king *Henry* the Firſt, was by king *Stephen* created Earle of *Cornwall*. *K. Steph.*

John, the ſecond ſonne of king *Henry* the ſecond, was by his father created Earle of *Cornwall*. He was afterwards king *John*. *H.2.*

Richard, the ſecond ſonne of king *John*, was by his brother king *Henry* the third created Earle of *Cornwall*. Hee was alſo king of the *Romans*. *H.3.*

Henry Plantagenet his ſonne ſucceeded, and was Earle of *Cornwall*, and died without iſſue. *Ed.*

Edward Plantagenet, the eldeſt ſonne of king *Edward* the firſt, was by his father created Prince of *Wales*, Earle Palatine of *Cheſter*, and Duke of *Cornwall*, and he was afterwards king *Edward* the ſecond. *E.2.*

Pierce Gaveſton, a *Gaſcoigne* borne, was by king *Edward* the ſecond created Lord of *Wallingford*, and Earle of *Cornwall* and *Gloceſter*. Hee was beheaded by the Barons, becauſe hee miſſe-lead the king. He died without iſſue. *E.2.*

John Plantagenet, ſecond ſonne to king *Edward* the ſecond, was by his father created Earle of *Cornwall*. He died without iſſue. *E.2.*

Edward Plantagenet, the eldeſt ſonne of king *Edward* the ſecond, was by his father created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle of *Cheſter*, which hee enjoyed untill hee was king *Edward* the third. *E.3.*

Edward Plantagenet, ſirnamed *The Black Prince*, was by his father king *Edward* the third in Parliament created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle Palatine of *Cheſter*. *E.3.*

Richard Plantagenet, ſonne to the black Prince, was by his Grandfather king *Edward* the third created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle Palatine of *Cheſter*, which he enjoyed untill hee was king *Richard* the ſecond.

Henry Plantagenet, the eldeſt ſonne of king *Henry* the fourth, was Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle Palatine of *Cheſter*, untill he was king *Henry* the fifth.

Edward, the ſonne of king *Henry* the ſixth, was Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle Palatine of *Cheſter*, and was murdered.

Edward, the ſon and heire apparent of king *Richard* the third, was Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle Palatine of *Cheſter*, and died without iſſue.

Arthur Tuthar, the eldeſt ſonne of king *Henry* the ſeventh, was Prince

of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle Palatine of *Cheſter*, and dyed without iſſue.

Henry Tuthar, his brother, enjoyed the Principality of *Wales*, the Dutchie of *Cornwall*, and the Earledome of the Palatinate of *Cheſter*, untill he was king *Henry* the eighth.

Edward Tuthar, the ſonne of king *Henry* the eighth, was Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle Palatine of *Cheſter*, untill hee was king *Edward* the ſixth.

Henry Stewart, the eldeſt ſon of king *James* the firſt, was Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle Palatine of *Cheſter*, untill he died without iſſue.

Charles Stewart, his brother, was Earle Palatine of *Cheſter*, Duke of *Roſſay*, *Yorke*, and *Cornwall*, and Prince of *Wales*.

Cumberland.

Conq. RAlph *Meſchynes*, a *Norman*, was by the Conquerour created Earle of *Cumberland* and *Carlile*.

H. 8. *Henry*, Lord *Clifford*, *Bromflet*, and *Veſſey*, was by king *Henry* the eighth created Earle of *Cumberland*.

George, Lord *Clifford*, *Bromflet*, and *Veſſey*, being his ſonne, was Earle of *Cumberland*, and dyed without iſſue Male.

Francis, Lord *Clifford*, his brother, is Earle of *Cumberland*.

Danby.

HEnry *Danvers* was by king *Charles*, in the firſt yeere of his raigne, created Earle of *Danby*.

Darbie.

Conq. WIlliam *Peverell*, baſe ſonne to the Conquerour, was by him created Earle of *Darby* and of *Nottingham*.

William Peverell, his ſon, ſucceeded in thoſe Earldomes.

K. Steph. *Robert de Ferrers*, Lord of *Tedbury*, and Earle of *Ferrers* and of *Nottingham*, was alſo Earle of *Darbie*.

William de Ferrers ſucceeded his father in thoſe honours.

William de Ferrers, his ſonne, was Lord of *Tedbury*, *Chartley*, and *Groby*, and Earle of *Ferrers*, *Nottingham*, and of *Darby*.

Robert de Ferrers, his ſonne, poſſeſſed his fathers dignities. He was diſherited, becauſe hee ſided with the Barons againſt king *Henry* the third.

E. 3. *Edmund Plantagenet*, ſirnamed *Crowch-backe*, being Earle of *Lancaſter*, ſecond ſonne to king *Henry* the third, and brother to king *Edward* the firſt, was by his father created Earle of *Leiceſter* and *Darby*.

Thomas Plantagenet, his ſonne, being Earle of *Lancaſter*, *Leiceſter*, *Lincolne*,

Lincolne, and *Salisbury*, was by deſcent Earle of *Darby*, and died without iſſue.

Henry Plantagenet, his brother, was dignified with all thoſe honours.

Henry Plantagenet, his ſonne, enjoying thoſe Earldomes, together with the Earldomes of *Albemarle* and *Holdernes*, was by king *Edward* the third created Duke of *Lancaſter*: and his daughter and heire, named *Blanch*, was married to *John* of *Gaunt*, the fourth ſonne of the ſame King.

John Plantagenet, ſirnamed *John* of *Gaunt*, being Duke of *Lancaſter*, Earle of *Leiceſter*, *Lincolne*, and *Salisbury*, was alſo Earle of *Darby*.

Henry Plantagenet, ſirnamed *Bullingbroke*, being his ſon, was Duke of *Lancaſter* and *Hereford*, and Earle of *Leiceſter*, *Lincolne*, and of *Salisbury*; hee was likewiſe Earle of *Darby*, and was king by the name of king *Henry* the fourth.

Thomas Stanley, Lord *Stanley* (whoſe father *Thomas* was by king *Henry* the ſixth, made Lord *Stanley*) was by king *Henry* the ſeventh created Earle of *Darby*. *H. 7.*

Thomas Stanley, his Grand-child, *viz.* the ſonne of his ſonne *Henry*, who married *Joane*, the daughter and heire of *John* Lord *Strange* and *Knoking*, being Lord *Stanley*, and *Strange*, was alſo Earle of *Darby*.

Edward, Lord *Stanley*, *Strange*, and *Knoking*, being his ſon, ſucceeded, and was Earle of *Darby*.

Henry, Lord *Stanley*, *Strange*, and *Knoking*, being his ſonne, was Earle of *Darby*.

Ferdinando, Lord *Stanley*, *Strange*, and *Knoking*, being his ſonne, was Earle of *Darby*, and dyed without iſſue Male.

William, Lord *Stanley*, *Strange*, and *Knoking*, his brother, is now Earle of *Darby*.

Denbigh.

William Fielding was by king *James*, in 20. yeere of his raigne, created Earle of *Denbigh*.

Devonſhire.

Richard de Bruer, ſirnamed *Richard of the Heath*, being a *Norman*, was by the Conqueror created Earle of *Devonſhire*, he dyed without iſſue. *Conq.*

Adela de Bruer, his ſiſter and heire, was by the Conqueror created Viſcounteſſe of *Devonſhire*. *Conq.*

Baldwine de Rivers, being Earle of *Exeter*, was by king *Henry* the ſecond created Earle of *Devonſhire*. *H. 2.*

Richard Rivers, his ſonne, ſucceeded in thoſe honours.

Baldwine Rivers, his ſonne, was Earle after him, and died without iſſue.

Richard Rivers, his brother, was Earle, and dyed without iſſue.

William

William Rivers, ſirnamed *de Valentia*, was their Nephew and heire, and was after them Earle of *Devonſhire*.

Baldwine Rivers, his ſonne, was Earle of *Devon*.

John Rivers, his ſonne, being Earle, dyed without iſſue.

Iſabel Rivers, ſirnamed *de Fortibus*, being the generall heire of the Earles of *Devonſhire*, did enjoy the ſaid Earledome. Shee married one who was named *William de Fortibus*, Earle of *Albemarle* and Lord of *Holdernes*, by whom ſhee had a plentifull iſſue. But king *Edward* the third would not permit them to enjoy the ſaid Earldome of *Devonſhire*.

E.3. *Hugh Courtney* Knight, who was deſcended from the before named Earles of *Devonſhire*, was by king *Edward* the third created Earle of *Devonſhire*.

Hugh Courtney, his ſonne, was Earle after him.

Edward Courtney, ſirnamed the *Blinde* (who was the ſon of *Edward*, the ſon of the laſt *Hugh Courtney*) was Earle of *Devonſhire*.

Hugh Courtney, his ſonne, was Earle of *Devonſhire*.

Thomas Courtney, his ſonne, being Lord of *Okehampt* in *Devon*, was alſo Earle of *Devonſhire*. He tooke part in the warres with king *Henry* the ſixth, and being taken priſoner at the battell of *Towton* in *Yorkſhire*, he loſt his head.

E.4. *Humfrey Stafford* Eſquire, was by king *Edward* the fourth firſt made Lord *Stafford* of *Southweeke*, and after Earle of *Devonſhire*: and becauſe hee cowardly left the field at *Banbury* in the Civill warres, at *Bridgewater* hee was beheaded by the commandement of the ſaid king.

H.7. *Edward Courtney*, Lord of *Hackham*, being Couſin and heire to the ſaid *Thomas Courtney*, was by king *Henrie* the ſeventh created Earle of *Devonſhire*.

William Courtney, his ſonne, married the Lady *Katharine* (one of the daughters of king *Edward* the fourth) and was Earle of *Devonſhire*.

H.8. *Henry Courtney*, his ſonne, was Earle of *Devonſhire*, and by his Couſin German king *Henry* the eighth he was created Marqueſſe of *Exeter*, but loſt his head.

Q. Ma. *Edward Courtney*, his ſonne, was by Queene *Mary* reſtored to the Earldome of *Devonſhire*, but dyed at *Padua* without iſſue.

K. James. *Charles Blunt*, Lord *Mountjoy*, was by king *James* the firſt created Earle of Devon; he dyed without iſſue.

William Cavendiſh Eſquire, was by king *James* created Baron of *Hardwick*, the fourth of May 1605. and in Auguſt, 1618. was made Earle of *Devonſhire*.

William Cavendiſh is Earle of *Devonſhire*.

Dorſet.

Conq. OSmund a *Norman*, being by the Conquerour created Earle of *Dorſet*, died without iſſue.

Thomas

Thomas Beauford, the ſonne of *John* of *Gaunt*, by *Katharine Swineſford* his third wife, was by king *Richard* the ſecond created Earle of *Somerſet*, and Marqueſſe *Dorſet*: which latter dignitie was taken from him in Parliament, *An.* 1. *H.* 4. John of Gaunt called all his Children by that Wife by the name of Beauforts.

John Beauford, his brother, was Earle of *Somerſet* onely, and was afterward by king *Henry* the fourth created Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, and by king *Henry* the ſixth he was created Duke of *Somerſet*. His daughter and heire, named *Margaret*, was married to *Edmund Tuthar* Earle of *Richmund*; and they two had iſſue king *Henry* the ſeventh. *H.* 4.

Edmund Beauford, his brother, was Earle of *Somerſet*, and by king *Henry* the fifth he was created Earle of *Mortaigne* in *Normandie*, and by king *Henry* the ſixth, Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, and Duke of *Somerſet*. *H.* 6.

Henry Beauford, his ſon, was Earle of *Mortaigne*, Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, and Duke of *Somerſet*, and died without iſſue.

Thomas Grey, the ſon of Sir *John Grey* Knight, and of the Lady *Eliſabeth* his wife, and widow, who was afterwards married to king *Edward* the fourth, was by the ſame king created Marqueſſe *Dorſet*: he was alſo Lord of *Groby*, *Aſtley*, *Bonduile*, and *Harrington*. *E.* 4.

Thomas Grey, ſucceeded his father in thoſe honours.

Henry Grey, his ſon, being Lord *Ferrers* of *Groby*, Lord *Harrington*, *Bonduile*, and *Aſtley*, was after his fathers death Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, and by king *Edward* the ſixth he was created Duke of *Suffolke*, and was executed in Queen *Maries* raigne.

Thomas Sackvile, Lord *Buckhurſt*, and Lord Treaſurer of *England*, was by king *James* created Earle of *Dorſet*. *K. James.*

Robert Sackvile, his ſonne, was Lord *Buckhurſt*, and Earle of *Dorſet*.

Richard Sackvile, his ſonne, was Lord *Buckhurſt*, and Earle of *Dorſet*.

Edward Sackvile, his brother, is Lord *Buckhurſt* and Earle of *Dorſet*, and is now living, 1638.

Dover.

HEnry Cary, was by king *Charles*, in the third yeere of his raigne, created Earle of *Dover*.

Eſſex.

GEoffrey *de Magna Villa*, otherwiſe *Mandevile*, was by king *Stephen* created Earle of *Eſſex*. *K. Steph.*

Geoffrey, his ſonne, was Earle of *Eſſex*, and dyed without iſſue.

William, his brother, was Earle of *Eſſex*, and dyed without iſſue.

Geoffery Fitz-Pearce, otherwiſe *Ludgarſhall*, married *Beatrice* the heire of the ſaid *William Mandevile*, and was by king *John* created Earle of *Eſſex*, ſhe had by him two ſons, *Geoffrey* and *William*, whom (at his wives requeſt) hee named *Mandeviles*, according to the name of their Grand-father. *K. Joh.*

Geoffrey

Geoffrey Mandevile, their ſonne, was Earle, and dyed without iſſue.
William Mandevile, his brother, was Earle, and dyed witho ut iſſue.

H.3. *Humfrey Bohun*, was by king *Henry* the third created Earle of *Eſſex*, and of *Hereford*.

Humfrey Bohun, his ſonne, ſucceeded in thoſe honours.
Humfrey Bohun, his ſonne, was Earle after him.
Humfrey Bohun, his ſonne, was Earle of *Eſſex* and of *Hereford*.
John Bohun, his ſonne, was Earle and dyed without iſſue.

Hunfrey Bohun, the ſonne of *William Bohun*, who was the ſonne of the laſt *Humfrey*, was Earle of *Eſſex*, *Hereford*, and *Northampton*, and died without iſſue Male. And *Eleanor*, his eldeſt ſiſter, was married unto *Thomas* of *Woodſtocke*, one of the ſons of king *Edward* the third.

E.3. *Thomas* of *Woodſtocke*, the ſixth ſonne of king *Edward* the third, was by his father created Earle of *Eſſex*, *Buckingham*, *Hereford*, and *Northhampton*, and by his Nephew king *Richard* the Second he was created Duke of *Gloceſter*, and murdred in priſon at *Callice*, becauſe he had warned the king friendly of his faults.

Humfrey Plantagenet, his ſonne, ſucceeded in thoſe Earldomes, and dyed without iſſue Male.

Henrie de Burgo Caro, otherwiſe *Bourchier*, being Earle of *Ewe* in *Normandie*, who was the ſonne of *william Bourchier*, who by king *Henry* the fifth was at *Maunt* in *Normandie* created Earle of *Ewe*, was by king

E.4. *Edward* the fourth created Viſcount *Bourchier*, and Earle of *Eſſex*: his ſon *William* had iſſue *Henrie*, and dyed whileſt his father lived.

Henry Bourchier was Viſcount, and Earle, and died without iſſue.

H.8. *Thomas Cromwel*, was by king *Henry* the eighth made Lord *Cromwel*, and was by him created Earle of *Eſſex*, but loſt his head.

H.8. *William Parre*, was by king *Henry* the eighth made Lord *Parre* of *Kendall*, and Earle of *Eſſex*; and by king *Edward* the ſixth hee was made Marqueſſe of *Northampton*, and dyed without iſſue.

Walter Devereux, Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, and Viſcount *Hereford*,

Q.Eli. was by Queene *Eliſabeth* created Earle of *Eſſex*.

Robert Devereux, his ſon, was Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartly*, Viſcount *Hereford*, and Earle of *Eſſex*.

Robert Devereux, his ſon, was reſtored to all his fathers honours by

K.James. king *James* the firſt, and now liveth.

Exeter.

R.2. *John Holland*, halfe brother to king *Richard* the ſecond, was by him created Earle of *Huntington*, and Duke of *Exeter*. He was executed becauſe he conſpired againſt king *Henry* the fourth.

H.4. *Thomas Beauford*, one of the ſons of *John* of *Gaunt*, by his third wife *Katharine Swinsford*, was by his brother king *Henry* the fourth created Earle of *Dorſet*, and Duke of *Exeter*. He died without iſſue.

H.6. *John Holland*, the ſonne of the forenamed *John*, was by king *Henry* the fifth reſtored to his Earldome of *Huntington*, and by king *Henry* the ſixth to his Dutchie of *Exeter*.

Henry

Henry Holland, his ſonne, was attainted when king *Edward* the fourth raigned, and was drowned on *Callice* Sands.

Henry Courtney, Earle of *Devonſhire*, was by king *Henry* the eighth created Marqueſſe of *Exeter*, and loſt his head. *H. 8.*

Thomas Cecil, Lord *Burleigh*, was by king *James* the firſt created Earle of *Exeter*. *K. James.*

William Cecil, his ſonne is Baron of *Burleigh*, and Earle of *Exeter*, 1638.

Gloceſter.

William Fitz-Euſtace, being by the Conquerour created Earle of *Gloceſter*, dyed without iſſue. *Conq.*

Robert Fitz-Hamon, Lord of *Aſtreville* in *Normandie*, was by the Conquerour created Earle of *Gloceſter*. *Conq.*

William Fitz-Hamon, his ſonne, was Earle of *Gloceſter*.

Robert de Millent, baſe ſonne to king *Henry* the firſt, was by him created Earle of *Gloceſter*. He died without iſſue. *H. 1.*

John Plantagenet, the ſonne of king *Henry* the ſecond, was by his father created Duke of *Gloceſter*: but hee was afterwards king of *England*. *H. 2.*

Geoffrey Mandevile, the laſt of that name, Earle of *Eſſex*, was by king *John* created Earle of *Gloceſter*, and died without iſſue. *K. John.*

Almericus, Earle of *Eureux*, was by king *John* created Earle of *Gloceſter*, and died without iſſue. *K. John.*

Gilbert de Clare, being Earle of *Hartford*, was created Earle of *Gloceſter* by king *Henry* the third. *H. 3.*

Richard, his ſonne, was Earle of *Clare*, and *Gloceſter*, and *Hartford*.

Gilbert de Clare, his ſonne, had thoſe three Earldomes.

Gilbert de Clare, his ſonne, was Earle of *Hartford*, *Clare*, and *Gloceſter*, and died without iſſue Male.

Ralph Mounthermer, who married *Joan* of *Acres*, one of the daughters of king *Edward* the firſt, and who was widow to the laſt *Gilbert de Clare*, was by the ſame king created Earle of *Hartford* and *Gloceſter*, and dyed without iſſue. *E. 1.*

Peirce Gaveſton, a *Gaſcoyne* borne, was by King *Edward* the ſecond created Lord of *Wallingford*, Earle of *Cornwall* and *Gloceſter*, and died without iſſue, being executed by the Barons. *E. 2.*

Hugh Spencer, the younger, was by King *Edward* the ſecond created Earle of *Gloceſter*, and was executed at *London*.

Hugh Awdly, Lord *Awdly* of *Helſe Caſtle*, was by king *Edward* the third created Earle of *Gloceſter*, and dyed without iſſue. *E. 3.*

Thomas Plantagenet, ſirnamed *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, the ſixth ſonne of King *Edward* the third, was by his father created Earle of *Eſſex*, *Buckingham*, and *Northampton*, and by king *Richard* the ſecond, his nephew, he was created Duke of *Gloceſter*: but was murdered at *Callice* in priſon, for reproving the king friendly of his faults. *R. 2.*

Thomas

R.2. *Thomas* Lord *Spencer*, the Grand-childe of the aforenamed *Hugh Spencer*, was by king *Richard* the ſecond created Earle of *Gloceſter*, and died without iſſue Male.

H.4. *Humfrey Plantagenet*, the fourth ſonne of king *Henry* the fourth, being Earle of *Pembroke*, was by his father created Duke of *Gloceſter*, and died without iſſue.

E.4. *Richard Plantagenet*, the ſonne of *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of *Yorke*, and brother to king *Edward* the fourth, was by the ſame king created Duke of *Gloceſter*. He was alſo king *Richard* the third, and dyed without iſſue.

Hartford.

H.2. *Roger de Clare*, Earle of *Clarence*, was by king *Henry* the ſecond created Earle of *Hartford*.

Richard de Clare, his ſonne, enjoyed both thoſe Earledomes.

Gilbert de Clare, his ſonne, was Earle of *Clare*, *Hartford*, and of *Gloceſter*.

Richard de Clare, his ſonne, enjoyed thoſe three Earldomes.

Gilbert de Clare, his ſonne, ſucceeded in thoſe honours.

Gilbert de Clare, his ſonne, ſucceeded, and died without iſſue Male.

E.1. *Ralph de Mounthermer*, who married *Joan* of *Acres*, one of the daughters of king *Edward* the firſt, was by him created Earle of *Gloceſter*, and of *Hartford*: he dyed without iſſue.

H.8. *Edward Saint-Maure*, alias *Seymour*, was by king *Henry* the eighth made Viſcount *Beauchamp*, and Earle of *Hartford*; hee was Uncle and Protector to king *Edward* the ſixth, by whom he was created Duke of *Somerſet*, and loſt his head.

Q.Eliz. *Edward Saint-Maure*, alias *Seymour*, his ſonne, was by Queene *Eliſabeth* created Viſcount *Beauchamp*, and Earle of *Hartford*.

William Seymour, ſonne and heire to *Edward* Lord *Beauchamp*, and Grand-child and heire of *Edward* late Earle of *Hartford*, is now Earle of *Hartford*.

Hereford.

Conq. *William Fitz-Osborne*, who firſt perſwaded the Conquerour to undertake that weightie buſineſſe, was by him created Earle of *Hereford*, and Lord of the Iſle of *Wight*; becauſe he made the firſt conqueſt thereof.

Roger Fitz-Osborne, his ſon, who ſucceeded, was attainted of Treaſon, and dyed a priſoner without iſſue.

H.1. *Miles Fitz-Walter*, was by king *Henry* the firſt created Earle of *Hereford*.

Roger

Roger Fitz-Walter, his ſonne, ſucceeded, and dyed without iſſue.
Walter Fitz-Walter, his brother, was Earle, and dyed without iſſue.
Henry Fitz-Walter, his brother, ſucceeded, and dyed without iſſue.
Humfrey Bohun was by king *Henry* the third created Earle of *Hereford*, and of *Eſſex*. H.3.
Humfrey Bohun ſucceeded his father in thoſe Earldomes.
Humfrey Bohun, his ſonne, was Earle after him.
Humfrey Bohun, his ſonne, was his ſucceſſour in thoſe Dignities.
John Bohun, his ſonne, was Earle and dyed without iſſue.
Humfrey Bohun, his nephew, *viz.* the ſonne of *William*, brother to the ſaid *John*, was Earle of *Hereford*, *Eſſex*, and *Northampton*, and dyed without iſſue Male.
Thomas of *Woodſtock*, the ſixth ſonne of king *Edward* the third, married *Eleanor*, the eldeſt ſiſter of the ſaid *Humfrey*, and was by his father created Earle of *Hereford*, *Eſſex*, *Buckingham*, and *Northampton*; he was afterwards by his nephew king *Richard* the ſecond created Duke of *Gloceſter*, and was murdred in priſon at *Callice*, becauſe he informed the king friendly of his faults. E.3.
Humfrey Plantagenet, his ſonne, was Earle, and dyed without iſſue Male.
Henry Plantagenet, ſirnamed *Bullingbroke*, the ſonne and heire apparant of *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*, being Earle of *Darby*, was by his Couſin, king *Richard* the ſecond, created Duke of *Hereford*, and was afterwards king *Henry* the fourth. R.2.
Humfrey Stafford, was Earle of *Stafford*, *Northampton*, and *Hereford*, and was by king *Henry* the ſixth created Duke of *Buckingham*, but hee loſt his head.

Holland.

HEnry Rich, was by King *James*, in the 22. yeere of his raigne, honoured with the title of Earle of *Holland*.

Huntington.

WAldolf a *Saxon*, married *Judith* the Conquerours Neece, and was by him created Earle of *Huntington*; hee dyed without iſſue Male. Conq.
Simon de S. Lize, otherwiſe *Saint-Leger*, married *Mawld*, one of the daughters of *Waldolf*, and was by *William Rufus* created Earle of *Huntington*, and *Northampton*: and having iſſue *Simon* he dyed. Rufus.
David, Prince of *Scotland*, and ſonne to *Malcolme* the third, being Earle of *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, was by king *Stephen* made Earle of *Huntington*: for *Simon* was but a child, and unjuſtly kept from his Inheritance. Steph.
Henry, Prince of *Wales* (aſſoone as *David* his father was king of *Scotland*)

Scotland) enjoyed the Earldomes of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and *Huntington*.

After the death of king *Stephen*, the ſaid *Simon* (being ſon to the ſaid *Simon*) entred into his Earldomes of *Huntington* and *Northampton*, and enjoyed the ſame in peace during his life.

Malcolme, Prince of *Scotland*, and ſonne to the before named *Henry* (becauſe the rightfull Earle of *Huntington* was in his minority) was by king *Henry* the ſecond made Earle of *Huntington*, as hee was Earle of *Northumberland*, and of *Cumberland*.

William, his brother, being Prince of *Scotland*, and Earle of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and of *Huntington*, made wars upon king *Henry* the ſecond after he was king of the *Scots*, and was taken priſoner in the field, ranſomed, and loſt thoſe honours.

Simon de S. Liz, otherwiſe *Saint-Leger*, the third of that name, was by king *Henry* the ſecond reſtored to his Earldome of *Huntington*, and was alſo Earle of *Northampton*, and died without iſſue.

David, the brother of the aforenamed *William*, was by the favour of king *Richard* the ſecond reſtored to the Earldome of *Huntington*.

John, his ſonne, ſucceeded, and was Earle of *Huntington*, and died without iſſue male. He was ſirnamed *Scot*.

William Clinton was by king *Edward* the third created Earle of *Huntington*, and died without iſſue.

Guiſchard, a *Gaſcoigne* borne in *Angleſme*, was by king *Richard* the ſecond created Earle of *Huntington*, and dyed without iſſue.

John Holland, halfe-brother to king *Richard* the ſecond, was by him created Earle of *Huntington*, and Duke of *Exeter*, and loſt his head for conſpiring againſt king *Henrie* the fourth.

John Holland, his ſonne, was reſtored to his Earldome by king *Henry* the fifth, and by king *Henry* the ſixth to his Dutchie of *Exeter*.

Henry Holland, his ſonne, was attainted when king *Edward* the fourth raigned, and was drowned on the coaſt of *Callice*.

Thomas Grey, ſonne in Law to king *Edward* the fourth, was by him created Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, and Earle of *Huntington*.

Thomas Grey, his ſonne, ſucceeded in thoſe honours.

William Herbert, the eldeſt ſonne of *William Herbert*, whom king *Edward* the fourth had made Earle of *Pembroke*, was by the ſame king made Earle of *Huntington*.

George Haſtings, Lord *Haſtings*, *Botreaux*, and *Molines*, was by king *Henry* the eighth created Earle of *Huntington*.

Francis Haſtings, his ſonne, ſucceeded in thoſe honours.

Henry Haſtings, his ſon, being Lord *Haſtings*, *Hungerford*, *Botreaux*, *Molines*, and *Moeles*, was alſo Earle of *Huntington*.

George Haſtings, his brother, ſucceeded, and dyed without iſſue.

Henry Haſtings, the ſonne of *Francis Haſtings*, who was the ſonne of the ſaid *George*, now liveth, and doth enjoy the ſaid Lordſhips, and Earldome of *Huntington*.

Ken-

Kendall.

Gaſcoyne de Foys, a *Gaſcoyne* borne, was at *Maunt* in *Normandie* created by king *Henry* the fifth Earle of *Longuile* and *Kendall*. He revolted, and became *French*. *H.5.*

John de Foys, his ſonne, married the Neece of *William de la Poole* Duke of *Suffolke*, by whoſe mediation he was by king *Henrie* the ſixth reſtored. But he became *French*. *H.6.*

Capdaw de Beuffs was by king *Henry* the ſixth created Earle of *Kendall*. But he revolted to the *French* king. *H.6.*

Kent.

Wilnotus at the Conqueſt (being brother to king *Harold*) was Earle of *Kent*. But (for feare) he fled into *Denmarke*, and died without iſſue.

Odo, Biſhop of *Bayon*, and halfe brother to the Conquerour, was by him created Earle of *Kent*, and he dyed without iſſue. *Conq.*

William de Ipre, Earle of *Flanders*, was by king *Stephen* created Earle of *Kent*, and dyed without iſſue. *K.Steph.*

Hubert de Burgh, being Lord chiefe Juſtice of *England*, was by king *Henry* the third created Earle of *Kent*, and dyed without iſſue male. *H.3.*

Edmund Plantagenet, ſirnamed *Edmund* of *Woodſtocke*, being ſon to king *Edward* the firſt, and brother to king *Edward* the ſecond, was by his brother created Earle of *Kent*, but loſt his head in the raigne of his nephew king *Edward* the third. *E.1.*

Thomas Holland, halfe brother to king *Richard* the ſecond, was by him created Earle of *Kent*, and Duke of *Surrey*. *R.2.*

Thomas Holland, his ſonne, was Earle of *Kent*, and Duke of *Surrey*, and dyed without iſſue.

Edmund Holland, brother to the ſaid *Thomas*, was Earle of *Kent*, and Duke of *Surry*, and died without iſſue.

William Nevil, Lord *Fawconbridge*, a younger brother to *Ralph Nevil*, the firſt of that Familie Earle of *Weſtmarland*, was by king *Edward* the fourth created Earle of *Kent*, and died without iſſue male. *E.4.*

Edmund Grey, Lord *Grey* of *Ruthen*, was by king *Edward* the fourth created Earle of *Kent*. *E.4.*

Richard Grey, his ſonne, ſucceeded, and died without iſſue.

Reynold Grey, who was deſcended lineally from the ſaid *Edmund*, was reſtored to the Earledome of *Kent* by Queene *Eliſabeth*, and dyed without iſſue. *Q.Eliſ.*

Henry Grey, his brother, was Earle of *Kent*.

Charles Grey, brother to *Reynald* and *Henry Grey* Earles of *Kent*, was after their death Earle of *Kent*.

Henry Grey, his ſonne, Earle of *Kent*, now living.

Kingſtone.

Robert Parpoint, was by king *Charles* in the fourth yeere of his reign created Earle of *Kingſtone*.

Lancaſter.

R.1. *John Plantagenet*, brother to king *Richard* the firſt, was by him created Earle of *Lancaſter*, *Leiceſter*, and *Darbie*. Hee was afterwards king of *England*.

H.3. *Edmund Plantagenet*, ſirnamed *Crowch-backe*, the ſecond ſon of king *Henry* the third, was by his father created Earle of *Lancaſter*, *Leiceſter*, and *Darbie*. He married *Blanch* the Queene of *Navarre*, and had iſſue by her *Thomas* and *Henrie*.

Thomas Plantagenet, his ſonne, was Earle of *Lancaſter*, *Leiceſter*, *Lincolne*, *Salisburie*, and *Derſet*, and dyed without iſſue.

Henry Plantagenet, his brother, was dignified with all thoſe honours.

E.3. *Henry Plantagenet* his ſonne, enjoying all thoſe Earldomes, together with the Earledomes of *Albemarle* and *Holdernes*, was by king *Edward* the third created Duke of *Lancaſter*. His daughter and heire named *Blanch*, married *John* of *Gaunt*, the fourth ſonne of king *Edward* the third.

John Plantagenet, ſirnamed *John* of *Gaunt*, enjoyed all thoſe Earledomes, and was Duke of *Lancaſter*.

Henry Plantagenet, his ſonne, ſirnamed *Bollingbroke*, held all thoſe Earldomes, and was Duke of *Lancaſter* and *Hereford*, and was king *Henry* the fourth, by depoſing of king *Richard* the ſecond.

Leiceſter.

Lofrick was Earle of *Leiceſter* when *Edward* the Confeſſor lived.

Algarus, his ſonne, ſucceeded in that Earledome.

Edwin his ſon, was Earle at the Conqueſt.

H.1. *Robert de Beamont* was created Earle of *Leiceſter* by king *Henrie* the firſt.

Robert de Beamont, his ſonne, was Earle after him.

Robert, his ſonne, ſirnamed *Blanch-Maynes*, was his ſucceſſor.

Robert, his ſonne, was Earle, and died without iſſue.

K. John. *Simon de Mountford* was by king *John* created Earle of *Leiceſter*, and was ſlaine at the ſiege of *Tholouſe*.

Simon de Mountford was Earle of *Leiceſter*. Hee tooke king *Henrie* the third priſoner in the Barons warres: but the young Prince *Edward* ſet his father at libertie, and ſlew this *Simon*, with many more, at the battell of *Everſham*, and his poſſeſſions were confiſcate to the King.

Edmund Plantagenet, ſirnamed *Crowch-back*, ſecond ſon to King *Henrie* the third, was by his father created Earle of *Leiceſter*, *Lancaſter*, &c.

Thomas

Thomas Plantagenet, his ſonne, ſucceeded, and died without iſſue.

Henry Plantagenet, his brother, poſſeſſed all thoſe honours.

Henry Plantagenet, his ſonne, was Earle of *Leiceſter*, *&c.* and was by king *Edward* the third created Duke of *Lancaſter*; his daughter and heire, named *Blanch*, was married to *John* of *Gaunt*. *E.3.*

John Plantagenet, ſirnamed *John* of *Gaunt*, the fourth ſonne of king *Edward* the third, married *Blanch*, and was Earle of *Leiceſter*, *&c.* and Duke of *Lancaſter*.

Henrie of *Bullingbroke*, his ſonne, was Earle of *Leiceſter*, *&c.* and Duke of *Lancaſter*, and of *Hereford*, and was afterwards king *Henry* the fourth.

Robert Sutton, otherwiſe *Dudley*, a younger ſon to *John* Duke of *Northumberland*, was by Queen *Eliſabeth* created Earle of *Leiceſter*, and dyed without any lawfull iſſue.

Robert Sidney, ſonne of Sir *Henry Sidney* knight of the Garter, was by king *James* the ſecond day of Auguſt 1618. created Earle of *Leiceſter*.

Robert Sidney, his ſonne and heire, is now Earle of *Leiceſter*, 1638.

Lincolne.

MArcarus, being Earle of *Lincolne*, and *Northumberland*, at the time of the Conqueſt, rebelled, and dyed in priſon without iſſue.

William de Romara, was by king *William Rufus* created Earle of *Lincolne*, and dyed without iſſue. *Rufus.*

Gilbert de Gaunt, was in the right of *Avis*, his wife, created Earle of *Lincolne*, and dyed without iſſue Male. *Steph.*

Gilbert de Gaunt, in the troubleſome times of king *John*, was created Earle of *Lincolne*, by the Dolphin *Lewis*, ſon to the *French* king. *Lewis.*

Ralfe de Meſchynes, ſirnamed *Blundevile*, being the ſixth Earle of *Cheſter*, was by king *Henrie* the third created Earle of *Lincolne*, and of *Richmond*, becauſe hee tooke his part againſt the Barons: hee dyed without iſſue. *H.3.*

John Lacy, Baron of *Haulton*, was by king *Henry* the third, created Earle of *Lincolne*.

Henry, the ſonne of *Edmund Lacy*, ſonne to the ſaid *John*, ſucceeded, and was Earle of *Lincolne*.

Thomas Plantagenet, the ſon of *Edmund Crowch-backe*, was Earle of *Lancaſter*, *Leiceſter*, *Darby*, and *Salisbury*: He married *Alice* the daughter and heire of *Henry Lacy*, and was (in her right) Earle of *Lincolne*, and dyed without iſſue.

John de la Poole, the ſon of *John de la Poole*, the ſecond of that name Duke of *Suffolke*, was created Earle of *Lincolne*, by king *Edward* the fourth, and dyed without iſſue. *E.4.*

Henry Brandon, the ſon and heire apparant of *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolke*, was by his Uncle king *Henry* the eighth created Earle of *Lincolne*, he dyed a child without iſſue. *H.8.*

Edward Fines, Lord *Clinton*, was by Queene *Eliſabeth* created Earle of *Lincolne*. *Q.Eliſ.*

Henry Pines, Lord *Clinton*, the ſon of the ſaid *Edward*, was Earle of *Lincolne* after his father.

Thomas Lord *Clinton*, Earle of *Lincolne*, ſucceeded his father in the Earldome.

Theophilus Lord *Clinton*, Earle of *Lincolne*, his ſon, now living, 1638.

Linſey.

Robert Bartu, was by king *Charles*, in the ſecond yeere of his raigne, honoured with the title of Earle of *Linſey*.

March.

Edwin a *Saxon*, at the time of the conqueſt was Earle *March*; hee, with *Marcarus* and *Swardus*, kept the Iſle of *Wight* againſt the Conquerour, and was baniſhed

E.3. *Roger Mortimer*, Lord *Mortimer* of *Wigmore*, was by king *Edward* the third created Earle of *March*, and was executed for treaſon.

Roger Mortimer, the ſonne of *Edmund Mortimer*, who was the ſonne

E. 3. of the ſaid Earle *Roger*, was by the ſame king reſtored to the Barony of *Wigmore*, and to the Earldome of *March*.

Edmund Mortimer, his ſonne, married *Philip*, the daughter and heire of *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*, the third ſonne of king *Edward* the third, and was Earle of *March*; and from them two did deſcend the heires of the Family of *Yorke*.

Roger Mortimer, their ſon, was Earle of *March*, and of *Ulſter* in *Ireland*, and by king *Richard* the ſecond was proclaimed heire apparant to the Crowne of *England*, and was ſlaine long after in *Ireland*.

Edmund Mortimer, his ſonne, was Earle of *March*, and after one and twenty yeeres impriſonment in *Wales*, and elſewhere, hee dyed without iſſue.

Richard Plantagenet, Earle of *Cambridge*, was the ſonne of *Edmund* of *Langley*, Duke of *Yorke* (the fifth ſonne of king *Edward* the third) hee married *Anne* the ſiſter and heire of the ſaid *Edmund*, and daughter to the ſaid laſt Earle *Roger*, and in her right he was Earle of *March*; and they two had iſſue *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, who was father to king *Edward* the fourth.

Richard Plantagenet, ſonne to *Richard* Earle of *Cambridge*, was Earle of *March*, and Duke of *Yorke*, and had iſſue *Edward* the fourth.

Edward his ſonne was firſt Earle of *March*, then by his fathers death he was Duke of *Yorke*, and by his victory at *Barnet* field he attained the kingdome of *England*, and was king *Edward* the fourth.

Eſme Lord *Obenie*, ſecond brother to *Ludwicke* Duke of *Lenox*, was created Baron of *Layton Bromeſwould*, and Earle of *March* by king *James*.

James Stewart his ſonne, Duke of *Lenox*, and Earle of *March*, now living.

Mancheſter.

Munchester.

HEnry Montaigue, was by king Charles, in the first yeere of his raigne, honoured with the title of Earle of Manchester.

Marlborough.

HEnry Ley, was by king Charles, in the first yeere of his raigne, created Earle of Marleborough.

——his sonne and heire is now Earle of Marleborough, 1638.

Middlesex.

LIonell Cranfield, was by king James in the 20. yeere of his raigne created Earle of Middlesex.

Monmouth.

RObert Carr, was by king Charles in the first yeere of his raign created Earle of Monmouth.

Mountgomery.

SIr Philip Herbert Knight, the second sonne of Henry late Earle of Pembroke, was created Earle of Mountgomery the fourth of May 1605. and after the death of his brother, Earle of Pembroke.

Mulgrave.

EDmund Sheffeild, was by king Charles in the first yeere of his raigne created Earle of Mulgrave.

Newport.

MOuntjoy Blount, was by king Charles in the fourth yeere of his raigne created Earle of Newport.

New-castle.

WIlliam Cavendish, was by king Charles in the third yeere of his raign honoured with the title of Earle of New-castle.

Northfolke:

Northfolke.

Ralph Wacr, at the time of the conqueſt, was Earle of *Northfolk* and *Suffolke*, and fled for treaſon.

Conq. *Ralph Bygot*, Preſident of the *Eaſt Angles*, was by the Conquerour created Earle of *Northfolke*, but hee was diſherited for conſpiring againſt him.

H.1. *Hugh Bygot*, was by king *Henry* the firſt created Earle of *Northfolke*.

Roger Bygot, his ſon, was Earle after him.

Hugh Bygot, his ſon, was Earle of *Northfolke*.

Roger Bygot, his ſon, ſucceeded in that Earledome.

Roger Bygot (his Nephew, *viz*, the ſonne of his brother *Robert*) was Earle of *Norfolke*, and dyed without iſſue.

Thomas Plantagenet, ſirnamed *Brotherton*, who was a younger ſonne to king *Edward* the firſt, and brother to king *Edward* the ſecond, was by his brother created Earle of *Northfolke*, he had one daughter and heire, who was named *Margaret*.

E.1.

John Lord *Segraue* married the ſaid *Margaret*, and they two had iſſue *Margaret*, which *Margaret* was by king *Richard* the ſecond created Dutcheſſe of *Northfolke* after her husbands death, and then ſhe married *John* Lord *Mowbray*.

R.2.

Thomas Lord *Mowbray*, their ſonne, was by king *Richard* the ſecond created Earle of *Nottingham*, Marſhall of *England*, and Duke of *Northfolke*: he dyed without iſſue. He complained of *Henry* of *Bullingbroke* to king *Richard* the ſecond, and ſhould have fought a combate with him, but died at *Venice* in his baniſhment.

R.2.

Thomas Lord *Mowbray*, his ſonne, was never Duke of *Northfolke*, but was in his fathers life time onely Earle of *Nottingham*, and was excepted for treaſon with *Richard Scroop* Archbiſhop of *Yorke* by king *Henry* the fourth, and his brother *John* ſucceeded their father, and was Marſhall of *England*, Earle of *Nottingham*, and Duke of *Northfolke*.

John Lord *Mowbray*, his ſonne, was Earle of *Nottingham*, *Warren*, and *Surrey*, high Marſhall of *England*, and Duke of *Northfolke*.

John Lord *Mowbray*, his ſonne, ſucceeded his father in all thoſe honourable Dignities, he died, and had iſſue *Anne*.

Richard Plantagenet, Duke of *Yorke*, and ſecond ſonne to king *Edward* the fourth, was married in his child-hood to the ſaid *Anne*, and was in her right poſſeſſor of all thoſe honours. But hee was murdred by his Uncle king *Richard* the Third, and died without iſſue. The ſaid *Anne* alſo died without iſſue, whereby all the Lordſhips of the *Mowbrays*, by courſe of inheritance, were devolved to *John* Lord *Howard*, and to *William* Lord *Barkley*.

R.3. *John* Lord *Howard*, who by his mothers ſide was deſcended from the before named *Mowbrayes*, was by king *Richard* the third created Duke of *Northfolke*, and loſt his life in the ſaid kings quarrell at *Boſworth* field.

Thomas Howard, his ſonne, who by king *Richard* the third was made

Earle

Earle of *Surrey*, was created Duke of *Northfolke*, by king *Henry* the eighth. *H.8.*

Thomas Howard, his ſonne, ſucceeded, and was Duke of *Northfolke*.

Thomas Howard (the ſonne of *Henry*, who was the ſonne of the laſt *Thomas* Duke of *Northfolke*) was Duke of *Northfolke*, and Earle Marſhall of *England*. Hee was alſo (in the right of his wife *Mary*, the eldeſt daughter of *Henry Fitz-Allen*) Earle of *Arundell*.

Northampton.

W*Altheof* ſonne of *Syward* the great Earle of *Northumberland*, he married *Judith* Niece to *William* the Conquerour, with whom he gave the Earldomes of *Huntington* and *Northumberland*.

Simon St. Lize, a *Norman* borne, and ſonne of *Randall Le Rich*, had the Earledome of *Northampton*, and the Hundred of *Falkly* given him by *William Rufus*.

Simon St. Lize, after the death of his father was Earle of *Northampton*.

Simon St. Lize, his ſonne, was Earle of *Northampton*.

William de Bohun, fourth ſonne of *Humphrey de Bohun*, was created Earle of *Northampton* in the eleventh yeere of *Edward* the third.

Humphrey Bohun, ſonne and heire of *William* Earle of *Northampton*, was after his fathers death Earle of *Northampton*.

William Parre, ſonne of Sir *Thomas Parre*, was in the firſt yeere of king *Edward* the ſixth created Marqueſſe of *Northampton*.

Henry Howard, ſecond ſonne of *Henry Howard* Earle of *Surrey*, was created Earle of *Northampton* the 13. day of March 1603. by king *James*.

William Lord *Compton*, ſonne of *Henry Compton* Knight, was created Earle of *Northampton* the ſecond day of Auguſt 1618. by king *James*.

Spencer Lord *Compton*, now Earle of *Northampton*, 1638.

Norwich.

E*Dward Deney*, was by king *Charles*, in the ſecond yeere of his raigne, created Earle of *Norwich*.

Northumberland.

M*Artarus*, at the time of the conqueſt was Earle of *Northumberland* and *Lincolne*, he with others kept the Ile of *Wight* againſt the Conqueror, and was taken, dyed in priſon, and had no iſſue.

Robert de Cumine, was by the Conquerour created Earle of *Northumberland*, but was ſlaine by the *Northumbers*. *Conq.*

Goſpatrick, was created Earle of *Northumberland* by the Conquerour, but he tooke it from him againe. *Conq.*

waldroſe

Conq. *Waldroſe*, was by the Conqueror created Earle of *Northumberland*, but loſt his head for treaſon.

Conq. *Walcher*, Biſhop of *Durham*, bought the Earldome of *Northumberland* of the Conqueror, and died without iſſue.

Conq. *Robert de Mowbray*, was by the Conqueror created Earle of *Northumberland*, but he rebelled, and loſt it.

K. Steph. *David*, Prince of *Scotland*, ſon to king *Malcolme* the third, was Earle of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and *Huntington*.

Henry, his ſonne (aſſoone as his father was king) enjoyed all thoſe Earldomes.

Malcolme, his ſon, was Earle of *Northumberland*, and of *Cumberland*, and *Huntington*.

William, his brother, ſucceeded him in his kingdome, and was Earle of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and *Huntington*; hee warred againſt king *Henry* the ſecond, was taken Priſoner, ranſomed, and loſt thoſe honours.

R.1. *Hugh de Pudſey*, Biſhop of *Durham*, was by king *Richard* the firſt created Earle of *Northumberland*, and dyed without iſſue.

R.2. *Henry Percy* was by king *Richard* the ſecond created Earle of *Northumberland*, he was father to *Henry* ſirnamed *Hot-ſpurre*, who was ſlaine in their rebellion againſt king *Henry* the fourth.

H.5. *Henry*, the ſonne of *Henry Hot-ſpurre*, was by king *Henry* the fifth reſtored to the Earledome of *Northumberland*.

Henry Percy, his ſonne, was Earle of *Northumberland*. He and his ſon *Henry* tooke part with king *Henry* the ſixth, and in his quarrell hee was ſlaine at *Towton* field, but *Henry* his ſonne fled with the king into *Scotland*.

E.4. *John*, Lord *Mountacute*, brother to *Richard* Earle of *Warwick*, was by king *Edward* the fourth created Earle of *Northumberland*; but the ſaid *Henry Percy* obtained the kings favour by his friends mediation, ſo that *John* Lord *Mountacute* ſurrendred his Patent to the king, and was created Marqueſſe *Mountacute*.

E.4. *Henry Percy*, was by king *Edward* the fourth reſtored to the Earledome of *Northumberland*, and was ſlaine by the common people there, becauſe he levied a Taxe for the king which much diſpleaſed them.

Henry Percy, Lord *Percy*, *Crockermouth*, *Petworth*, *Poynings*, *Fitz-Payne*, and *Brian*, his ſonne, ſucceeded, and was Earle of *Northumberland*.

Henry Percy, his ſonne, enjoyed all thoſe honourable titles and poſſeſſions, and died without iſſue.

John Dudley, Earle of *Warwicke*, and Viſcount *Liſle*, Lord *Baſſet* and *Tyes*, was created Duke of *Northumberland* by king *Edward* the ſixth, and loſt his head in the raigne of Queene *Mary*.

Q. Mary. *Thomas Percy*, being the heire Male of the houſe of the Earles *Percies*, was reſtored by Queene *Marie* to the Earledome of *Northumberland*; and for default of iſſue Male of his body, it was entailed to his brother *Henry Percy*, and to the heires Males of his body. And whileſt Queene *Eliſabeth* raigned the ſaid *Thomas* died without iſſue Male.

Henry Percy, his brother (according to the aforeſaid entailment) was Earle of *Northumberland*, and dyed.

Henry

Henry Percy, his ſonne, was Lord of *Petworth*, *Cockermouth*, *Poynings*, *Fitz-Payne*, and *Brian*, and Earle of *Northumberland*.

Algernon Percy, Earle of *Northumberland* his ſonne now living, 1638.

Nottingham.

William Peverel, baſe ſonne to the Conquerour, was by him created Earle of *Nottingham*, and of *Darby*. *Conq.*

William Peverel, his ſon, was Earle of *Nottingham* and *Darby*.

Robert, Earle of *Ferrers* in *Normandie*, and Lord of *Tedbury* in *Staffordſhire*, was by king *Stephen* created Earle of *Nottingham*. *K. Steph.*

William, his ſonne, was Earle of *Nottingham*, and by king *John* hee was alſo created Earle of *Darby*.

John de Mowbray, was by king *Richard* the ſecond created Earle of *Nottingham*, and died without iſſue. *R. 2.*

Thomas de Mowbray, his brother, was by king *Richard* the ſecond, firſt created Earle of *Nottingham*, and then Duke of *Northfolke*: he was challenged by *Henry* of *Bullinbroke* Duke of *Hereford* to a ſingle combate, for his falſe reports to the king, and was baniſhed, and died in his exile. *R. 2.*

Thomas Mowbray, his ſonne, was Earle of *Nottingham*, and executed for treaſon with *Richard Scroope* Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, in the reigne of king *Henry* the fourth.

John Mowbray, his brother, was by king *Henry* the ſixth created Earle of *Nottingham*, and Duke of *Northfolke*. *H. 6.*

John Mowbray, his ſonne, was Earle of *Nottingham*, *Warren*, and *Surrey*, and Duke of *Northfolke*.

John Mowbray, his ſonne, enjoyed all thoſe honours, and died without iſſue Male.

William, Lord *Barckley*, being one of his generall heires, was by king *Edward* the fourth made Viſcount *Barkley*, and by king *Richard* the third he was created Earle of *Nottingham*, and by king *Henry* the ſeventh, Marqueſſe *Barckley*. *R. 3.*

Henry Fitz-Roy, the baſe ſonne of king *Henry* the eighth, and of *Eliſabeth Blount*, was by the ſame king created Earle of *Nottingham*, and Duke of *Richmond*, and died without iſſue. *H. 8.*

Charles Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, was by Queene *Eliſabeth* created Earle of *Nottingham*, in the 39. yeere of her raigne.

Charles Howard, Earle of *Nottingham*, ſonne of *Charles Howard* Earle of *Nottingham*.

Oxford.

Edward Atheling (the ſon of *Edward* the Out-law, who was the ſon of *Edmund Ironſide*) was at the conqueſt Earle of *Oxford*, and was by the Conquerour deprived of that honour.

Awbrey

Maud. *Awbrey de Vere*, was by *Maud* the Empreſſe created, and by her ſonne king *Henry* the ſecond confirmed Lord High Chamberlaine of *England* in fee, and Earle of *Oxford*.

Awbrey de Vere, his ſonne, enjoyed thoſe honours, and died in the daies of king *John*, without iſſue.

Robert de Vere, his brother, was high Chamberlaine of *England*, and Earle of *Oxford*, and ſided with the Barons in their warres againſt king *John*, when they tooke part with the *Dolphin* of *France*, by reaſon of the Popes cutſe.

Hugh de Vere, his ſonne, was high Chamberlaine of *England*, and Earle of *Oxford*; he was Viſcount *Bolbeck*, and Lord *Samford*.

Robert de Vere, his ſon, ſucceeded in thoſe honours.

Robert de Vere, his ſon, enjoyed the ſame, and dyed without iſſue.

John de Vere, the ſon of *Alphonſus de Vere*, brother to the laſt *Robert*, was Lord *Samford*, Viſcount *Bolbecke*, high Chamberlaine of *England*, and Earle of *Oxford*.

Thomas de Vere, his ſon, held all thoſe honourable dignities.

Robert de Vere, his ſonne, being Lord *Samford*, Viſcount *Bolbeck*, Earle of *Oxford*, and high Chamberlaine of *England*, was by king *Richard* the ſecond created Marqueſſe of *Dublin*, and Duke of *Ireland*; he died without iſſue.

Awbrey de Vere, his Uncle, was Lord *Samford*, Viſcount *Bolbeck*, and Earle of *Oxford*: But the inheritance of his high Chamberlainſhip of *England* hee voluntarily ſurrendred to king *Richard* the ſecond, who gave it to his halfe brother *John Holland* Duke of *Exeter*.

Richard de Vere, his ſonne, was Lord *Samford*, Viſcount *Bolbeck*, and Earle of *Oxford*.

John de Vere, his ſonne, enjoyed thoſe honours: he and his eldeſt ſon *Awbrey de Vere*, were attainted, and executed in the time of king *Edward* the fourth.

H.7. *John de Vere*, his ſon, was by king *Henry* the ſeventh reſtored to the honours of *Bolbeck*, *Samford*, and *Scales*, was made high Chamberlaine of *England*, and Earle of *Oxford*.

John de Vere, his Nephew, by *George* his brother, ſucceeded him in all thoſe honours, and dyed without iſſue.

John de Vere, the ſonne of *John de Vere*, who was the ſonne of *Robert de Vere*, who was brother to *John de Vere*, the twelfth Earle of *Oxford* of that name, who was father to the before named *George*, enjoyed all thoſe dignities.

John de Vere, being the heire Male of that familie, was the ſixth Earle of that Chriſtian name: Hee was alſo Lord *Samford* and *Badilſmere*, Viſcount *Bolbeck*, and high Chamberlaine of *England*.

Edward de Vere, his ſon, enjoyed all thoſe honours.

Henry de Vere, his ſonne, is Lord *Samford*, and *Badilſmere*, Viſcount *Bolbecke*, high Chamberlaine of *England*, and Earle of *Oxford*.

Pembroke.

Pembroke.

Walter Gifford, was by the Conquerour created Earle of *Pembroke* and *Buckingham*. *Conq.*

Walter Gifford, his ſon, ſucceeded, and died without iſſue.

Gilbert de Clare was by king *Stephen* created Earle of *Pembroke*.

Richard de Clare, ſirnamed *Strongbow*, being his ſon, was Earle of *Pembroke*, and dyed without iſſue Male.

William Marſhall, Earle *Marſhall* of *England*, was by king *John* created Earle of *Pembroke*. *K. John.*

William Marſhall, his ſonne, enjoyed all thoſe honours, and died without iſſue.

Richard Marſhall, his brother, ſucceeded him, and was ſlain, and dyed in *Ireland* without iſſue.

Gilbert Marſhall, his brother, was Earle *Marſhall*, and of *Pembroke*, and died without iſſue.

Walter Marſhall, his brother, was Earle *Marſhall*, and of *Pembroke*, and dyed without iſſue.

William de Valentia, the ſon of king *Johns* wife *Iſabel*, and of her ſecond husband *Hugh de Brun*, was by his halfe-brother king *Henry* the third created Earle of *Pembroke*. *H. 3.*

Aymer de Valentia, his ſonne, was Earle of *Pembroke*, and was by king *Edward* the firſt made Vice-roy of *Scotland*, and died without iſſue.

Laurence, Lord *Haſtings*, was by king *Edward* the third created Lord of *Abergavenny*, and Earle of *Pembroke*.

John, Lord *Haſtings* and *Abergavenny*, was Earle of *Pembroke*.

John his ſonne ſucceeded, and died without iſſue.

Humfrey Plantagenet, the youngeſt ſonne of king *Henry* the fourth, and brother to king *Henry* the fifth, was by his brother created Earle of *Pembroke*, and Duke of *Glocester*. Hee was alſo Protector to his Nephew king *Henry* the ſixth, and dyed without iſſue. *H. 5.*

William de la Poole was by king *Henry* the ſixth created Earle of *Pembroke*, Earle, Marqueſſe, and Duke of *Suffolke*. *H. 6.*

Jaſper of *Hatfield*, the ſecond ſonne of *Owen Tudor*, and of Queene *Katharine* his wife (widow to king *Henry* the fifth) and being halfe-brother to king *Henry* the ſixth, was by him created Earle of *Pembroke*, and by king *Henry* the ſeventh Duke of *Bedford*. He died without iſſue. *H. 6.*

William Herbert was by king *Edward* the fourth made Lord of *Cardiffe*, and Earle of *Pembroke*, and was ſlaine at *Banbury* field. *E. 4.*

William Herbert his ſon ſucceeded, and reſigned the ſaid Earldome to king *Edward* the fourth.

Edward the Prince, being ſon and heire apparant to king *Edward* the fourth, was by his father created Earle of *Pembroke*, *Flint*, and *March*. He was king *Edward* the fifth. *E. 4.*

Anne Bullen, who was afterwards married to king *Henry* the eighth, was by him created Marchioneſſe of *Pembroke*, and loſt her head. *H. 8.*

William Lord *Herbert*, ſon to *Richard Herbert*, who was brother to
E.6. the laſt Earle *William*, was by king *Edward* the ſixth created Earle of *Pembroke*.

Henry Lord *Herbert*, his ſon, ſucceeded in thoſe honours.

William Lord *Herbert*, his ſon, is Lord of *Cardiffe*, *Fitz-Hugh*, *Marmion*, and S. *Quintens*, and Earle of *Pembroke*.

Philip Herbert, after the death of his brother *William* Earle of *Pembroke*, was Earle of *Pembroke*.

Peterborough.

John Lord *Mordant*, was by king *Charles* in the third yeere of his raigne created Earle of *Peterborough*.

Portland.

Richard Weſton, was by king *Charles* honoured with the title of Earle of *Portland*.

——— his ſonne and heire is now Earle of *Portland*, 1638.

Richmond.

Conq. *Eudo* was by the Conquerour made Lord of *Middleham* and Earle of *Richmond*.

Allen Fergaunt, ſirnamed *The Red*, being his ſonne, was Lord of *Middleham*, & Earle of *Britaine* and of *Richmond*. He dyed without iſſue.

Allen, ſirnamed *The Blacke*, being his brother, ſucceeded him, and dyed without iſſue.

Stephen his brother, poſſeſſed all thoſe honours.

Allen, his ſon, by deſcent enjoyed the ſaid dignities.

Conan, his ſon, ſucceeded him, and had iſſue *Conſtance*.

Geoffrey Plantagenet, the third ſonne of king *Henry* the ſecond, maried the ſaid *Conſtance*, and was in her right Earle of *Richmond*.

Arthur Plantagenet, his ſonne, was Earle of *Richmond*, and died without iſſue.

K. John. *Ralph Blundevile*, being Count Palatine of *Cheſter*, was by king *John* created Earle of *Richmond*.

H. 3. *Peter* Earle of *Savoy*, who built the *Savoy*, was by king *Henry* the third created Earle of *Richmond*.

E. 1. *John de Dreux*, Duke of *Britaine*, ſon to *John* the firſt Duke of *Britaine*, was by king *Edward* the firſt created Earle of *Richmond*.

John de Dreux, his ſon, was Earle of *Richmond*.

John de Dreux, his ſon, ſucceeded, and died without iſſue.

E. 3. *Robert de Arthoys*, ſometimes Earle of *Arthoys*, but diſ-inherited by *Philip de Valoys* the *French* king, was by king *Edward* the third created Earle of *Richmond*.

John Plantagenet, the ſonne of king *Edward* the third, ſirnamed *John* of *Gaunt*, being Duke of *Lancaſter*, was by his father created Earle of *Richmond*. E.3.

Henry of *Bullingbroke*, his ſonne, was Duke of *Lancaſter*, *Hereford*, and Earle of *Richmond*, untill hee was king *Henry* the fourth.

Ralph Lord *Nevill* of *Rabie Caſtle*, the firſt Earle of *Weſtmerland*, was by king *Henry* the fourth created Earle of *Richmond* for his life only. H.4.

John Plantagenet, Duke of *Bedford*, and brother to king *Henry* the fifth, was by his father created Earle of *Richmond*. He dyed without iſſue. H.5.

Edmund of *Hadham*, called *Edmund Tuthar*, the eldeſt ſonne of *Owen Tuthar*, and of Queen *Katharine* his wife, the widow of king *Henry* the fifth, and daughter to *Charles* the ſixth of *France*, and halfe brother to king *Henry* the ſixth, was by him created Earle of *Richmond*. He married *Margaret* the daughter and heire of *John Beauford*, Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, and Duke of *Somerſet*, who was the ſon of *John Beauford*, who was the ſon of *John* of *Gaunt*, by *Katharine Swinsford* his third wife, and had iſſue *Henry*, who was king *Henry* the ſeventh. H.6.

Henry Tuthar, their ſonne, was Earle of *Richmond*, untill he obtained the Crowne, and was king *Henry* the ſeventh.

Henry Fitz-Roy, baſe ſon to king *Henry* the eighth, was by him created Earle of *Nottingham* and Duke of *Richmond*, and died without iſſue in the ſixteenth yeere of his age. H.8.

Lewis Steward Duke of *Lenox*, was by Letters Patents, bearing date the ſixth of October 1613. made Baron of *Tittington*, and Earle of *Richmond*.

Rutland.

Edward Plantagenet, the ſonne of *Edmund* of *Langley*, the fifth ſon of king *Edward* the third, and Duke of *Yorke*, was by his couſin king *Richard* the ſecond created Earle of *Rutland*, and Duke of *Albemarle*. After his fathers death he was Duke of *Yorke*, and was ſlaine at *Agencourt* field. R.2.

Edmund Plantagenet, brother to *Edward*, who was afterward king *Edward* the fourth, was Earle of *Rutland*, and died in his child-hood, without iſſue, being ſlaine.

Thomas Mannors, Lord *Roos*, of *Hamlake*, *Belvoyr*, and *Trumbone*, was created Earle of *Rutland* by king *Henry* the eighth. H.8.

Henry Mannors, his ſon, ſucceeded his ſaid father.

Edward Mannors, his ſonne, enjoyed thoſe honours, and dyed without iſſue Male.

John Mannors, his brother, ſucceeded him.

Roger Mannors, his ſonne, enjoyed thoſe honours, and dyed without iſſue.

Sir *Francis Mannors*, his brother, was Lord *Roos*, *Hamlake*, and *Trumbone*, and Earle of *Rutland*.

George Mannors, after the death of his brother, is now Earle of *Rutland*.

Rivers.

Richard Woodvile of *Grafton*, Knight, married *Jaquet* the widow of *John* Duke of *Bedford*, Regent of *France*, and daughter to *Peter* of *Luxenburgh*, Earle of S. *Paul*. Hee was by king *Henry* the ſixth made Lord *Ryvers*. Afterwards king *Edward* the fourth married his daughter, the Ladie *Eliſabeth Grey*, the widow of Sir *John Grey* deceaſed, by whom he was made Lord Treaſurer of *England*, and Earle *Ryvers*. He and his ſonne *John* were ſlaine by the Commons in an up-roare.

Anthonie Woodvile, his ſonne, being Lord *Scales*, and Earle *Ryvers*, was by king *Richard* the third beheaded unjuſtly at *Pomfret* Caſtle, and died without iſſue.

Richard Woodvile, his brother, ſucceeded him in that Earldome, and dyed without iſſue.

Thomas Darcie was made Earle *Ryvers* the ſecond yeere of king *Charles*, and is now living, 1638.

Salisburie.

Conq. STephen *Patrick* of *Eureux* was by the Conquerour created Earle of *Saliſbury*.

William, his ſonne, was Earle of *Salisburie*, and dyed without iſſue Male.

William Longſpée, the baſe ſonne of king *Henry* the ſecond, by the faire *R.1.* *Roſamond Clifford* his Concubine, was by king *Richard* the firſt, his halfe brother, created Earle of *Salisbury*.

William Longſpée, his ſonne, was Earle of *Saliſburie* after his father, and was ſlaine in the warres in the *Holy Land*.

H.3. *Henry Lacy* was by king *Henry* the third created Earle of *Saliſburie*, and dyed without iſſue.

Thomas Plantagenet, the ſonne of *Edmund Crouch-backe*, being Earle of *Lancaſter*, was alſo Earle of *Salisbury*, *Leiceſter*, and *Lincolne*, and dyed without iſſue.

Henry Plantagenet, his brother, was Earle of *Salisbury*, *Leiceſter*, *Lincolne*, and *Lancaſter*.

Henry Plantagenet, his ſonne, was created Duke of *Lancaſter*. Hee was alſo inheritor to all thoſe Earledomes. His daughter and heire, called *Blanch*, was married to *John* of *Gaunt*, and from them deſcended the Houſe of the *Lancaſtrians*.

William Mountague, Lord of the Iſle of *Man*, was by king *Edward* *E.4.* the fourth created Earle of *Saliſburie*.

William Mountague, his ſonne, being Lord of the Iſle of *Man*, and Lord *Mounthermer*, was alſo Earle of *Salisbury*, and died without iſſue.

John Mountague, ſonne to Sir *John Mountague*, brother to the ſaid *William*, was Lord *Mounthermer*, and Earle of *Saliſburie*. Hee with others conſpired the death of king *Edward* the fourth at *Oxford*, and was ſlaine.

Thomas Mountacute, his ſonne, was Lord *Mounthermer*, and Earle of *Salisbury*.

Richard Nevil, the ſecond ſonne of *Ralph Nevil*, who was the firſt Earle of *Weſtmerland*, married *Alice* the eldeſt daughter and co-heire of the ſaid *Thomas*, and was by king *Henry* the ſixth created Earle of *Salisbury*. He was taken priſoner in the battell of *Wakefield*, by Queene *Margaret*, wife to king *Henry* the ſixth, and loſt his head. *H.6.*

Richard Nevil, his ſonne, was Earle of *Salisbury*, and of *Warwick* alſo in the right of *Anne* his wife, who was the daughter and heire of *William Beauchampe* Earle of *warwicke*. This was that great Earle of *Warwicke*, who depoſed and raiſed king *Henry* the ſixth, and was ſlaine at *Barnet field* by king *Edward* the fourth.

Richard Poole, a knight of *Wales*, married *Margaret Plantagenet*, the daughter of *George* Duke of *Clarence*, brother to king *Edward* the fourth, which the ſaid *George* begot on *Iſabel* the eldeſt daughter and co-heire of the laſt *Richard* Earle of *Warwicke* and *Salisbury*. She was by Parliament in the fifth yeere of king *Henry* the eighth reſtored to thoſe Earledomes: but in Parliament in the one and thirtieth yeere of king *Henry* the eighth, ſhee, with *Gertrude*, the widow of *Henry Courtney* Marqueſſe of *Exeter*, *Reynold Poole* Cardinall, being her ſonne, and others, were attainted of treaſon, and ſhe loſt her head. Shee was the laſt of the name and royall ſtocke of the familie of the *Plantagenets*, out of which had iſſued ſucceſſively fourteene Kings of *England*. *H.8.*

Robert Cecil, the ſecond ſonne of *William Cecil*, Lord *Burleigh*, and Treaſurer of *England*, was by king *James* created Lord *Cecil* of *Eſſenden* in *Rutlandſhire*, Viſcount *Cramborne* in *Dorſetſhire*, and Earle of *Salisbury*.

William Cecil, his ſon, is now Lord of *Eſſenden*, Viſcount *Cramborne*, and Earle of *Salisbury*.

Shrewesburie.

EDricke, a *Saxon*, ſirnamed *The Wild*, being Earle of *Shrewsbury*, was by the Conqueror diſ-inherited.

Roger de Montgomery, Earle of *Belesme* in *Normandy*, was by the Conqueror made Earle of *Arundell* and of *Shrewsbury*. *Conq.*

Hugh de Mountgomery, his ſonne, ſucceeded, and died without iſſue.

Robert de Mountgomery, his brother, being Earle of *Shrewsbury* and of *Arundell*, was taken by king *Henry* the firſt, and deprived of his eyes.

John, Lord *Talbot*, *Strange*, *Blackmore*, *Furnivall*, and *Verdon*, was by *Henry* the ſixth created Earle of *Shrewsbury*. *H.6.*

John Talbot, his ſon, ſucceeded in thoſe honours.

John Talbot, his ſon, was Lord, &c. and Earle of *Shrewsbury*.

George Talbot, his ſon, was Lord, &c. and Earle of *Shrewsbury*.

Francis Talbot, his ſon, was Lord, &c. and Earle of *Shrewsbury*.

George, Lord *Talbot*, his ſon, ſucceeded in thoſe honours.

Gilbert, Lord *Talbot*, his ſon, was Lord *Talbot*, *Strange*, *Blackemore*, *Furnival*, and *Verdon*, and Earle of *Shrewsbury*, he had iſſue three daughters.

Edward Talbot, the ſecond ſonne of *George*, and brother and heire of *Gilbert* aforeſaid, was the eighth Earle of *Shrewsbury*.

George Talbot, ſonne and heire of *John Talbot* of *Grafton* Eſquire, was by king *James*, 1618. admitted to the Earldome of *Shrewsbury*.

Somerſet.

Conq. O*Smond*, Biſhop of *Salisbury*, was by the Conquerour made Earle of *Somerſet*.

H.1. *William de Mohun*, was by king *Henry* the firſt created Earle of *Somerſet*.

K. John. *Reynold de Mohun* in king *Johns* time received the inheritance of his Grand-father Earle *William*, and was created Earle of *Somerſet*: hee was diſ-inherited by king *Henry* the third, becauſe he tooke part againſt him with the Barons in their warres.

John Beauford, the ſonne of *John* of *Gaunt*, by *Katharine Swinsford* his third wife, was by king *Richard* the ſecond created Earle of *Somerſet*, and Marqueſſe *Dorſet*: but the latter of thoſe two he voluntarily did renounce.

Henry Beauford, his ſon, was Earle after him.

John Beauford, his brother, was created Earle of *Somerſet* by king

H. 5. *Henry* the fifth.

Edmund Beauford, his brother, was Earle of *Somerſet*, and by king

H.6. *Henry* the ſixth was created Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, and Duke of *Somerſet*, and was ſlaine at St. *Albons* by *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*.

Henry Beauford, his ſon, was Duke of *Somerſet*, he revolted from king *Henry* the ſixth to king *Edward* the fourth, and afterward from king *Edward* the fourth to king *Henry* the ſixth, and was by the *Yorkiſh* faction taken Priſoner at *Hexhamfield*, and loſt his head.

Edmund Beauford, his brother, was Duke of *Somerſet*, and being taken priſoner at *Tewkſbery-field* by king *Edward* the fourth, hee loſt his head, and had no iſſue.

H.7. *Edmund Tuthar*, a younger ſon to king *Henry* the ſeventh, was at five yeeres of age created Duke of *Somerſet*, and died without iſſue at that age.

Henry Fitz-Roy, baſe ſon to king *Henry* the eighth, was created Earle of *Nottingham*, and Duke of *Somerſet* and *Richmond*, and dyed without iſſue.

Edward Seymour, Earle of *Hartford*, was by his Nephew king *Edward* the ſixth created Duke of *Somerſet*, and loſt his head.

Sir *Robert Carre*, was by king *James* created Viſcount *Rocheſter*, and Earle of *Somerſet*.

Southampton.

Beavoys, was (at the Conqueſt) Earle of *Southampton*.

William Gobian, was by king *Edward* the firſt created Earle of *Southampton*, and died without iſſue Male. E.1.

William Fitz-William, was by king *Henry* the eighth created Earle of *Southampton*, and died without iſſue Male. H.8.

Thomas Wriotheſly, Lord Chancellor of *England*, was by king *Henry* the eighth created Baron of *Tichfield* in *Hamſhire*, and by king *Edward* the ſixth he was created Earle of *Southampton*. E.6.

Henry Wriotheſley, his ſonne, was Lord *Tichfield*, and Earle of *Southhampton*.

Henry Wriotheſly, his ſonne, was Lord *Tichfield*, and Earle of *Southhampton*.

Henry Wriotheſly, ſonne of *Henry* was Earle of *Southampton*.

Thomas Wriotheſly, his ſonne, is Earle of *Southampton*, 1638.

Stafford.

Ralph Stafford, was by king *Edward* the third created Earle of *Stafford*.

Hugh Stafford, his ſon, ſucceeded in that Earldome.

Thomas Stafford, his Grand-child by *Ralph* his ſonne, was Earle of *Stafford*.

William Stafford, his brother, was Earle of *Stafford* after him.

Edmund Stafford, his brother, was Earle and died without iſſue.

Humfrey Stafford, his ſon, was Earle, and by king *Henry* the ſixth hee was created Duke of *Buckingham*, and was ſlaine in *Yorkeſhire* in the ſaid kings quarrell.

Humfrey Stafford, his ſon, was dignified with thoſe honours.

Humfrey Stafford, his ſon, ſucceeded, and was beheaded by king *Richard* the third.

Edward Stafford, his ſon, was reſtored by king *Henry* the ſeventh, and loſt his head in the reigne of king *Henry* the eighth. H.7.

Stanford.

Henry Grey, was by king *Charles*, in the third yeere of his raigne, created Earle of *Stanford*.

Suffolke.

Ralph Glandvile, Lord of *Bromhelme*, was by king *Henry* the ſecond created Earle of *Suffolke*. H.2.

William

William Glandvile, his ſon, being Lord of *Bromhelme*, was Earle of *Suffolke*.

Gilbert Glandvile, his ſon, enjoyed thoſe honours.

Ralph Glandvile, his ſon, was Lord *Bromhelme*, and Earle of *Suffolke*, and dyed without iſſue.

E.2. *William de Veſſey*, who married *Mauld* his daughter and heire, was by king *Edward* the ſecond created Earle of *Suffolke*.

E.3. *Robert de Ufford*, who married *Sarah* daughter and heire of the ſaid *William*, was by king *Edward* the third created Earle of *Suffolke*.

William de Ufford, his ſon, being Lord of *Eay* and *Framlingham*, was Earle of *Suffolke*.

R.2. *Michael de la Poole*, a man more rich than honourably deſcended, was Chancellor to king *Richard* the ſecond, and by him created Earle of *Suffolke*, and was baniſhed as a corrupter of him by his lewd counſell: he dyed with griefe at *Paris*.

Michael de la Poole, his ſon, was Lord *Wingfield*, and Earle of *Suffolke*, and dyed at the ſiege of *Harflew*.

Michael de la Poole, his ſon, ſucceeded his father, but died within one moneth after.

William de la Poole, his brother, was Lord *Wingfield*, and Earle of

H.6. *Suffolke*: he was by king *Henry* the ſixth created Earle of *Pembroke*, then Marqueſſe of *Suffolke*, and laſt of all Duke of *Suffolke*: hee was baniſhed, taken at Sea, and loſt his head on a boats ſide.

John de la Poole, his ſon, was Lord *Wingfield*, Earle of *Pembroke*, and Duke of *Suffolke*.

Edmund de la Poole, his ſonne, was of a turbulent diſpoſition, and in the fifth yeere of *Henry* the eighth he was executed for treaſon.

Charles Brandon, the ſon of Sir *William Brandon* Knight (who was Standard-bearer to the Earle of *Richmond* in *Boſworth* field, and was

H.7. ſlaine by king *Richard* the third) was by *Henry* the ſeventh made Viſcount *Liſle*, and having married king *Henry* the eighth his ſecond ſiſter

H.8. *Mary* Queen Dowager of *France*, he was by *Henry* the eighth created Duke of *Suffolke*.

Henry Brandon, his ſonne, was Earle of *Lincolne*, and Duke of *Suffolk*, and died without iſſue.

Henry Grey, Lord *Ferrers* of *Groby*, Lord of *Aſtley*, *Harington*, and *Bonvile*, being alſo Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, and having married *Francis*, who was one of the daughters and co-heires of *Charles Brandon*, was by king

E.6. *Edward* the ſixth created Duke of *Suffolke*, and was attainted of treaſon whileſt Queene *Mary* reigned: their daughter was the Lady *Jane*, who married *Guilford Dudley*, the fourth ſon of the Duke of *Northumberland*, who loſt her head.

Thomas Lord *Howard* of *Walden*, ſecond ſonne to *Thomas* the laſt

K.James. Duke of *Norfolke*, was by king *James* created Earle of *Suffolke*.

Theophilus Howard his ſon, is now Earle of *Suffolke*, 1638.

Surrey.

William Warren, Earle of *Warren* in *Normandy*, married one of the Conquerours daughters named *Goundred*, and was by king *William Rufus* created Earle of *Surrey*. *Rufus.*

William Warren, his ſonne, ſucceeded and was Earle of *Surrey*.

William Warren, his ſonne, was Earle, and dyed without iſſue Male.

William de Blois, ſon to king *Stephen*, being Earle of *Moraigne*, *Bulloigne*, and *Eagle*, and being Lord of *Lancaſter*, married *Iſabel* the daughter and heire of the laſt Earle *William*, and was in her right Earle of *Surrey*, and died without iſſue.

Hamlyn Plantagenet, brother to king *Henry* the ſecond, married the ſaid Lady *Iſabel*, and was in her right Earle of *Surrey*, and king *Henry* the ſecond created him Earle of *Warwicke*.

William Plantagenet, their ſon, was Earle of *Surrey* and of *Warwicke*.

John Plantagenet, his ſon, was Earle of *Surrey*, *Warren*, and *Suſſex*, and dyed without iſſue Male.

John Plantagenet, his brother, ſucceeded him in thoſe Earldomes, and died without iſſue.

Edmund Fitz-Allen, Earle of *Arundell*, married *Alice* the daughter of the aforeſaid *William*, and was in her right Earle of *Surrey*, and of *Warren*.

Richard Fitz-Allen, their ſonne, was Earle of *Arundel*, *Surrey*, and *Suſſex*.

Richard Fitz-Allen, his ſonne, was Earle of *Arundel*, *Surrey*, and *Suſſex*.

Thomas Fitz-Allen, his ſon, was Earle of *Surrey*, *Arundel*, and *Suſſex*, and died without iſſue.

Thomas Holland, halfe brother to king *Richard* the ſecond, was by him created Earle of *Kent*, and Duke of *Surrey*. *R.2.*

Edmund Holland, his ſon, was Earle and Duke.

John, Lord *Mowbray*, ſonne to the Duke of *Norfolke*, was deſcended from the Earles of *Warren* and *Surrey*, and was by king *Henry* the ſixth dignified with thoſe honours, and alſo after his fathers death hee was Duke of *Norfolke*. *H.6.*

Thomas Howard, the ſonne of *John Howard*, whom king *Richard* the third had created Duke of *Norfolke*, was by the ſame king created Earle of *Surrey*, and by king *Henry* the eighth Duke of *Norfolke*. *R.3.*

Thomas Howard, his ſonne, by *Anne* daughter to king *Edward* the fourth, was by the ſame king created Earle Marſhall of *England*, and Earle of *Surrey*.

Henry Howard, Earle of *Surrey*, was in his fathers life time attainted and executed, and had iſſue *Thomas*.

Thomas Howard, his ſonne, was Duke of *Norfolk*, and Earle of *Surrey* after his Grandfathers death, being reſtored by Queen *Mary*. *Q. Mary.*

Philip Howard, his ſon, was Earle of *Surrey*, and of *Arundell*.

Thomas Howard, his ſon, is Earle of *Arundell* and of *Surrey*.

Suſſex.

William de Albaney was Earle of *Suſſex* and of *Arundel*, by his marriage with Queene *Adeliza*, the widow of king *Henry* the firſt, which Earldomes were her joynture, and thoſe honours were gi-
H.2. ven to him by king *Henry* the ſecond.

William de Albaney, their ſon, ſucceeded and was Earle.

William de Albaney, his ſonne, was Earle of *Suſſex* and of *Arundell*.

William de Albaney, his ſonne, ſucceeded his father.

Hugh de Albaney, his brother, enjoyed thoſe Earldomes, and died without iſſue.

John Plantagenet, the ſeventh Earle of *Surrey*, was Earle of *Suſſex*, and died without iſſue Male.

John Plantagenet, his brother, enjoyed thoſe honours, and died without iſſue.

H.8. *Robert Ratcliffe* Lord *Fitz-water*, *Egremount* and *Burnel*, was by king *Henry* the eighth created Viſcount *Fitz-water*, and Earle of *Suſſex*.

Henry Ratcliffe, his ſon, enjoyed all thoſe honours.

Thomas Ratcliffe, his ſon, was Lord, Viſcount, and Earle, and died without iſſue.

Henry Ratcliffe, his brother, ſucceeded in thoſe dignities.

Robert Ratcliffe, his ſon, was Lord *Egremount* and *Burnel*, Viſcount *Fitz-water*, and Earle of *Suſſex*.

Edward Ratcliffe is Earle of *Suſſex*.

The Iſle of Thanet.

Nicholas Tuſton was by king *Charles* in the fourth yeere of his raigne honoured with the title of Earle of *Thanet*.

Warwicke.

Arquimius a *Saxon* was Earle of *Warwicke* at the conqueſt, he was baniſhed and died without iſſue.

Henry Beaumount, alias *Newburgh* (brother to *Robert* Earle of *Mil-*
Conq. *lent* and of *Leiceſter*) was by the Conquerour created Earle of *Warwicke*.

Roger Beaumount, alias *Newburgh*, his ſonne, was Earle of *Warwicke*.

William Beaumount, alias *Newburgh*, his ſon, was Earle of *Warwicke*.

Walter an Beaumount, alias *Newburgh*, his brother, was Earle of *Warwicke* after him.

Henry Beaumount, alias *Newburgh*, his ſon, was Earle of *Warwick*.

Thomas Beaumount, alias *Newburgh*, his ſon, ſucceeded his father.

John Marſhall married *Margerie* the ſiſter and heire of the ſaid *Thomas*, and was Earle of *Warwick* in her right, but died without iſſue.

John

John de Pleſſetis, the ſecond husband of the ſaid *Margerie*, was in her right Earle of *Warwicke*.

Hugh de Pleſſetis, their ſon, ſucceeded, and died without iſſue.

William Maledoctus, otherwiſe *Manduyt*, Lord of *Hanſlop*, couſin and heire to the ſaid *Margery* Counteſſe of *warwicke*, was Earle of *Warwarke*, and died without iſſue.

William de Beauchampe married *Iſabel* ſiſter and heire to the ſaid *William*, and had iſſue *William*.

William Beauchampe, their ſon, was Earle of *Warwicke*.

Guido de Beauchampe, his ſon, ſucceeded his father.

Thomas de Beauchampe, his ſon, was Earle of *Warwicke*.

Thomas de Beauchampe, his ſon, was Earle of *warwicke*.

Richard de Beauchampe, his ſonne, was Earle of *Warwicke*. Hee was Lievtenant of *Munſter* in *Ireland*, and a great Warriour in *France* in the daies of king *Henry* the fifth, and king *Henry* the ſixth.

Henry Beauchampe, his ſonne, was Earle of *Warwicke*, and by king *Henry* the ſixth hee was created Duke of *Warwicke*. Hee died without iſſue Male. *H.6.*

Richard Nevil, the eldeſt ſonne of *Richard Nevil* Earle of *Salisbury*, married *Anne* the daughter and heire of *Richard Beauchampe*, and was (in her right) Earle of *Warwicke*. He is termed, *The Great Earle of Warwicke*: for he was ſo powerfull, that he advanced king *Edward* the fourth, depoſed king *Henry* the ſixth, and made him king againe; but was at laſt ſlaine by king *Edward* the fourth at *Barnet* field.

George Plantagenet, Duke of *Clarence*, and brother to king *Edward* the fourth, married *Iſabel*, the eldeſt daughter of the ſaid Earle *Richard*, and was (in her right) Earle of *Warwicke*. They had iſſue *Edward*, who was beheaded by king *Henry* the ſeventh, and *Margaret*, married to Sir *Richard Poole*; ſhe loſt her head in the one and thirtieth yeere of the reigne of king *Henry* the eighth.

Edward Plantagenet, their ſonne, was Earle of *Warwicke*. Hee lived a priſoner from his infancie, and was beheaded by king *Henry* the ſeventh, becauſe hee ſought to eſcape with *Perkin Warbeck* out of the Tower: and died without iſſue.

John Dudley, Lord *Somery*, *Baſſet*, and *Tayes*, and Viſcount *Liſle*, was by king *Edward* the ſixth created Earle of *Warwicke*, and Duke of *Northumberland*. But in Queene *Maries* daies he loſt his head. *H.6.*

John Dudley, his ſon, dyed in his fathers life time, but was Earle of *Warwicke*, and had iſſue *Ambroſe*.

Ambroſe Dudley, his ſonne, was Lord *Somery*, *Baſſet*, and *Tayes*, and Earle of *Warwicke*, and dyed without iſſue.

Robert Lord *Rich*, was by Letters Patents dated at *Salisbwie* the ſixth of Auguſt 1618. made Earle of *Warwick*.

Robert Lord *Rich*, his ſonne, was after his father Earle of *Warwick*.

Weſtmorland.

Weſtmerland.

RAlph Nevil, Lord *Nevil* of *Rabie Caſtle*, *Standrop*, and *Branſpeth*, was by king *Richard* the ſecond created Earle of *Weſtmerland*.

Ralph Nevil, his grand-childe, *viz*. the ſonne of Sir *John Nevil*, was Lord *Nevil* of *Rabie*, *Standrop*, *Branſpeth*, *Warkworth*, and *Shurrie-hutton*, and was Earle of *Warwicke*.

Ralph Nevil, his Nephew by Sir *John Nevil* his brother, ſucceeded his Uncle in all thoſe honours.

Ralph Nevil, his grand-childe by *Ralph* Lord *Nevil* his ſon, enjoyed thoſe Lordſhips, and was the fourth Earle of *weſtmerland*.

Henry Nevil, his ſonne, was Lord *Nevil* of *Rabie*, *Standrop*, *Branſpeth*, *Warkley*, *Sherric-hutton*, and *Middleham*, and Earle of *VVeſtmerland*.

Charles Nevil, his ſonne, ſucceeded in all thoſe honours, and was in the reigne of Queene *Eliſabeth* attainted of treaſon by Parliament, with others.

Francis Fane was by king *James*, in the 22. yeer of his raigne, created Earle of *weſtmerland*.

Mildmay Fane is Earle of *weſtmerland*.

Wilſhire.

R. 2. WIlliam le Scroope was an evill Counſellour to king *Richard* the ſecond, and was by him created Earle of *wilſhire*: but he loſt his head.

H. 6. *Aymer Butler*, the ſon and heire apparent of *James Butler*, the fourth Earle of *Ormond* in *Ireland*, was by king *Henry* the ſixth created Earle of *VVilſhire*: he died without iſſue.

E. 4. *John Stafford*, the younger ſon of *Humfrey* the firſt Duke of *Buckingham*, was by king *Edward* the fourth created Earle of *wilſhire*.

Edward Stafford, his ſonne, was Earle after him, and died without iſſue.

H. 8. *Henry Stafford*, of the houſe of *Buckingham*, was by king *Henry* the eighth created Earle of *wilſhire*.

H. 8. *Thomas Bullen* was by king *Henry* the eighth made Viſcount *Bullen*, and Earle of *Wilſhire*. Hee was father to Queen *Anne Bullen*, and grandfather to Queen *Eliſabeth*.

E. 6. *William Pawlet* was by king *Henry* the eighth made Lord St. *John* of *Baſing*, and by king *Edward* the ſixth hee was created Earle of *Wilſhire*, and Marqueſſe of *Wincheſter*.

John Lord S. *John*, his ſon, enjoyed all thoſe honours.

William Pawlet, his ſonne, ſucceeded his father, and was Lord S. *John* of *Baſing*, Earle of *Wilſhire*, and Marqueſſe of *VVincheſter*.

VVilliam Pawlet, his ſonne, was Lord S. *John* of *Baſing*, Earle of *VVilſter* and Marqueſſe of *wincheſter*.

John Pawlet his ſon is Earle of *wilſhire*, and Marqueſſe of *wincheſter*.

VVinchelſey.

Winchelſey.

Eliſabeth Finch was by king *Charles* in the fourth yeere of his raigne created Counteſſe of *winchelſy*.

Heneg Finch, her ſonne, is now Earle of *winchelſy*.

Wincheſter.

Clyton, a Saxon, was at the conqueſt Earle of *wincheſter*, and was baniſhed, and died without iſſue.

Saer de Quincy, Lord *Quincy* of *Groby*, was by king *John* created Earle of *Wincheſter*. *K. John.*

Ralph Quincy, his ſonne, was Earle after him, and died without iſſue Male.

Hugh, Lord *le Deſpencer*, was by king *Edward* the ſecond created Earle of *Wincheſter*, and died without iſſue, being beheaded. *E. 2.*

Lewis de Burgh, a *Burgundian*, and Lord of *Gramhouſe*, was by king *Edward* the fourth in Parliament created Earle of *wincheſter*, becauſe he had highly favoured and relieved king *Edward* when he fled from the great Earle of *Warwicke*, and from king *Henry* the ſixth. This Earledome he afterwards ſurrendred to king *Henrie* the ſeventh. *E. 4.*

William Pawlet was by king *Henry* the eighth made Lord *S. John* of *Baſing*, and by king *Edward* the ſixth Earle of *Wilſhire*, and Marqueſſe of *wincheſter*. *E. 6.*

John Pawlet, his ſon, ſucceeded in thoſe honours.

William Pawlet ſucceeded, and was Lord, Earle, and Marqueſſe.

William Pawlet, his ſonne, was Lord *S. John* of *Baſing*, Earle of *Wilſhire*, and Marqueſſe of *Wincheſter*.

John Pawlet, his ſon is Earle of *wilſhire*, and Marqueſſe of *Wincheſter*.

Worceſter.

Urſus de Abtot was by king *William Rufus* created Earle of *Worceſter*. *Rufus.*

Walteran de Beaumount, Earle of *Millent* in *Normandy*, was by king *Stephen* created Earle of *Worceſter*. *K. Stephen.*

Thomas Percie, brother to *Henry*, the firſt Earle of *Northumberland*, was by king *Richard* the ſecond created Earle of *Worceſter*. He conſpired with his Nephew *Henry Hot-ſpurre* againſt king *Henry* the fourth, and loſt his head *R. 2.*

Richard Beauchamp was by king *Henry* the fifth created Earle of *Worceſter*, and died without iſſue Male. *H. 5.*

John, Lord *Tiptoſt*, was by king *Henry* the ſixth created firſt Viſcount, and then Earle of *Worceſter*, but was beheaded for taking part againſt the ſaid king with *Edward* Earle of *March*, who was afterwards king *Edward* the fourth. *H. 6.*

E. 4. *Edward Tiptoſt*, his ſonne, was by king *Edward* the fourth reſtored to his Viſcountſhip, and to the Earledome of *Worceſter*, and died without iſſue.

Charles Somerſet, Lord *Herbert* and *Gower*, was by king *Henry* the
H.8. eighth created Earle of *Worceſter*.

Henry Somerſet, his ſonne, was Lord *Herbert*, *Chepſtow*, *Ragland*, and *Gower*, and was alſo Earle of *Worceſter*.

William Somerſet, his ſon, ſucceeded in thoſe honours.

Edward Somerſet, his ſonne, was Lord *Herbert*, *Chepſtow*, *Gower*, and *Ragland*, and Earle of *Worceſter*.

Henry Somerſet, his ſon, is now Earle of *Worceſter*.

Yorke.

Edrick, a *Saxon*, was Earle of *Yorke* at the conqueſt. He loſt his eyes and died a priſoner.

H.1. *Robert Eſcouyle* was by king *Henry* the firſt created Viſcount of *Yorke*.

Robert Eſcoyle, his ſon, was Viſcount of *Yorke*.

Edmund Plantagenet, otherwiſe *Edmund* of *Langley*, the fifth ſonne of king *Edward* the third, was by his father created Earle of *Cambridge*:
R.2. and by his Nephew, king *Richard* the ſecond, hee was made Duke of *Yorke*.

Edward Plantagenet, his ſon, was Earle of *Rutland*, and Duke of *Albemarle*, and of *Yorke*, and was ſlaine at *Agincourt* field.

Richard Plantagenet, his brother, another of the ſons of the ſaid *Edmund*, was Earle of *Cambridge*, *March*, and *Clare*.

Richard Plantagenet, his brother, was Duke of *Yorke*, &c. and was father to king *Edward* the fourth, and was ſlaine in the warres againſt king *Henry* the ſixth.

Edward, his ſon, was Earle of *March* and *Ulſter*, and Duke of *Yorke*: hee depoſed king *Henry* the ſixth, and was himſelfe king *Edward* the
E.1. fourth.

Richard Plantagenet, his younger ſon, was Duke of *Yorke*, and was with his brother king *Edward* the fifth murdered in the Tower by king *Richard* the thirtd.

H.7. *Henry Tuthar*, the ſecond ſonne of king *Henry* the ſeventh, was by his father created Duke of *Yorke*, and himſelfe was king *Henry* the eighth.

Charles Stewart, the onely ſonne and heire apparant of the illuſtrious Prince king *James* the firſt, Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, *Yorke*, and *Roſſay*, and Earle Palatine of *Cheſter*.

James, the ſecond ſonne of King *Charles*, is now Duke of Yorke.

A Liſt

A List of the *Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Viscounts*, and *Barons* of ENGLAND.

Dukes.

Edward Earle of *Richmond*, and Duke of *Lenox* in *Scotland*, created Duke of *Richmond*.

George Villers, Duke, Marquesse, and Earle of *Buckingham*, Viscount *Villers*, Baron of *Whaddon*.

Marquesses.

John Paulet, Marquesse of *Winchester*, Earle of *Wiltshire*, and Lord *St. John* of *Basing*.

Earles.

Thomas Howard, Earle of *Arundell* and *Surrey*, Earle Marshall of *England*, and Knight of the Garter.

Robert Vere, Earle of *Oxford*, &c.

Algernon Percy, Earle of *Northumberland*, Lord *Poynings*, *Fitz-paine*, and *Brian*, Knight of the Garter.

George Talbot, Earle of *Shrewsbury*, Lord *Talbot*, *Furnivall*, *Verdon*, and *Strange* of *Blackmere*.

Henry Grey, Earle of *Kent*, Lord *Ruthin*.

William Stanley Earle of *Derby*, Lord *Stanley*, *Strange* of *Knocking*, and of the Isle of *Man*, Knight of the Garter.

Henry Somerset Earle of *Worcester*, Lord *Herbert*, *Ragland* and *Gower*.

George Manners Earle of *Rutland*, Lord *Ros* of *Hamlake*, *Belvoir*, and *Trusbut*.

Francis Clifford Earle of *Cumberland*, Lord *Clifford*, *Westmerland*, and *Vesey*.

Edward Ratcliffe Earle of *Sussex*, Vilcount *Fitz-water*, Lord *Egremont* and *Burnell*.

Henry Hastings Earle of *Huntington*, Lord *Hastings*, *Hungerford*, *Botreaux*, *Moules*, and *Molyns*.

Edward Bourchier Earle of *Bath*, and Lord *Fitz-warin*.

Thomas Wriothesley Earle of *Southampton*, and *Baron Wrisbesley* of *Tichfield*.

Edward Russell Earle of *Bedford*, and Lord *Russell*.

Philip Herbert Earle of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, Baron *Herbert* of *Cardiffe* and *Shurland*, Vicount *Lisle* and *Ros* of *Kendall*, *Harmon*, &c. St.

Quintin, Lord Chamberlaine of his Majesties Houshold, and Knight of the Garter.

William Seymour Earle of *Hertford*, and Baron *Beauchamp*.

Robert Devereux Earle of *Essex*, Viscount *Hertford*, and *Bourchier*, Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, *Bourchier*, and *Louaine*.

Henry Clifford Earle of *Cumberland*, and Lord *Clifton*.

Charles Howard Earle of *Nottingham*, and Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*.

Earles made since the first of King James.

Theophilus Howard Earle of *Suffolke*, Lord *Howard* of *Walden*, and Knight of the Garter.

Edward Sackvile Earle of *Dorset*, and Baron *Buckhurst*, Knight of the Garter, and Lord Chamberlaine to the Queens Majesty.

William Cecill Earle of *Salisbury*, Viscount *Cramborne*, and Baron *Cecill* of *Essinden*, Knight of the Garter.

William Cecil Earle of *Exeter*, Baron *Burghley*, Knight of the Garter.

Robert Carre Earle of *Somerset*, Viscount *Rochester*, and Baron of *Brancpath*, Knight of the Garter.

John Egerton Earle of *Bridgwater*, Viscount *Brackley*, and Baron *Ellesmere*, Lord President of *Wales*.

Robert Sidney Earle of *Leicester*, Viscount *Lisle*, Baron *Sidney* of *Penshurst*.

Spencer Compton Earle of *Northampton*, Baron *Compton* of *Compton*.

Robert Rich Earle of *Warwicke*, and Lord *Rich* of *Leeze*.

William Cavendish Earle of *Devonshire*, and Baron *Cavendish* of *Hardwicke*.

James Hamilton Earle of *Cambridge*, Marquesse of *Hamilton*, Earle of *Arran*, Baron of *Evan* and *Aberbroth*, Master of the Horse to his Majesty, Knight of the Garter.

James Stuart Earle of *March*, Duke of *Lenox*, Lord *Aubigny*, Baron of *Leighton Brawesfield*, Lord *Darnley*, *Mertiven*, and St. *Andrewes*, Knight of the Garter.

James Hay Earle of *Carlile*, Viscount *Doncaster*, Lord *Hay* of *Sanley*, and Knight of the Garter.

William Fielding Earle of *Denbigh*, Viscount *Fielding*, and Baron of *Newnhampton*.

John Digby Earle of *Bristoll*, and Baron *Digby* of *Shirborne*.

Lionel Cranfield Earle of *Middlesex*, and Baron *Cranfield* of *Cranfield*.

Charles Villers Earle of *Anglesey*, Lord *Daventry*.

Henry Rich Earle of *Holland*, Baron *Kensington* of *Kensington*, Captaine of the Guard, and Knight of the Garter.

John Hollis Earle of *Clare*, Lord *Houghton* of *Houghton*.

Oliver St. John Earle of *Bullingbroke*, Lord *St. John* of *Bletso*.

Mildmay Fane Earle of *Westmerland*, Lord *le De Spencer* and *Burghwash*.

Earles made since the first of King Charles

Henry Mountague Earle of *Manchester*, Viscount *Mandevile*, and Lord *Kymbolton*, Lord Privie Seale.

Thomas Howard Earle of *Berkshire*, Viscount *Andever*, and Lord *Charleton*, Knight of the Garter.

Thomas Wentworth Earle of *Cleveland*, Lord *Wentworth* of *Nettlested*.

Edmond

Edmond Sheffield Earle of *Mulgrave*, Lord *Sheffield* of *Butterwike*, and Knight of the Garter.

Henry Danvers Earle of *Danby*, Lord *Danvers* of *Dantsey*, Knight of the Garter.

Robert Cary Earle of *Monmouth*, Lord *Cary* of *Lepington*.

Henry Ley Earle of *Marleburgh*, and Lord *Ley* of *Ley*.

Edward Denny Earle of *Norwich*, and Lord *Denny* of *Waltham*.

Thomas Darcy Earl *Rivers*, Viſcount *Colcheſter*, & Lord *Darcy* of *Chich*.

Thomas Bartu Earle of *Lindſey*, and Lord *willoughby* of *Eresby*, Lord great Chamberlaine, Knight of the Garter.

William Cavendiſh Earle of *New-caſtle*, Viſcount *Mansfield*, Lord *Boulſover* and *Ogle*.

Henry Cary Earle of *Dover*, Viſcount *Rochford*, and Lord *Hunſdon*.

John Mordant Earle of *Peterborough*, Lord *Mordant* of *Tuney*.

Henry Gray Earle of *Standford*, Lord *Gray* of *Groby*, *Bonvile* of *Harington*.

Thomas Finch Earle of *Winchelſey*, and Viſcount *Maydſtone*.

Robert Perpoint Earle of *Kingſtone* upon *Hull*, Viſcount *Newarke* upon *Trent*, and Lord *Perpoint* of *Holmes Perpoint*.

Robert Dormere Earle of *Carnarvan*, Viſcount *Aſcot*, and Lord *Dormere* of *Wing*.

Mount-Joy Blunt Earle of *Newport*, Lord *Mount-Joy* of *Thurveſton*.

Philip Stanhop Earle of *Cheſterfield*, and Lord *Stanhop* of *Shelford*.

Nicholas Tufton Earle of the Iſle of *Thanet*, and Lord *Tufton* of *Tufton*.

Richard de Burgh Earle of St. *Albans* and *Clanrickard*, Viſcount *Tunbridge* and *Galloway*, Baron of *Somerhill* and *Imanney*.

Jerome Weſton Earle of *Portland*, Lord *weſton* of *Neyland*.

Viſcounts.

Anthony Browne Viſcount *Montague* of *Cowdrey*.

John Villers Viſcount *Purbecke*, Lord of *Stoke*. *Viſcounts made by King James.*

William Fines Viſcount *Say* and *Seale*, Lord *Say* and *Seale*.

Edward Cecill Viſcount *Wimbleton*, and Baron *Cecill* of *Putney*. *Viſcounts made by King Charles.*

Thomas Savage Viſcount *Rock Savage*.

Edward Conway Viſcount *Conway*, and *Killultagh*, and Baron *Conway* of *Ragley*.

Paul Baynening Viſcount *Baynening* of *Sudbury*, and Lord *Baynening* of *Hookeſley*.

Edward Noel Viſcount *Camden*, and Baron *Noel* of *Ridlington*.

Thomas Wentworth Viſcount *Wentworth*, Baron *Wentworth* of *Wentworth Woodhouſe*, *New-march* and *Overſley*, Lord Preſident of the North, and Lord Deputy of *Ireland*.

Barons.

Henry Clifford, Lord *Clifford*, onely Son of *Francis* Earle of *Cumberland*.

Henry Nevil Lord *Abergavenny*.

James Touchet Lord *Awdeley* of *Highleigh*.

James Stanley, Lord *Strange*, eldeſt ſonne of *William* Earle of *Derby*.

Charles Weſt, Lord *Delaware*.

George Barkley, Lord *Barkley* of *Barkley Caſtle*.

Henry Parker, Lord *Morley* and *Montegle*.
Richard Lennard, Lord *Dacres* of *Hurſtmonſeux*.
Henry Stafford, Lord *Stafford* of *Stafford*.
Edward Sutton, Lord *Dudley* of *Dudley-caſtle*.
Edward Stourton, Lord *Stourton* of *Stourton*.
John Darcy, Lord *Darcy* and *Mennell*.
Edward Vaux, Lord *Vaux* of *Harrowden*.
Thomas Windſor, Lord *Windſor* of *Bradenham*.
Thomas Cromwel, Lord *Cromwel* of *Ockham*.
William Eure, Lord *Eure* of *Whitton*.
Philip Wharton, Lord *Wharton* of *Wharton*.
William Willoughby, Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*.
William Paget, Lord *Paget* of *Beaudeſert*.
Dudley North, Lord *North* of *Carthlage*.
George Bridges, Lord *Shandos* of *Sudley*.

Barons made by King James.

William Peter, Lord *Peter* of *Writtell*.
Dutton Gerard, Lord *Gerard* of *Gerards Bromley*.
William Spencer, Lord *Spencer* of *Wormleighton*.
Charles Stanhop, Lord *Stanhop* of *Harrington*.
Thomas Arundel, Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*.
Chriſtopher Roper, Lord *Tenham* of *Tenham*.
Edward Montagu, Lord *Montagu* of *Kimbolton*, eldeſt ſonne of *Henry* Earle of *Mancheſter*.
Baſil Fielding, Lord *Newnham Paddocks*, eldeſt ſon of *William* Earle of *Denbigh*.
Robert Grevil, Lord *Brooke* of *Beauchamp Court*.
Edward Montagu, Lord *Montagu* of *Boughton*.
William Gray, Lord *Gray* of *warke*.
Francis Leake, Lord *Danecourt* of *Sutton*.
John Roberts, Lord *Roberts* of *Truro*.

Barons made by King Charles.

William Craven, Lord *Craven* of *Hamſted Marſhal*.
Thomas Bellaſiſe, Lord *Falconbridge* of *Tarom*.
Richard Lovelace, Lord *Lovelace* of *Hurley*.
John Pawlet, Lord *Pawlet* of *Hinton* St. *George*.
William Harvey, Lord *Harvey* of *Kidbrooke*.
Thomas Brudenel, Lord *Brudenel* of *Stouton*.
William Maynard, Lord *Maynard* of *Eſtaynes*.
Thomas Coventry, Lord *Coventry* of *Alesborough*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seale of England.
Edward Howard, Lord *Howard* of *Eſtcricke*.
George Goring, Lord *Goring* of *Hurſtperpoint*.
John Mohun, Lord *Mohun* of *Okehampton*.
Thomas Savill, Lord *Savill* of *Pomfret*.
John Butler, Lord *Butler* of *Bramfield*.
Francis Leigh, Lord *Dunſemore*.
William Herbert, Lord *Powys* of *Powys*.
Edward Herbert, Lord *Herbert* of *Chierbury*.
Francis Cottington, Lord *Cottington* of *Hanworth*, Maſter of the Court of Wards, and Chancellour of the Exchequer.

The

The names of Baronets made by King James *and King* Charles, *at ſeverall times, as followeth.*

SIr *Nicholas Bacon* of *Redgrave*, in the County of *Suffolke*, created Baronet the 22 day of May. *By King Iames Anno 9. & 44 Anno Dom. 1611.*

Sir *Richard Molineux* of *Sefton* in the County of *Lancaſter*, Knight, created Baronet the 22 day of May.

Sir *Thomas Maunſell* of *Morgan*, in the County of *Glamorgan*, Knight, created Baronet the 22 day of May.

George Shyrley of *Staunton*, in the County of *Leiceſter*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 22 day of May.

Sir *John Stradling* of St. *Donates*, in the County of *Glamorgan*, Knight.

Sir *Francis Leake* of *Sutton*, in the County of *Derby*, Knight.

Thomas Pelham of *Lawghton*, in the County of *Suſſex*, Eſquire, created Baronet.

Sir *Richard Houghton* of *Houghton-tower*, in the County of *Lancaſter*, Knight.

Sir *Henry Hobart* of *Intwood*, in the County of *Norfolke*, Knight, then Attorney generall to King *Iames*.

Sir *George Booth* of *Dunham Maſſy*, in the county of *Cheſter*, Knight, created Baronet.

Sir *John Peyton* of *Iſelham*, in the county of *Cambridge*, Knight, created Baronet.

Lionell Talmach of *Helmingham*, in the county of *Suffolke*, Eſquire, created Baronet.

Sir *Jervis Clifton* of *Clifton*, in the county of *Nottingham*, Knight, created Baronet.

Sir *Thomas Gerrard* of *Bryn*, in the county of *Lancaſter*, Knight, created Baronet.

Sir *Walter Aſton* of *Tixhall*, in the county of *Stafford*, Knight, created Baronet.

Philip Knevet of *Bucknam*, Eſquire, in the county of *Norfolke*.

Sir *John* St. *John* of *Lediard Tergos*, in the county of *Wilts*, Knight, created Baronet.

John Shelly of *Michelgrove*, in the county of *Suſſex*, Eſquire, created Baronet.

Sir *John Savage* of *Rock-ſavage*, in the county of *Cheſter*, Knight, created Baronet the 29 day of June.

Sir *Francis Barington* of *Barington-hal*, in the county of *Eſſex*, Knight, created Baronet the 29 day of June.

Henry Berkley of *wymondham*, in the county of *Leiceſter*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 29 day of June.

William Wentworth of *Wentworth Woodhouſe*, in the county of Yorke, Eſquire, created Baronet the 29 day of June.

Sir *Richard Muſgrave* of *Hartley-caſtle*, in the county of *weſtmerland*, Knight, created Baronet.

Edward Seimour of *Bury-caſtle*, in the county of *Devon*, Eſquire, created Baronet.

Sir

Sir *Moyle Finch* of *Eaſtwell*, in the Countie of *Kent*, Knight, created Baronet.

Sir *Anthony Cope* of *Hanwell*, in the County of *Oxford*, Knight, created Baronet.

Sir *Thomas Mounſon* of *Carleton*, in the County of *Lincolne*, Knight, created Baronet.

George Grieſley of *Darkelow*, in the Countie of *Derby*, Eſquire, created Baronet.

Paul Tracy of *Stanway* in the County of Gloceſter, Eſquire, created Baronet.

Sir *John Wentworth* of *Coſſield*, in the County of *Eſſex*, Knight, created Baronet.

Sir *Henry Belaſsis* of *Newbrough*, in the County of *Yorke*, Knight, created Baronet.

William Conſtable of *Flambrough*, in the County of *Yorke*, Eſquire, created Baronet.

Sir *Thomas Legh* of *Stoneley*, in the County of *Warwick*, Knight, created Baronet.

Sir *Edward Nowell* of *Brooke*, in the County of *Rutland*, Knight, created Baronet.

Sir *Robert Cotton* of *Connington*, in the County of *Huntingdon*, Knight, created Baronet.

Robert Cholmondeleigh of *Cholmondeleigh* in the County of *Cheſter*, Eſquire, created Baronet.

John Molineux of *Teverſhalt*, in the County of *Nottingham*, Eſquire, created Baronet.

Sir *Francis Wortley* of *Wortley*, in the County of *Yorke*, Knight, created Baronet.

Sir *George Savile* the elder, of *Thorne-hill*, in the County of *Yorke*, Knight, created Baronet.

William Kniveton of *Mercaſton*, in the County of *Derby*, Eſquire, created Baronet.

Sir *Philip Woodhouſe* of *Wilberly-hall*, in the County of *Norfolke*, Knight, created Baronet.

Sir *William Pope* of *Wilcot*, in the county of *Oxford*, Knight, created Baronet.

Sir *James Harrington* of *Ridlington*, in the County of *Rutland*, Knight, created Baronet the 29. day of June.

Sir *Henry Savile* of *Metheley*, in the County of *Yorke*, Knight, created Baronet.

Henry Willoughby of *Riſley*, in the County of *Derby*, Eſquire, created Baronet.

Lewis Treſham of *Ruſhton*, in the County of *Northampton*, Eſquire, created Baronet.

Thomas Brudenell of *Deene*, in the County of *Northampton*, Eſquire created Baronet.

Sir *George St. Paul* of *Snarsford*, in the County of *Lincolne*, Knight, created Baronet.

Sir *Philip Tirwhit* of *Stainefield*, in the County of *Lincolne*, Knight, created Baronet.

Sir

Sir *Roger Dalison* of *Langton*, in the County of *Lincolne*, Knight, created Baronet, the 29. day of June.

Sir *Edward Carre* of *Sleford*, in the County of *Lincolne*, Knight, created Baronet.

Sir *Edward Hussey* of *Heningten* in the County of *Lincolne*, Knight, created Baronet.

Le Strange Mordant of *Mussingham parva*, in the County of *Norfolke*, Esquire, created Baronet the 29. day of June.

Thomas Bendish of *Steeple Bumsteed*, in the County of *Essex*, Esquire, created Baronet the 29. day of June.

Sir *John Wynne* of *Gwydder*, in the County of *Carnarvon*, Knight.

Sir *William Throckmorton* of *Tortworth*, in the County *Gloucester*, Knight, created Baronet.

Sir *Richard Worsley* of *Appledorecombe* in the County of *Southampton*, Knight, created Baronet.

Richard Fleet-wood of *Cakewish*, in the County of *Stafford* Esquire, created Baronet.

Thomas Spencer of *Yardington*, in the County of *Oxford*, Esquire, created Baronet.

Sir *John Tufton* of *Hothfield*, in the County of *Kent*, Knight, created Baronet the 29. day of June.

Sir *Samuel Peyton*, of *Knowlton*, in the County of *Kent*, Knight, created Baronet.

Sir *Charles Morrison* of *Cashiobury* in the County of *Hertford*, created Baronet.

Sir *Henry Baker* of *Sissinghurst*, in the County of *Kent*, Knight, created Baronet.

Roger Appleton of *Southbemsteet*, in the County of *Essex*, Esquire, created Baronet.

Sir *William Sedley* of *Ailsford*, in the County of *Kent*, Knight, created Baronet.

Sir *William Twisden* of *East-peckham*, in the County of *Kent*, Knight.

Sir *Edward Hales* of *Woodchurch*, in the County of *Kent*, Knight, created Baronet the 29. day of June.

William Monins of *Waltharsher* in the County of *Kent*, Esquire, created Baronet.

Thomas Mileway of *Mulsham*, in the County of *Essex*, Esquire, created Baronet.

Sir *William Maynard* of *Easton parva*, in the County of *Essex*, Knight, created Baronet the 29. day of June.

Henry Lee of *Quarrendon*, in the County of *Buckingham*, Esquire, ceated *Baronet*.

These last Baronets, which be in number 32. beare date all 29. day, of June, *Anno supra d.* And the other 18. which be first, doe all beare date 22. day of May, *Anno supra d.*

Sir *John Portman* of *Orchard*, in the County of *Somerset*, Knight, created Baronet the 25. day of November. *Anno 10. & 45. Jacobi Regis. 1612.*

Sir *Nicholas Saunderson* of *Saeby* in the County of *Lincolne*, Knight, created Baronet the 25. day of November.

Sir

Sir *Miles Sands* of *wimbleton* within the Isle of *Ely*, Knight, created Baronet.

William Gestwick of *willington*, in the county of *Bedford*, Esquire, created Baronet the 25 day of November.

Thomas Puckering of *Weston*, in the county of *Hertford*, Esquire, created Baronet.

Sir *William Wray* of *Glentworth*, in the county of *Lincolne*, Knight, created Baronet.

Sir *William Aileffe* of *Braxted magna*, in the county of *Essex*, Knight, created Baronet.

Sir *Marmaduke Vvyvel* of *Cuftable-burton*, in the county of *Yorke*, Knight, created Baronet the 25 day of November.

John Pesbal of *Horsley*, in the county of *Stafford*, Esquire, created Baronet.

Francis Englefield of *Wotton Basset*, in the county of *Wiles*, Esquire, created Baronet.

Sir *Thomas Ridgeway* of *Torre*, in the county of *Devon*, Knight, created Baronet.

William Essex of *Bewcet*, in the county of *Berkeshire*, Esquire, created Baronet the 25 of November.

Sir *Edward Gorges* of *Langford*, in the county of *Wilts*, Knight, created Baronet the 25 day of November.

Edward Devereux of *Castle Bramwitch*, in the county of *Warwick* Esquire, created Baronet.

Reginald Mohun of *Buckonnock*, in the county of *Cornwal*, Esquire, created Baronet.

Sir *Harbottle Grimstone* of *Bradfield*, in the county of *Essex*, Knight, created Baronet.

Sir *Thomas Holt* of *Aston juxta Byrmingham*, in the county of *Vvarwick*, Knight, created Baronet the 25 day of November.

Sir *Robert Napar*, *alias Sandy*, of *Lewton-How*, in the county of *Bedford*, Knight, created Baronet, *teste* 24 day of September.

Paul Bayning of *Bentley parva*, in the county of *Essex*, Esquire, created Baronet.

Sir *Thomas Temple* of *Stow*, in the county of *Buckingham*, Knight, created Baronet.

Thomas Peneystone of *Leigh*, in the county of *Sussex*, Esquire, created Baronet.

Anno 13. & 48. Jacobi Regis, 1615.

Thomas Blackston of *Blackston*, in the county and Bishoprick of *Durham*, created Baronet the 8 day of June.

Sir *Robert Dormer* of *Vving*, in the county of *Buckingham*, Knight, created Baronet the 10 day of June *anno prad.* and created Baron *Dormer* of *Wing*, the 30 day of June.

Anno 15. & 50. Jacobi Regis, 1616.

Sir *Rowland Egerton* of *Egerton*, in the county of *Chester*, Knight, created Baronet the 5 day of Aprill.

Roger Townshend of *Rainham*, in the county of *Norfolk*, Esquire, created Baronet the 16 day of Aprill.

Simon Clerke of *Sulford*, in the county of *Vvarwick*, Esquire, created Baronet the first day of May.

Edward

Edward Fitton of *Howſeworth*, in the county of *Cheſter*, Eſquire, created Baronet.

Sir *Richard Lacy* of *Broxborne*, in the county of *Hertford*, Knight, created Baronet the 11 day of March. *Anno 14. & 15. Jacobi Regis, 1617.*

Sir *Matthew Boynton* of *Bramſton*, in the county of *Yorke*, Knight, created Baronet the 25 day of May. *Anno 16. & 55. Jacobi Regis, 1618.*

Thomas Littleton of *Franckley*, in the county of *Worceſter*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 25 day of July.

Sir *Francis Leigh* of *Newnham*, in the county of *Warwick*, Knight, created Baronet the 24 day of December. *Anno 16. & 52. Jacobi Regis, 1618.*

Thomas Burder of *Brannot*, in the county of *Warwick*, Eſquire.

George Morton of *St. Andrewes Milborne*, in the county of *Dorſet*, Eſquire, created Baronet the firſt day of March.

Sir *William Harvy* Knight, created Baronet the 31 day of May. *Anno 17. & 52. Jacobi Regis, 1619.*

Thomas Mackworth of *Normanton*, in the county of *Rutland*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 4 day of June.

William Grey Eſquire, ſonne and heire of Sir *Ralph Grey* of *Chillingham* in the county of *Northumberland*, Knight, created Baronet the 15 day of June.

William Villers of *Brookesby*, in the county of *Leiceſter*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 19 day of July.

Sir *James Ley* of *Weſtbury*, in the county of *Wilts*, Knight, created Baronet the 20 day of July.

William Hicks of *Beverſton*, in the county of *Gloceſter*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 21 day of July.

Sir *Thomas Beamont* of *Coleorton*, in the county of *Leiceſter*, Knight, created Baronet the 17 day of September. *Anno 17. & 53. Jacobi Regis.*

Henry Salisbury of *Leweny*, in the county of *Denbigh*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 10 day of November.

Eraſmus Driden of *Canons Aſhby*, in the county of *Northampton*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 16 day of November.

William Armine, Eſquire, ſonne of Sir *William Armine* of *Oſgodby*, in the county of *Lincolne*, Knight, created Baronet the 28 of November.

Sir *William Bamburgh* of *Howſon*, in the county of *Yorke*, Knight, created Baronet the firſt day of December.

Edward Hartoppe of *Freathby*, in the county of *Leiceſter*, Eſquire, created Baronet the ſecond day of December.

John Mill of *Camons-Court*, in the county of *Suſſex*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 31 of December.

Francis Radcliffe of *Darent-water*, in the county of *Cumberland*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 31 day of January.

Sir *David Foulis* of *Ingleby*, in the county of *Yorke*, Knight, created Baronet the 6 day of February.

Thomas Philips of *Barington*, in the county of *Somerſet*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 16 day of February.

Sir *Claudius Forſter* of *Bambrough-Caſtle* in the county of *Northumberland*, Knight, created Baronet the 7 day of March.

Anthony Cheſter of *Chicheley*, in the county of *Buckingham*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 23 day of March.

Sir

Sir *Samuel Tryon* of *Layre-Marney*, in the county of *Eſſex*, Knight, created Baronet the 28 day of March.

Anno 18. & 53. Jacobi Regis, 1620.

Adam Newton of *Charleton* in the county of *Kent*, Eſquire, created Baronet the ſecond day of Aprill.

Sir *John Botelar* of *Hatfield-woodhall*, in the county of *Hertford*, Knight, created Baronet the 12 day of Aprill.

Gilbert Gerrard of *Harrow ſuper montem*, in the county of *Middleſex*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 13 day of Aprill.

Humphrey Lee of *Langley*, in the county of *Salop*, Eſquire, created Baronet the third day of May.

Richard Berney of *Park-hall* in *Redham*, in the county of *Norfolke*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 5 day of May.

Humphrey Forſter of *Aldermaſton*, in the county of *Berks*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 20 day of May.

Thomas Biggs of *Lenchwicke*, in the county of *worceſter*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 29 day of May.

Henry Bellingham of *Helſington*, in the county of *Weſtmerland*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 30 day of May.

William Telverton of *Rougham*, in the county of *Norfolke*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 31 day of May.

John Scudamore of *Home Lacy*, in the county of *Hereford* Eſquire, created Baronet the firſt day of June.

Sir *Thomas Gore* of *Stitnam*, in the county of *Yorke* Knight, created Baronet the ſecond day of June.

John Packington of *Alesbury*, in the county of *Buckingham*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 22 day of June.

Ralph Aſhton of *Lever*, in the county of *Lancaſter*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 28 of June.

Sir *Baptiſt Hicks* of *Camden*, in the county of *Gloceſter*, Knight, created Baronet the firſt day of July.

Sir *Thomas Roberts* of *Glaſſenbury*, in the county of *Kent*, Knight, created Baronet the third day of July.

John Hanmer of *Hanmer*, in the county of *Flint*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 8 day of July.

Edward Osborne of *Keeton*, in the county of *Yorke*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 13 day of July,

Henry Felton of *Playford*, in the county of *Suffolke*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 20 day of June.

William Chaloner of *Gisborough*, in the county of *Yorke*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 21 day of July.

Edward Fryer of *Water-Eaton*, in the county of *Oxford*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 22 day of July.

Sir *Thomas Biſhop* of *Parham*, in the county of *Suſſex*, Knight, created Baronet the 24 day of July.

Sir *Francis Vincent* of *Stockdawe-Barton*, in the county of *Surrey*, Knight, created Baronet the 26 day of July.

Anno 18. & 54. Jacobi Regis, 1620.

Henry Clere of *Ormesby*, in the county of *Norfolke*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 27 day of February.

Sir *Benjamin Titchbourne* of *Titchbourne*, in the county of *Southamp-*

ton,

ton, Knight, created Baronet the 8 day of March.

Sir *Richard Wilbraham* of *Woodhey*, in the county of *Chester*, Knight, created Baronet the 5 day of May, *Anno 19 & 14. Jacobi Regis, 1621.*

Sir *Thomas Delves* of *Duddington*, in the county of *Chester*, Knight, created Baronet the 8 day of May.

Sir *Lewis Watson* of *Rockingham* Castle, in the county of *Northampton*, Knight, created Baronet the 22 day of June.

Sir *Thomas Palmer* of *Wingham*, in the county of *Kent*, Knight, created Baronet the 29 day of June.

Sir *Richard Roberts* of *Trewro*, in the county of *Cornwall*, Knight, created Baronet the 3 day of July.

John Rivers of *Chafford*, in the county of *Kent*, Esquire, created Baronet the 19 day of July.

Henry Jernegan of *Cossey, alias Cossele*, in the county of *Norfolk*, Esquire, created Baronet the 16 day of August. *Anno 19. & 15. Jacobi Regis, 1621.*

Thomas Darnell of *Heysling*, in the county of *Lincolne*, Esquire, created Baronet the 6 day of September.

Sir *Isaak Sidley* of *Great Chartre*, in the county of *Kent*, Knight, created Baronet the 14 day of September.

Robert Browne of *Walcot*, in the county of *Northampton*, Esquire, created Baronet the 21 day of September.

John Hewet of *Headley-hall*, in the county of *Yorke*, Esquire, created Baronet the 11 day of October.

Sir *Nicholas Hide* of *Albury*, in the county of *Hertford*, Knight, created Baronet the 8 day of November.

John Philips of *Picton*, in the county of *Pembroke*, Esquire, created Baronet the 9 day of November.

Sir *John Stepny* of *Prendergast*, in the county of *Pembroke*, Knight, created Baronet the 24 day of November.

Baldwin Wake of *Clevedon*, in the county of *Somerset*, Esquire, created Baronet the 5 day of December.

William Masham of *High-laver*, in the county of *Essex*, created Baronet the 19 day of December.

John Colbrond of *Botham*, in the county of *Sussex*, Esquire, created Baronet the 21 day of December.

Sir *John Hotham* of *Scorborough*, in the county of *Yorke*, Knight, created Baronet the 4 day of January.

Francis Mansel of *Mudlescomb*, in the county of *Carmarthen*, Esquire, created Baronet the 14 day of January.

Edward Powel of *Penkelley*, in the county of *Hereford*, Esquire, created Baronet the 18 day of January.

Sir *John Garrard* of *Lamer*, in the county of *Hertford*, Knight, created Baronet the 16 day of February.

Sir *Richard Grosevenor* of *Eaton*, in the county of *Chester*, Knight, created Baronet the 23 day of February.

Sir *Henry Mody* of *Gareſdon*, in the county of *Wilts*, Knight, created Baronet the 11 day of March.

John Barker of *Grimston-hall* in *Trimley*, in the county of *Suffolk*, Esquire, created Baronet the 17 day of March.

Sir *William Button* of *Alton*, in the county of *Wilts*, Knight, created Baronet the 18 day of March.

Anno 20. & 15. Jacobi Regis 1622.

John Gage of *Forle*, in the county of *Suſsex*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 26 day of March.

William Goring, Eſquire, ſonne and heire of Sir *Henry Goring* of *Burton*, in the county of *Suſsex*, Knight, created Baronet the 14 day of May.

Peter Courten of *Aldington, alias Aunton*, in the county of *Worceſter*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 18 day of May.

Sir *Richard Norton* of *Rotherfield*, in the county of *Southampton*, Knight, created Baronet the 22 day of May.

Sir *John Leventhorp* of *Shinglehal*, in the county of *Hereford*, Knight, created Baronet the 29 of May.

Capell Bedell of *Hamerton*, in the county of *Huntington*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 3 day of June.

John Darell of *Weſtwoodhey*, in the county of *Berks*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 13 day of June.

William Williams of *Veynol*, in the county of *Carnarvon*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 15 day of June.

Sir *Francis Aſhby* of *Hartfield*, in the county of *Middleſex*, Knight, created Baronet the 18 day of June.

Sir *Anthony Aſhley* of *St. Giles Wimborne*, in the county of *Dorſet*, Knight, created Baronet the 3 day of July.

John Couper of *Rocbourne*, in the county of *Southampton*, created Baronet the 4 day of July.

Edmund Prideaux of *Netherton*, in the county of *Devon*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 17 day of July.

Sir *Thomas Heſelrigge* of *Noſely*, in the county of *Leiceſter*, Knight, created Baronet the 21 day of July.

Sir *Thomas Burton* of *Stockerſton*, in the county of *Leiceſter*, Knight, created Baronet the 20 day of July.

Francis Foliambe of *Walton*, in the county of *Derby*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 24 day of July.

Edward Tate of *Buckland*, in the county of *Berks*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 30 day of July.

Anno 20. & 54. Jacobi Regis.

George Chudleigh of *Aſhton* in the county of *Devon*, Eſquire, created Baronet the firſt day of Auguſt.

Francis Drake of *Buckland*, in the county of *Devon*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 20 day of Auguſt.

William Meredith of *Stanſty*, in the county of *Denbigh*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 13 day of Auguſt.

Hugh Middleton of *Ruthin*, in the county of *Denbigh*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 22 day of October.

Gifford Thornechurſt of *Ague-Court*, in the county of *Kent*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 12 day of November.

Percy Herbert, ſonne and heire of Sir *William Herbert* of *Red-caſtle*, in the county of *Mountgomery*, Knight, created Baronet the 16 day of November.

Sir *Robert Fiſher* of *Packington*, in the county of *Warwicke*, Knight, created Baronet the 7 day of December.

Hardolph

Hardolph Wastney of *Hendon*, in the county of *Nottingham*, created Baronet the 18 day of December.

Sir *Henry Lipwith* of *Prestwould*, in the county of *Leicester*, Knight, created Baronet the 20 day of December.

Thomas Harris of *Boreaston*, in the county of *Salop*, Esquire, created Baronet the 22 day of December.

Nicholas Tempest of *Stella*, in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, Esquire, created Baronet the 23 day of December.

Francis Cottington, Esquire, Secretary to Prince *Charles*, created Baronet the 16 day of February.

Thomas Harris of *Long-Castle*, in the county of *Salop*, Serjeant at Law, created Baronet the 12 day of Aprill. *Anno vicesimo primo & 56. Jacobi Regis.*

Edward Barkham of *Eastacre*, in the county of *Norfolk*, Esquire, created Baronet the 28 day of June.

John Corbet of *Prowston*, in the county of *Norfolk*, Esquire, created Baronet the 4 day of July.

Sir *Thomas Playters* of *Butterley*, in the county of *Suffolk*, Knight, created Baronet the 13 day of August.

Sir *John Asbfield* of *Nether-hal*, in the county of *Suffolke*, Knight, created Baronet the 27 day of July, *Anno secundo Caroli Regis.*

Henry Harper of *Calk*, in the county of *Derby*, Esquire, created Baronet the 8 day of September.

Edward Seabright of *Besford*, in the county of *Worcester*, Esquire, created Baronet the 20 day of December.

John Beaumont of *Gracedieu*, in the county of *Leicester*, Esquire, created Baronet the 29 day of January.

Sir *Edward Dering* of *Surrenden Dering*, in the county of *Kent*, Knight, created Baronet the first day of February.

George Kemp of *Pentlow*, in the county of *Essex*, Esquire, created Baronet the 5 day of February.

William Brereton of *Hanford*, in the county of *Chester*, Esquire, created Baronet the 10 day of March.

Patrick Curwen of *Werkington*, in the county of *Cumberland*, Esquire, created Baronet the 12 day of March.

William Russel of *Witley*, in the county of *Worcester*, Esquire, created Baronet the 12 day of March.

John Spencer of *Offley*, in the county of *Hertford*, Esquire, created Baronet the 14 day of March.

Sir *Giles Eyeare* of *Newent*, in the county of *Wilts*, Knight, created Baronet the 17 day of March.

Thomas Aylesbury, Esquire, one of the Masters of the Court of Request, created Baronet the 19 day of April. *Anno tertio Caroli Regis.*

Thomas Style, Esquire, of *Wadenhoe*, in the county of *Kent*, created Baronet the 21 day of April.

Frederick Cornwallis, in the county of *Suffolke*, Esquire, created Baronet the *an. prad.*

Drue Drury, in the county of *Norfolke*, Esquire, created Baronet the *an. prad.*

William Skevington, in the county of *Stafford*, created Baronet the *an. prad.*

Sir *Robert Crane* of *Chilton*, in the county of *Suffolke*, Knight, created Baronet the day of May.

Anthony Wingfield of *Goodnestone*, in the county of *Suffolke*, Esquire, created Baronet the 17 day of May.

William Culpepper of *Preston-hall*, in the county of *Kent*, Esquire, created Baronet the 17 day of May.

Giles Bridges of *Wilton*, in the county of *Hereford*, Esquire, created Baronet the 17 day of May.

John Kirle of *Much-Marcle*, in the county of *Hereford*, Esquire, created Baronet the 17 day of May.

Sir *Humphrey Styles* of *Beckman*, in the county of *Kent*, Knight, created Baronet the 20 day of May.

Henry Moore of *Fulley*, in the county of *Berks*, Esquire, created Baronet the 21 day of May.

Thomas Neale of *Fleet*, in the county of *Devon*, Esquire, created Baronet the 28 day of May.

John Carleton of *Holcum*, in the county of *Oxford*, Esquire, created Baronet the 28 day of May.

Thomas Maples of *Stow*, in the county of *Huntingdon*, Esquire, created Baronet the 30 day of May.

Sir *John Isham* of *Lamport*, in the county of *Northampton*, Knight, created Baronet the 30 day of May.

Henry Bagot of *Blithfield*, in the county of *Stafford*, Esquire, created Baronet the 30 day of May.

Lewis Pollard of *King's Nimph*, in the county of *Devon*, Esquire, created Baronet the 31 day of May.

Francis Mannock of *Giffords-hall*, in *Stoke*, neere *Neyland*, in the county of *Suffolke*, Esquire, created Baronet the first day of June.

Henry Griffith of *Agnes Burton*, in the county of *York*, Esquire, created Baronet the 7 day of June.

Ludowick Dyer of *Kinghton*, in the county of *Huntingdon*, Esquire, created Baronet the 8 day of June.

Sir *Hugh Stewkley* of *Hinton*, in the county of *Southampton*, Knight, created Baronet the 9 day of June.

Edward Stanley of *Biggin-hall*, in the county of *Lancaster*, Esquire, created Baronet the 26 day of June.

Edward Littleton of *Pillaton-hall*, in the county of *Stafford*, Esquire, created Baronet the 28 day of June.

Ambrose Browne of *Betchworth-castle*, in the county of *Surrey*, Esquire, created Baronet the 7 day of July.

Bathurst Deane of *Tanbridge*, in the county of *Carlingford*, Esquire, created Baronet the 8 of July.

Michael Livesey of *Eastchurch*, in the Isle of *Sheppey*, in the county of *Kent*, Esquire, created Baronet the 11 day of July.

Sibell Bennet of *Pinhanger*, in the county of *Buckingham*, Esquire, created Baronet the 17 day of July.

Sir *Thomas Fisher* of the parish of *St. Giles* in the county of *Middlesex*, Knight created Baronet the 19 day of July.

Thomas Bunyer of *Lewes*, in the county of *Sussex*, Esquire, created

Baronet

Baronet the 13 day of July.

Buts Bacon of *Milden-hall*, in the county of *Suffolk*, Esquire, created Baronet the 29 day of July.

John Corbet of *Stoke*, in the county of *Salop*, Esquire, created Baronet the 19 day of September.

Sir *Edward Tirrel* of *Thorncton*, in the county of *Buckingham*, Knight, created Baronet the 31 day of October.

Basill Dixwell of *Terlingham*, *alias Gerelingham*, in the county of *Kent*, Esquire, created Baronet the 28 day of February.

Sir *Richard Young*, Knight, one of the Gentlemen of his Majesties Privie Chamber, created Baronet the 10 day of March.

William Pennyman the younger, of *Mask*, *alias Marsk*, in the county of *Yorke*, Esquire, created Baronet the 6 day of May, *ut prædicitur.* *Anno quarto Caroli Regis.*

William Stonehouse of *Radley*, in the county of *Berks*, Esquire, created Baronet the 7 day of May.

Sir *Thomas Fowler* of *Islington*, in the county of *Middlesex*, Knight, created Baronet the 21 day of May.

Sir *John Fenwicke* of *Fenwicke*, in the county of *Northumberland*, Knight, created Baronet the 9 day of June.

Sir *William Wray* of *Trebitch*, in the county of *Cornwall*, Knight, created Baronet the 30 day of June.

John Trelawney of *Trelawney*, in the county of *Cornwall*, Esquire, created Baronet the first day of July.

John Conyers of *Norden*, in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, Gentleman, created Baronet the 14 day of July.

John Bolles of *Scampton*, in the county of *Lincolne*, Esquire, created Baronet the 24 day of July.

Thomas Aston of *Aston*, in the county of *Chester*, Esquire, created Baronet the 25 day of July.

Kenelme Jenoure of *Much-Dunmore*, in the county of *Essex*, Esquire, created Baronet the 30 day of July. *Anno quinto Caroli Regis.*

John Price of *Newtowne*, in the county of *Montgomery*, Knight, created Baronet the 15 day of August.

Sir *Richard Beaumont* of *Whitley*, in the county of *York*, Knight, created Baronet the 15 day of August.

William Wiseman of *Canfield-hall*, in county of *Essex*, Esquire, created Baronet the 29 day of August.

Thomas Nightingale of *Newport Pond*, in the county of *Essex*, Esquire, created Baronet the first day of September.

John Jaques of in the county of *Middlesex*, one of his Majesties Gentlemen Pencioners, Esq. created Baronet the 3 day of September.

Robert Dillington of the Isle of *Wight*, in the county of *Southampton*, Esquire, created Baronet the 6 day of September.

Francis Pile of *Compton*, in the county of *Berks*, Esquire, created Baronet the 12 day of September. *Anno Quinto Caroli Regis.*

John Pole of *Shur*, in the county of *Devon*, Esquire, created Baronet the 22 day of September.

William Lewis of *Langors*, in the county of *Brecknock*, Esquire, created Baronet the 14 day of September.

William

William Culpepper of *Wakehurſt*, in the county of *Suſſex*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 20 day of September.

Peter Van-Loor of *Tylehurſt*, in the county of *Berks*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 3 day of October.

Sir *John Laurence* of *Iuer*, in the county of *Buckingham*, Knight, created Baronet the 9 day of October.

Anthony Slingesby of *Screvin*, in the county of *York*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 13 day of October.

Thomas Vaviſor of *Haſtewood*, in the county of *Yorke*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 24 day of October.

Robert Wolſeley of *Wolſeley*, in the county of *Stafford*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 24 day of November.

Rice Rud of *Aberglaſney*, in the county of *Carmarthen*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 8 day of December.

Richard Wiſeman of *Thunderſley*, in the county of *Eſſex*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 18 day of December.

Henry Ferrers of *Skellingthorp*, in the county of *Lincolne*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 19 day of December.

John Anderſon of *St Iues*, in the county of *Huntington*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 3 day of January.

Sir *William Ruſſell* of *Chippenham*, in the county of *Cambridge*, Knight, created Baronet the 19 day of January.

Richard Everard of *Much-Waltham*, in the county of *Eſſex*. Eſquire, created Baronet 29 day of January.

Thomas Powell of *Berkenhead*, in the county of *Cheſter*, Eſquire, created Baronet the , day of January.

William Luckin of *Waltham*, in the county of *Eſſex*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 2 day of March.

Anno quinto Caroli Regis.

Richard Graham of *Eske*, in the county of *Cumberland*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 29 day of March.

George Twiſleton of *Barly*, in the county of *Yorke*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 1 day of April.

william Acton of the City of *London*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 30 day of May.

Nicholas Le Strange of *Hunſtanton*, in the county of *Norfolk*, Eſquire, created Baronet the firſt day of June.

John Holland of *Quidenham*, in the county of *Norfolk*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 1 day of June.

Edward Aleyn of *Hatfield*, in the county of *Eſſex*, Eſquire, created Baronet the 28 day of June.

Richard Earle of *Croglethorp*, in the county of *Lincolne*, Eſquire, created Baronet the ſecond day of July.

Robert Ducy, Alderman of *London*, created Baronet the 28 of November.

Anno ſexto Caroli Regis.

Sir *Richard Grenuil*, Knight and Colonel, created Baronet the 19 day of April.

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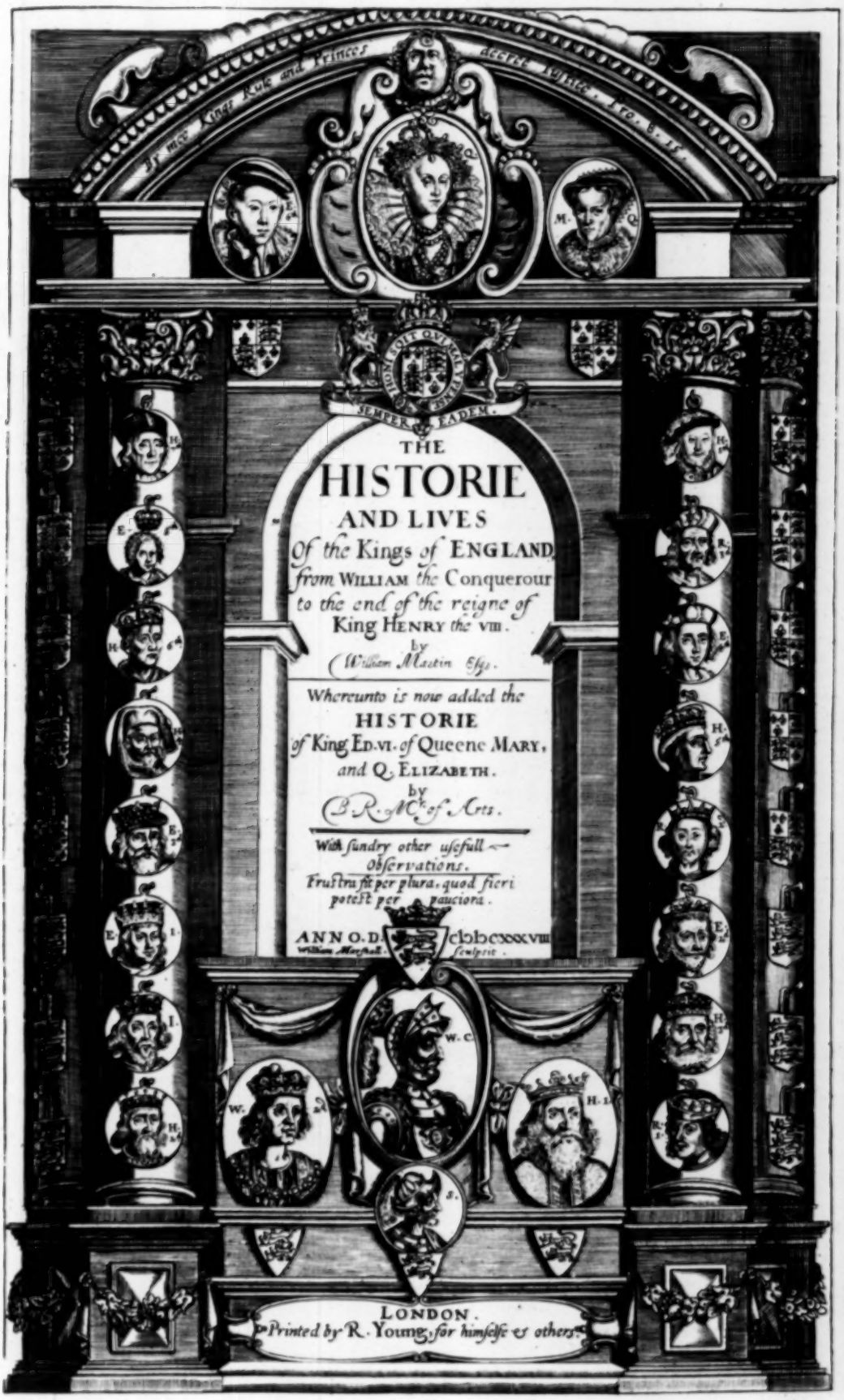
SEMPER EADEM.
THE
HISTORIE
AND LIVES
Of the Kings of ENGLAND
from WILLIAM the Conquerour
to the end of the reigne of
King HENRY the VIII.
by
William Martin Esqr.
Whereunto is now added the
HISTORIE
of King Ed. VI. of Queene MARY,
and Q. ELIZABETH.
by
B. R. Mr of Arts.
With sundry other usefull
observations.
Frustra fit per plura, quod fieri
potest per pauciora.
ANNO D.
William Marshall
sculpsit.
LONDON.
Printed by R. Young, for himselfe & others.

Crowne, animated the Welſhmen and the Scots to ſhew themſelves troubleſome neighbours unto the King.

For in Wales, *Owen Glendor* a bold Squire, with many hundreds of his lawleſſe and uncivill companions, entred into armes, and did much harme in the Marches which bordered neere unto them. Againſt whom the Lord *Gray* of Ruthen, and *Edmund Mortimer*, who was the true and rightfull heire of the Crowne, conducted their forces, and fought with him. But they were both taken priſoners, and the ſaid *Edmund* was by him kept cloſe in a darke dungeon, which was both cold and unhealthy; where hee was overburdened with daily wants and much miſery. All which were with the greater extremitie laid upon him, becauſe King *Henry* his Couſin ſhould be enforced the ſooner to redeeme him with a great ranſome. Wherein (becauſe the King was too too ſlacke and negligent) he was entreated and urged by his Lords, but eſpecially by the diſtreſſed Earles kinſmen, the *Percies*. But unto them all he turned the deafe eare, rather deſiring his deſtruction, than holding it ſafe for him to ſet him free.

Edmund Mortimer taken priſoner.

The Scots invade.

The Scots alſo invaded the Northern parts of this kingdome: but King *Henry* with a puiſſant army entred into their countrey, and revenged his wrongs every where with fire and ſword at his owne pleaſure. But becauſe the winter was extraordinarily wet and cold, hee diſſolved his army, and with great honour victoriouſly he returned backe.

But as ſoone as he was gone, the angry Scots being in number twenty thouſand at the leaſt, entred with barbarous cruelty into England upon the Northumbers, but were gallantly encountred by Sir *Henry Hot-ſpur*, the ſon and heire apparent of *Henry Percy* Earle of that Province: who with ten thouſand luſty and brave men gave the Scots ſuch a bloody overthrow, that he ſlew of them more than ten thouſand in the field, and tooke above five hundred Priſoners: among whom *Mordacke* Earle of *Fyffe*, *Archibald* Earle *Douglaſſe*, *Thomas* Earle of *Murrey*, and *Robert* Earle of *Angus* were the chiefe.

Henry Hotſpur overthroweth them.

ANNO 1. The next yeere following, the French King ſent for Wales to aſſiſt *Owen Glendor* in his rebellious enterpriſes, twelve hundred Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen of good account, that they might be Leaders and directors to thoſe diſordered traytors. But the windes not being anſwerable to their deſires, were ſo contrary at the ſea, and a ſtorme ſo violently encreaſed, that twelve of their greateſt ſhips, with all their men and furniture, were ſwallowed into the ſea; and the reſt with great difficulty returned into France.

The French-men ſpoiled by a ſtorme at ſea.

This misfortune ſo animated the Engliſh nation, that they began every where to talke of and to jeſt at the French King, becauſe all his warlike expeditions had ſtill beene unfortunate and diſaſtrous, and though they threatned much, yet alwaies they vaniſhed as a cloud. The report whereof ſo whetted and exaſperated his reſolutions to doe ſome memorable ſervice, that forthwith hee ſent unto the ſaid rebelling Welchmen an army of twelve thouſand men: who ſafely landed and joyned with ten thouſand of that nation.

Twelve thouſand French-men ſent into Wales.

This army occaſioned King *Henry* to prepare ſoundly for his ſafety. For hee was well aſſured, that if any neglect, or want of ſkill or of courage,

rage, ſhould give them the leaſt advantage whatſoever, then his Crown would bee ſhaken, and many miſeries would threaten his overthrow. Wherefore he in his own perſon marched with a ſtrong and with a compléte armie into Wales. But as ſoon as the Frenchmen had certain notice of his comming, they thought it was high time for them to adviſe what courſe to take: perchance not becauſe they were diſtruſtfull of their own valour and reſolution, but becauſe the inconſtancy of that turbulent and fickle nation, when danger did appeare, affrighted them fully with feares and with doubts, leſt they would flie into the Woods, and craggie Mountaines, and forſake them, when they ſhould crave the beſt performance of their helpe. And ſo ſtrongly did this doubtfull feare poſſeſſe them, that ſuddenly, like men amazed, and heartleſſe, they ran unto their ſhips: and not having performed any manner of ſervice whatſoever, diſgracefully and cowardly they returned into France.

Hereupon the Welſh rebels deſperately ſhifting for themſelves, fled every man his owne way; ſo that King *Henry* found thoſe traiterous multitudes diſperſed and quite vaniſhed, and would not be fought with. Wherefore hee diſſolved his great army, and returned in peace without blowes.

The King marrieth the Dutcheſſe of Britaine.

Afterwards King *Henry* took to wife *Jane*, the widow of *John* the deceaſed Duke of Britaine, and gave *Blanch* his eldeſt daughter in marriage unto *William* Duke of Bavier, the ſonne and heire apparent of the Emperour *Lewes* of Bavier.

And ſome few yeeres after he matched *Philip* his youngeſt daughter with the King of Denmark. For his daily troubles and turmoiles at home, gave him advice to make himſelfe more ſtrong, by procuring of great friends abroad.

ANNO 3. The King requireth the Percies to deliver to him their Scottiſh Priſoners.

In the third yeere of his reigne hee required *Henry Percie* Earle of Worceſter, *Henry Percie* Earle of Northumberland, and *Henry Hotſpur* his ſonne, to deliver unto him ſuch Scottiſh priſoners as they had taken in thoſe laſt warres. But they affirmed ſtoutly, that by the lawes of armes and chivalrie thoſe priſoners belonged unto them; and thereupon they refuſed to deliver them unto the King. By meanes whereof ſome unkindneſſe grew betwixt the King and them, which not long after was made apparent to the world. For the *Percies* now began to reſolve upon the reſtoring of their inthralled Couſin *Edmund Mortimer* Earle of March, both unto his liberty, and alſo to his Crowne: and to depoſe King *Henry*, if by any meanes and endevours they could bring their purpoſes to paſſe. Yet for a time they concealed their intent, and making none other ſhew but of naturall kindneſſe and friendſhip to the ſaid Earle, in regard of their affinity and kinred, earneſtly prayed the King to ranſome him and to ſet him free, becauſe he was unfortunately taken in his ſervice, and was oppreſſed with much miſery. But the King not hearkening to their ſuite, nor indeed deſiring that he ſhould be enlarged, made anſwer, and cauſed it to bee proclaimed, That the ſaid Earle had voluntarily cauſed himſelfe to bee taken priſoner, ſo that the Rebels having him in their cuſtodie and company, might pretend ſome colour, therewith to varniſh ſuch conſpiracies and treaſons, as ſecretly they had plotted and contrived againſt his Crowne and him: and that therefore

The Percies reſolve to ſet Edmund Mortimer at libertie.

his owne ſafety, and his good diſcretion, gave him advice and counſell not to hearken to their motion, but to puniſh his offence.

Anno 4. Sir Edmund Mortimer is ranſomed by the Percies. Owen Glendor conſpireth with the Percies.

The *Percies* having received this anſwer, and being much grieved with the ſaid Proclamation, and being reſolved no longer to delay and to deferre the enlargement of the ſaid Earle, paid his ranſome to *Owen Glendor*, and redeemed him at their owne coſt: and ſecretly entred into ſuch a league or friendſhip and familiarity with *Owen Glendor*, that he faithfully promiſed to ſtick unto them ſtoutly, whenſoever they would attempt the depoſing of King *Henry*.

And then the ſaid Lords *Percies*, being by reaſon of their Scottiſh priſoners aſſiſted with a multitude of warlike Scots, joyned unto their part the Earle of Stafford, and *Richard Scrope* Archbiſhop of Yorke, brother to the beheaded Earle of Salisbury, and many others; who encreaſed their numbers with Engliſhmen, and purpoſed to joyne with *Owen Glender* and his Welſh conſorts in the depoſing of the King: againſt whom by way of accuſation they framed certaine Articles, which they publiſhed, and ſent them to him in writing, to this effect.

Articles againſt King Henry.

1. *Imprimis, That when he came into England from his baniſhment, he tooke an oath onely to challenge and to recover his inheritance, and his wives; and not to intermeddle with the King, nor with the Crowne. By reaſon of which oath, divers loyall and good Subjects to King Richard reſorted unto him, not having a treaſonable intent. But when he perceived that his ſtrength was ſo much encreaſed, that hee might doe what hee pleaſed, hee wickedly brake his oath, and without any title or right he procured himſelfe to be made and to be crowned King.*
2. *Item, that not onely as an Arch-Traitor hee had impriſoned his naturall and undoubted Lord and Maſter King Richard, but had cauſed him wickedly and traiterouſly to be murdered, that with greater ſecurity he might enjoy his Crowne and his Kingdome.*
3. *Item, that ever ſince the death of King Richard, he had unjuſtly kept the Kingdome and the Crowne from his Couſin Edmund Mortimer Earle of March, who was the ſonne and heire of Philip, the daughter and heire of Lionell Duke of Clarence, elder brother to John of Gaunt father to the uſurping King.*
4. *Item, that when no want or need compelled him, he had impoſed divers Subſidies and Taxes upon the people, to their great griefe and diſcontentment: of which they willingly would, but dare not complaine.*

5. *Item,*

5. *Item, that no juſtice could be expected at his hand, becauſe contrary to the oath which he tooke when he was crowned, he had by letters written and ſent into ſundry ſhires, procured certain Burgeſhips for the Parliament: all which he beſtowed upon ſuch as would not faile to ſerve his turne when opportunity did ſerve.*
6. *And laſtly, that whereas in honour and for affinities ſake hee ought to have ranſomed and redeemed his ſaid Couſin the Earle of March from his ſtrait and loathſome impriſonment; and the rather, for that he was earneſtly ſolicited ſo to doe: he not onely denied the ſaid requeſt, but falſly and untruly publiſhed and proclaimed, that the Earle himſelfe was of his owne accord become a voluntary priſoner; to the end that the Traitors and Rebels joyning with him, might have ſomewhat wherewith they might colour ſuch Treaſons as they would conſpire againſt him.*

The Percies do defie the King.

For all which cauſes, and many others more, they utterly defied him as a Traitor, and as an Uſurper, and as an enemie they vowed his deſtruction, and the reſtoring of the ſaid Earle to his right.

The King raiſeth an army.

The King perceiving that nothing but ſtrong blowes could end this ſtrife: and being perſwaded that if he became victorious in this rebellion, he ſhould bereave all his enemies of all hope to prevaile in the like attempts, had levied a ſtrong army; with which he marched courageouſly againſt thoſe Lords, hoping to meet with them before they ſhould joine their forces with the Welſhmen: and ſo great was his care, that he failednot therein of his purpoſe. For both their armies met neere unto Shrewsbury; and in their firſt encounter the Scots gave a brave onſet upon the King. But with ſuch hardy violence he received them, that almoſt in a moment the greateſt part of them were ſlaine.

The battell of Shrewsbury.

Yet notwithſtanding, the Lords and their army ſtoutly performed their taske, and fought with ſuch admired courage and reſolution, that they perſwaded themſelves of good ſucceſſe; untill the King and the martiall Prince his ſonne (determining by honourable death rather to bee ſubdued, than to become the laughing ſtockes of adverſe and froward fortune) redoubled their ſtrength and valour: and by their particular examples each to the other, they ſo renewed the fight, that Sir *Henry Hotſpurre*, and ſome others of the principall Leaders of thoſe companies, and many thouſands more were ſlaine; and his Uncle the Earle of Worceſter was taken priſoner in the field, and the reſt fled. And ſo the King, with the loſſe of ſixteene hundred of his ſouldiers, having ſlaine more than ſixe thouſand of his enemies (of which thirty and ſixe fell by his owne ſword) obtained a famous victory. And becauſe the Earle *Douglas* in a ſingle combat with the King himſelfe, performed the part of an approved and of a worthy Knight, the King granted him his liberty without ranſome.

The Percies are overthrowne.

Thankſgiving unto God.

The next day following, the King and all his armie with great devotion and reverence gave thankes unto Almighty God for their good and

honourable ſucceſſe: and then he cauſed the Earle of Worceſter to bee beheaded; and many others, being ring-leaders in that rebellion, to bee drawne, hanged, and quartered, and did ſet their heads upon London bridge.

The Prince marcheth into Wales.

And the King intending forthwith to purſue and proſecute his good fortunes; for the ſurer ſetling of his eſtate in future times, ſent the Prince of Wales, and his whole army into Wales. But when he came thither, his chiefeſt enemy *Owen Glendor* was utterly forſaken by his whole companies, and ſhrowded himſelfe in the woods: and being compaſſed round about by the Princes forces (who eagerly hunted to apprehend him) hee was miſerably famiſhed to death; and many of his aſſociates being taken, were put to death: and then the Prince returned joyfully to the King.

The Earle of Northumberlands voluntary ſubmiſſion.

Now whileſt the Prince was thus buſied in Wales, *Henry Percy* Earle of Northumberland, came of his owne accord and ſubmitted himſelfe to the Kings mercy; proteſting and ſwearing with many oaths, that he was never made acquainted, nor intermedled in thoſe Treaſons. And though the King conceived not the leaſt thought that might excuſe him, yet for that time hee entertained him with ſmooth words, and with a ſmiling countenance, and ſuffered him to come and to goe at his pleaſure, becauſe he had in his poſſeſſion the caſtle of Barwicke, and other places of great ſtrength.

A challenge ſent by the Duke of Orleance to King Henry.

When all theſe troubles had found an end, *Lewis* Duke of Orleance, brother to the French King (being proud and vaine-glorious) ſent a challenge to King *Henry*, requiring him with one hundred choſen men at armes of his kingdome, in ſome indifferent and convenient place, to fight with him, and with the like number of Frenchmen, for honours ſake.

King Henries diſcreet anſwer.

But the King with great diſcretion and wiſedome made him this anſwer: That his former actions in warlike employments could cleerely acquit him from the infamous name and title of a coward: And that Kings ought not to be ſo careleſſe of their countries and of their people, whom God had committed unto their charge and government, as to fight for any cauſe, except it were for the furtherance, or for the maintenance of true Religion; or in defence of their rights, or to defend their kingdomes from forraine enemies, or to revenge their wrongs, and for ſuch like important cauſes. And alſo, that a Soveraigne and an annointed King, by the Lawes of Armes and of Honour was not bound to anſwer any challenge in the field, except it were made upon good cauſe, by his equall in dignity and in office. And yet he further added this, That hee would at all times be very ready to repulſe and to repreſſe any violence or wrong, which the Duke ſhould dare raſhly or unadviſedly at any time to attempt againſt him, or any of his people.

The Duke being over-paſſionate, when hee received this diſcreet and mild anſwer, with all expedition beſieged the towne of Vergie in Guyan, and remained there for the ſpace of three moneths, and ſomewhat more. In which time he offered many ſharpe aſſaults, and much violence; but received as many ſtout repulſes as hee could well endure. And in the end, having loſt many of his beſt men and chiefeſt friends, he was compelled diſgracefully to raiſe his ſiege, and to returne into France.

The

The Duke of *Burgoine* also (supposing that the instability of King *Henries* estate at home could not permit him to leave his kingdome and to warre abroad) obtained leave of the French King to attempt the regaining of Callice to the French. For which purpose he procured a puissant army, in which he had six thousand valiant men at armes, fifteen hundred Crosbowes, and twelve thousand ordinary Souldiers on foot. But when the French Kings Councell were informed of the great preparations made in England by King *Henry* to defeat them, and had maturely considered of the difficulty, yea almost of the impossibility of this attempt, the said Duke was commanded to desist from his intended service: whereat he was much grieved, and did conjecture that the proud Duke of *Orleans*, and some others, had discouraged the King in that businesse, because they were jealous that by his valour hee would win too much honour and renowne.

The Duke of Burgoine attempteth the regaining of Callice.

Experience teacheth us, that as the highest trees are subject most to be hurt by a storme, so the greatest Estates are in greatest danger to be shaken by envie. An evident proofe thereof appeared plainly in the whole course of this Kings reigne: For no sooner was hee freed from one mischiefe, but incontinently he was threatned by another. And though hee had now escaped the great danger of two former treasons and rebellions, and had been victorious over the Scots and Welsh Rebels, and had outfaced the French, who (if they had dared) would have attempted high atchievements at Callice, and in Aquitaine, and in Guyan: yet was hee now againe in hazzard to have been turmoiled with another civill warre at home; which secretly was plotted and contrived by *Henry Percy* Earle of Northumberland, *Richard Scrope* Archbishop of York, *Thomas Mowbray* Earle Marshall, and by the Lords *Hastings*, *Faulconbridge*, and *Bardolfe*, and by divers others.

ANNO 6. A new rebellion secretly plotted, but discovered.

But as in such like cases it often falleth out, so this traiterous conspiracie was secretly revealed to the King: who came so unexpectedly with an armie into the North, that ere any man reported the newes of his comming, he surprised the said Lords (the Earle of Northumberland and the Lord *Bardolfe* excepted) and strake off their heads. But the said Earle fled into France, from whence he came afterwards into Scotland, where hee was promised to bee aided against the King. But to prevent such mischiefes as those intendments did threaten, the Prince of Wales was sent into Scotland with an armie; where hee burnt and spoiled without controlment at his owne will and pleasure, and recovered to the Kings use the Castles of Barwick and of Anwicke; and enforced the Scots to crave a truce, which was granted them for a few moneths: and the Prince returned to the King.

The King sodainly surpriseth the Traytors.

The Prince warreth in Scotland prosperously.

And now it chanced that as King *Henry* passed over the river of Thames from Kent into Essex, under the conduct of the Lord of *Camois*, he was almost taken by the French Pirates: for which cause the said Lord was suspected, and attached as a traitour, and received his due triall by his Peeres: but was cleerely acquitted of that offence, and received into favour.

In the ninth yeere of this Kings reigne, the Earle of Northumberland, and the Lord *Bardolfe* (animating the Scots to a new warre) entred with them

them into Northumberland, and did much miſchiefe: whereupon King *Henry* levied a ſtrong armie, and by great journies travailed to encounter them. But before his comming forth they were fought with, and overthrowne by Sir *Ralfe Rokesby* then Sheriffe of that countie, who tooke the ſaid Lords and many others, and ſmote off their heads, and ſent them for preſents to the King.

In the eleventh yeere of his reigne hee aſſembled his High Court of Parliament: in which he created his three younger ſonnes, *Thomas*, Duke of Clarence; *John*, Duke of Bedford; and *Humfrey* Duke of Gloceſter; and enacted many lawes which were helpfull and profitable to this common-weale.

And from that time forth untill he died he enjoyed a happy peace, and reſted from all hoſtility and warres both at home and abroad. And to expreſſe his thankfulneſſe to God for all his goodneſſe and great bounty towards him, he made great and coſtly preparations of men, money, victuals, and armour, and ſhips, and all other things requiſite and needfull; and purpoſed to have waged warres with the Turkes in the Holy-Land. But whileſt he buſily imployed himſelf in thoſe affaires, he was attached by a deadly Apoplexy: and being neere his laſt end, he cauſed his Crown to be placed by him upon his pillow, leſt peradventure in his extremitie of ſickneſſe it might bee delivered to ſome other, who had better right thereto than he had. But when his attendants verily ſuppoſed that he was dead, the young Prince of Wales ſeized upon his Crowne: whereat the King ſtarted up, and raiſing himſelfe upon his armes, he demanded who it was that had taken away his Crown. The Prince anſwered, that it was he: and then he fell backe into his bed, and fetching a deep ſigh, and ſending forth many penſive groanes; My ſonne (quoth he) my ſonne, what right I had unto this Crowne, and how I have injoyed it, God knoweth, and the world hath ſeene. Comfort your ſelfe in God, good father, ſaid the Prince; the Crowne you have, and if you dye I will have it, and keep it with my ſword as you have done. And within a ſhort time after King *Henry* died, in the ſixe and fortieth yeere of his age, when he had reigned almoſt foureteene yeeres: and his body was carried to Canterbury, where with all Princely and due requiſites it was buried.

The King prepareth to war in the Holy-land.

The King falleth ſicke.

The King dieth.

THE

HENRY the V. began his reigne the 20 of March, and was crowned at Westminster the 9. of Aprill following 1413. He reigned gloriously 9 yeres, 5 monthes. he died in the Castle of Boys Vincent by Paris, the 1. of September. 1422. and lieth intombed in the Abbey of S^t Peters at Westminster being of the age of 36 yeares when he departed this world

R. E. sculp.

THE HISTORIE OF KING HENRY THE FIFT.

1. 1412. A wild Prince, but a wise King.

IT is well knowne that King *Henry* the fifth, whilest he was but a Prince, associated to himselfe divers unthrifty and lewd companions; by whose instigation (among many other unworthy passages in his fathers daies) hee smote the Lord chiefe Justice of England in the face: for which offence hee was imprisoned and dismissed of the Presidentship of the Kings Councell, and (to his great griefe and disgrace)

diſgrace) was ſucceeded therein by *Thomas* Duke of Clarence, his younger brother. But when hee was crowned King, he diſpoſed himſelfe into a new courſe, qualifying his behaviour with ſuch heroicall vertues, as might beſeeme both his Perſon and his Honour, and baniſhed from his Court his looſe and baſe conſorts, after he had enabled them to live by ſuch gifts as were proportionable to their callings. Hee alſo elected for his Councell, and into places of Juſtice and publike Government, ſuch as were wiſe, diſcreet, learned, and temperate; well able to rule themſelves, and to command others. He painefully laboured to reforme pride, covetouſneſſe, and ſuch other groſſe abuſes as were crept into the Church among the Clergy; and enjoyned them ſtrictly to frequent praier and preaching, to Hoſpitality, and to the ſincere ſerving of Almightie God. And (by the adminiſtration of his Lawes with moderate ſeveritie) he made the Laitie tractable in the performance of their duties. And (to ſettle his Eſtate in peace and in tranquilitie at home, ſo that neither the Scots nor the Welſhmen ſhould moleſt him when hee was buſied in his Warres abroad) hee erected divers Caſtles, Bulwarkes, and other Fortifications upon their frontiers; and ſo diſpoſed of them, that with many thouſands of able men, and skilfull Captaines to command them, hee was ſtill ready and powerfull, with great violence and force, to ſuppreſſe and qualifie ſuch rebellious inſurrections as they might make.

He baniſheth his looſe companions.

He erecteth Caſtles in the frontiers of Scotland and of Wales.

In the firſt yeere of his Reigne, with great pompe and ſolemnitie, he brought the body of King *Richard* the Second from Langley unto Weſtminſter, and buried it by Queen *Anne*, his firſt wife.

2
1413.

In the ſecond yeere, hee held his High Court of Parliament at Leiceſter: in which, he was importunately petitioned to ſuppreſſe the Religious Houſes of this Kingdome: becauſe they being ill uſed, were made the Nurſeries of idleneſſe, gluttony, lecherie, and of pride; and were the Cages of uncleane birds. The revenewes which belonged to thoſe Houſes were proportioned to yeeld unto the Kings Coffers the annuall rent of twenty thouſand pounds: and would alſo (for the encreaſe of the Kings power and ſtrength) maintaine fifteene Earles, fifteene hundred Knights, and more than ſixe thouſand men at Armes; beſides a great number of Almes-houſes for the poores reliefe.

A motion in Parliament to ſuppreſſe Religious Houſes.

To divert this ſtreame into another Channell, the fat Abbots, Priors, idle Monkes, wanton Friars, and the puling Nunnes, procured *Henry Chicheſley*, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in a very learned and excellent Oration, to diſcover to the King his right and his title to the Crowne of France; to refreſh him with confident hopes of good ſucceſſe; to direct him into a courſe anſwerable to his hopes; and (in the Clergies behalfe, and for the furtherance of thoſe Warres) to offer unto the King an incredible maſſe of mony as their free and as their franke gift.

The Clergies policy to quench this fire.

This motion and this buſineſſe was ſo much applauded by the King, his Nobles, and the inferiour ſorts of his people; and the great ſumme of mony which was offered, ſo well contented them all, that the ſaid Petition was thereby lulled faſt aſleepe; and nothing was now debated and ſpoken of, but the meanes how England might recover France.

This Parliament being ended, the Duke of Exeter, Uncle to the King, the

the Archbiſhop of Dublin, the Lord *Gray* high Admirall of England, and the Biſhop of Norwich (being attended with five hundred Horſe) were ſent Embaſſadours to the French King *Charles* the ſixt. By theſe the King required the peaceable delivery of that Kingdome, together with the whole Dutchies of Aquitain, Normandy, and of Anjou; and the Countries of Poytou and of Mayne: and made this offer, That if (without the effuſion of their peoples blood) the French King would yeeld to his demands, hee then would be pleaſed to take to his wife the Lady *Katherine* his daughter, and would endow her with all the ſaid Dutchies and Provinces, and would be tractable to all things tending to the French Kings honour and eſtate. But if hee refuſed to deliver him his Patrimonie and inheritance without blowes, then hee aſſured him, that he would attempt the gayning of them by his Sword: and would, in thoſe Countries, afflict thoſe people with ſuch oppreſſions, as were too too rife and common in the Warre.

Embaſſadors ſent to require the Crowne of France.

The unexpected ſtrangeneſſe of this motion and quicke meſſage ſo amazed the French King and his Nobilitie, that without ſound and good deliberation they were unable to returne any anſwer: but craved a longer time; with promiſe, ſhortly to ſend his Embaſſadours, concerning that buſineſſe, to the King. But the Dolphin deſpiſing the youth of King *Henrie*, and holding him unfit to attempt a matter of ſo high a conſequence, ſent unto him (as a preſent) a Tun of Tennis Balls: inſinuating thereby, that it was more agreeable to his yeeres to ſport himſelfe among nimble lads in a Tennis Court, than to dreame of the winning of ſo potent a Kingdome as France was.

The Dolphin ſcoffeth the King.

The King, although otherwiſe he would have beene perſwaded by reaſon kindly to have cenſured of the French Kings requeſt, and of his promiſe, yet becauſe the Dolphin ſo baſely ſcorned him, proteſted in his angry moode, that ere many moneths ſhould bee ſpent, hee would (if God aſſiſted him) toſſe ſo many balls of Iron within that Kingdome, that the ſtrongeſt Rackets in France ſhould be too weake to returne them. For this purpoſe, hee levied a ſtrong and a puiſſant Armie: whereof when the Dolphin had intelligence (becauſe the charge of thoſe affaires, by reaſon of the French Kings weakeneſſe and infirmitie, was committed to his care and providence) hee ſent Embaſſadours to King *Henrie*, to informe him, That if he would deſiſt from his purpoſe, and would live in amitie and in peace with that Nation, and would take his ſiſter, the Lady *Katherine*, to his wife, he then ſhould have and receive with her a large ſumme of money, with ſome ſmall Territories and poſſeſſions in that Kingdome.

The King's courageous ſpeech.

The Dolphins motion for peace.

Thoſe Embaſſadours were honourably received, kindly entertained, and royally feaſted by the King, at his owne table. But for an anſwer he returned, That except the French King (with his ſaid daughter) would give unto him the Dutchies of Aquitaine, Normandie, Anjou, and all other ſmall Seigniories, to him and to his Crowne juſtly appertaning and belonging, he would not disband his armie, nor wave his title to the Crowne of France; but would attempt by fire and ſword to win it if he might.

King Henries anſwer.

Aſſoone as the French Embaſſadours were departed, the King (who propoſed

propoſed none other end to his endevours, but an aſſured truſt in God, and in a thouſand hopes of conqueſt and of victorie) placed a ſtrong power upon the marches of Scotland, to keepe them in order in his abſence. And having throughly furniſhed himſelfe and his army, with all needfull preparations, and having made the Queene his mother the Regent of his Kingdome, and aſſiſted her with a grave, and with a prudent Councell, hee ſent his letters of defiance to the French King, and began with great alacritie and courage, to proceed in this his royall journey.

ANNO 3. 1414. King Henrie defieth the King of France.

But as greateſt dangers are then moſt frequent, when ſecuritie ſeemeth to baniſh all feare: ſo when King *Henrie* perſwaded himſelfe, that hee was moſt ſure, and ſafe, in the middeſt of his brave armie: even then hee was in a greater hazzard of his life, than if he had beene in France, among the throngs of his mortall and profeſſed Enemies. For *Richard* Earle of Cambridge, brother to the Duke of Yorke, and *Henrie* Lord *Scrope*, and Sir *Thomas Gray* (three of the moſt approved Captaines of this Kingdome) being treacherouſly engaged by great rewards conferred on them by the Dolphin of France, conſpired to deliver him into the French Kings hands; or elſe to murder him in his owne Tent.

Treaſon againſt King Henrie.

Miraculouſly was this intended villany revealed to the King; who grieved the more thereat, becauſe hee ſhould want the aideſull aſſiſtance of three ſuch valiant men of warre, as gave him much aſſurance of good ſucceſſe. But when they were apprehended, and brought into his preſence, their open confeſſion of that conſpiracie and treaſon (which otherwiſe would fully have beene proved againſt them) haſtned their publike ſentence of death, and as Traytors they were executed the next day.

The Treaſon is diſcovered.

The traytors are executed.

Aſſoone as the winde ſerved, the King tranſported his armie in an hundred and forty ſhips, and landed in Normandie before Harflew, upon the River of Seyne, and beſieged it on every part for the ſpace of ſeven and thirty dayes. And though the French army, which was conducted by the Dolphin, made manie faire proffers to raiſe the ſiege, yet durſt they not come too neere. But the Towne having beene many times ſharply aſſaulted, was yeelded to King *Henrie*: who ſacked it, and ranſomed the Inhabitants, and with great plenty of ſilver and of gold, and many coſtly things, he enriched all his owne Companies; and (having placed as Captaine there his Uncle *Thomas* Duke of Exeter; and as his Lievtenant Sir *John Faſtolf*, with fifteene hundred ſouldiers, and five and thirty gallant Knights, he reſolved to goe unto Callice by land; and to reſt there, becauſe the winter (being now more wet, and approching ſooner at that time than uſually it was accuſtomed) infected many of his men with grievous fluxes, and ſtrange fevers: and occaſioned the death of the Earle of Stafford, of the Biſhop of Norwich, and of the Lords of Molineſſe, and of Burnel, and of more than fifteen hundred men.

The King landeth with his army in Normandy.

Great ſicknes in King Henries Armie.

And notwithſtanding that ſickneſſe and many wants afflicted his armie, yet King *Henrie* marched with great confidence and reſolution through the bowels of thoſe Countries, in deſpight of the French forces, who onely made proud brags and faire ſhewes of encounters; but (like unto hunted, and affrighted Deer) gazed a far off upon the Engliſh army, yet dared not by handy ſtrokes, to make the leaſt triall of their valour, albeit

albeit King *Henries* ſtrength did then conſiſt onely of two thouſand Horſemen, and of thirteene thouſand Archers, and no more: many of which number wanted health, meat, wood, and reſt, and had not any plentie of any thing ſaving onely of Silver, and of Gold, which could not in that place ſupply unto them ſuch things, as moſt of all they needed.

The Dolphin of France, to whom the managing of thoſe warres was committed, having aſſembled more than thirty thouſand fighting men, ſaw that he was much diſhonoured by his owne cowardize; and leſt hee ſhould be infamous among his owne people, he determined to give battell to King *Henrie*: but his fainting ignoble heart, being terrified, and his courage paſſing in poſt out at his heeles, ſuffered him not to attempt any thing, ſo that King *Henrie* ſtill marched onwards, burning and ſpoiling, and doing in his paſſage whatſoever himſelfe beſt liked. The Dolphin braggeth, but doth not any thing.

The French King, who lay at Roan, was highly diſcontented, for that the Engliſh Armie (unfought with) had proudly paſſed over the River of Soame; wherefore he entred into a ſerious conſultation concerning thoſe buſineſſes, with five and thirtie of his diſcreeteſt and wiſeſt Councellours: and the queſtion was; *Whether it were better to give Battell to the Engliſh Armie, or for that time, to give King* Henrie *a free march, without reſiſtance, unto Callice?* By thirtie of that number, it was adviſed and concluded on, that they ſhould bee fought with, but the other five urged many ſubſtantiall reaſons and arguments, to maintaine the contrary. But they were not hearkned unto. So the French King incontinently, by his Herald at Armes, ſent a defiance to King *Henrie*, and promiſed that within few daies, hee would trie his beſt ſtrength by handy ſtrokes in the open field. King *Henrie* (with a Princely boldneſſe and magnanimitie) returned him this anſwer, That becauſe his army was afflicted with much ſickneſſe, and many wants, he bended his courſe directly to his Towne of Callice, where hee would goe and refreſh himſelfe, and his companies, and would not therefore at that time ſeeke the French King: but if hee endevoured and dared to interrupt him in his paſſage, hee was of ſufficient force and ſtrength to repell all violence which the French Nation ſhould oppoſe againſt him. The King is defied, and a battell promiſed. King Henries diſcreet anſwer.

When this anſwer was returned, the French King (by his Proclamations) cauſed many thouſand men at armes, and valiant Souldiers, to repaire to the Conſtable of France, to fight for honour and for their Country with King *Henrie*: who being informed, that the day drew neere in which the Frenchmen intended to give him battell, placed his Army in good order and array, betwixt the Townes of Blangie and of Agencourt, within the County of Saint *Paul*. The battell of Agencourt. 1414

This being done, the Conſtable of France, being bravely accompanied with divers great and honourable perſonages, well experienced Captaines, and luſty men of warre, to the number of threeſcore thouſand on horſebacke, beſides his Footemen, Pages, Waggoners, and other attendants; approached neere to the Engliſh Armie, and placed them in good order of battell, and in the night time they made great fires about their Standard, diſpoſed themſelves to extraordinary mirth and jollitie, and made ſuch ſure account of the victory on the next day (by reaſon of

their great numbers, and for that the Engliſh forces were ſo ſmall, ſo weake, and ſickly; that they fell to the caſting of lots for ſuch priſoners as they ſhould take.

And on the other ſide, King *Henrie* and his people having humbly reconciled themſelves to God, and by repentance, and by publike and private prayer, purchaſed the happy contentment of quiet conſciences, ſounded their trumpets and muſicall inſtruments of all ſorts, and were reſolved to ſell their lives deare, and to die like men, ſeeing that now they were unable by any meanes (excepting only by the ſword) to worke unto themſelves any deliverance from infamie, and from death.

Upon Friday being the five and twentieth day of October, the Lord *Delabreth* High Conſtable of France arranged all his companies into three battels.

The firſt Battell of the French.

1. In the firſt, he placed eight thouſand well armed Knights and Eſquires, foure thouſand Archers, and fifteene hundred Crosbowes; and ſtrongly guarded them with two wings: the one of them conſiſted of fifteene hundred men at armes, and the other of eight hundred. And this battell, and theſe wings, were commanded by himſelfe, and by the Dukes of *Orleance*, and of *Burbon*, and by the Earles of *Ewe*, *Richmond*, and *Vandoſme*, and by the Lord *Dampier*, Admirall of France, and by the Marſhall *Bouciqualt*, and many others.

The middle Battell of the French.

2. In the middle battell were placed more men at armes than in the former: and it was commanded by the Dukes of *Barre* and of *Alanſon*, and by the Earles of *Vawdemont*, *Salings*, *Blamont*, *Grant-Preé*, and *Ruſsie*.

The Rere-battell of the French.

3. And the third battell (being compoſed of all the remnant) was marſhalled and guided by the Earles of *Marke*, *Damp-Martin*, and of *Faulconbridge*, and by the Lord *Lurrey* Captaine of the Towne of *Arde*.

King Henries Vauntgard.

And on the other ſide the Vauntgard of King *Henrie*, which conſiſted of good Archers onely, was conducted by the Duke of Yorke, who being right valiant, and of an haughty courage, by great entreaty obtained that place; and with him were the Lords of *Beamond*, *Willoughby*, and of *Fanhope*.

King Henries maine battell.

The maine battell was commanded by the King himſelfe: in which were his ſtrongeſt Bill-men, and ſome Archers: and with him were the Duke of Gloceſter his brother, the Earle Marſhall, Oxford, and of Suffolke.

The Kings Rereward.

And the Rereward was directed by *Thomas* Duke of Exeter, the Kings Uncle. And all the Horſemen (as wings) attended all theſe companies on both ſides.

Stakes driven into the ground behind the Engliſh Armie.

And to prevent by policie ſuch breaches as otherwiſe the French Horſemen might ſuddenly make upon the Engliſh Armie with their barred Steeds, whileſt the Archers were buſily performing their taske, King *Henrie* cauſed all his Footmen to be environed with ſtakes of five or ſixe foot long, which being well headed with ſharpe Iron at both ends, were thickly pitched into the Earth, and eaſily might (upon every remove) be newly faſtned into the ground, by ſuch as were appointed to attend them.

King

King *Henrie* upon his truſt in the mercifull aide and aſſiſtance of Almightie God, and upon a ſtrong hope which hee conceived of brave ſervice to bee perfomed that day, had ſecretly placed a luſtie crew of good Arches within a new caſt hedge, by which the French Horſemen were to make way towards the Engliſh armie. And theſe were commanded to ſhoot wholly and together, when a valiant and wel-experienced Knight, named Sir *Walter Harpington*, by the caſting up of his Gauntlet, ſhould occaſion the whole Army of the Engliſhmen to ſhout with a mighty cry. And this direction was ſo well obſerved, that when the French Horſemen were paſſed within the danger of that ambuſh, and attempted to give the firſt onſet; upon the ſaid ſigne and ſhout, the ſaid Archers dimmed the aire with the thickneſſe of their ſtrong flying arrowes: and the French Horſemen by meanes of the height of the ſaid banke, and depth of the ditch within it, were not able to come neere unto them.

The Engliſh Archers likewiſe, who ſerved in the Vauntgard, ſo ſtrongly fixed their ſhot in the French Horſes, that many of them being wounded, and the arrowes ſhaking in their fleſh, threw off their riders to the ground; and other ſome of them, with violence ran upon ſuch as rode next unto them; and the reſt of them, in ſuch diſordered troupes, and plumps, ſo furiouſly and ſo madly retired, that they thereby not onely were diſordered, but their footmen alſo; who were oppreſſed, wounded, and miſerably ſlaine and troden to death by them. Which when the Engliſh armie well perceived, the Archers threw away their Bowes, and with Malls, Axes, Swords, Gleaves, and Bils, they made an incredible ſlaughter upon the firſt battell of the Frenchmen: which by them were utterly diſcomfited, and put to flight. And without breathing, or the leaſt delay, they ran fiercely upon the middle battell of the French Armie: who fought with great courage, and reſolution, and for a while acquitted themſelves as valiant men. *The firſt Battell of the Frenchmen is overthrowne.*

The French Horſemen of that battell, ſcorning that ſo ſmall a number of their Enemies ſhould worke ſuch wonders, and intending by ſudden violence to make quicke diſpatch of them, began to charge upon them with great courage. The Engliſhmen (the better to ſave themſelves, and to traine the French Horſemen within the danger of their ſtakes) ſeemed faint: yet in good order they retired, and quickly ſlipped behind their ſtakes: ſo that the Frenchmen who made more haſte than good ſpeed to over-throw the Engliſhmen, ruſhed ignorantly and violently forward, not hurting their Enemies, but goring, ſpoyling and killing of their Horſes in great numbers. And thus was their maine battell diminiſhed, and altogether put out of order, and good government. Which when the Engliſhmen ſaw, they haughtily advanced their ſpirits, and confidently redoubled their ſtrength; and with rude and hardy blowes they ruſhed forth ſo eagerly upon the Frenchmen, that they compelled them to flie. In this encounter, the King himſelfe fought hand to hand with the Duke of Alanſon, and was by him wel-neere taken priſoner. But his high ſtomacke diſdaining to ſtoope to fortune, and to loſe the leaſt jot of honour, he encouraged *The French Horſes are goared on the ſtakes.* *The maine battell of the French vanquiſhed.*

himſelfe with a more conſtant reſolution. So that in the end he ſlew two of the Dukes neereſt attendants with his owne hand; and felled him to the ground. But whileſt the King paſſionately laboured and ſtrived to ſave his life, he was unadviſedly ſlaine by his Guard.

Aſſoone as theſe two battels were thus overthrowne, the King (abandoning all lingring and delay, and ſettling his hopes upon the aſſurance of an honourable victorie) made offer with his whole Companies, to environ the third and laſt battell of the Frenchmen: in which were the greateſt number, but the worſt men. But their courage was ſo cooled, that like unto Sheep before the Wolfe, they cowardly ran away, caſting from them their armour and their weapons: and (being ſtrangely amazed, and not knowing which way to runne to ſave themſelves) great numbers of them fell upon their knees, and craved mercy, and the preſervation of their lives; and were received as priſoners by the Engliſh armie, with the Kings conſent.

The third battell of the Frenchmen flie.

But whileſt King *Henrie* was thus buſied, and to purſue the Chaſe had left his owne Campe and Tents meanely and weakly guarded and defended, by Waggoners and by Lackies onely, *Robynet* of Bonvile, with ſix hundred of thoſe Horſemen who firſt of all acquitted the field, entred into the Kings Campe, and rifled all things at their pleaſure, and ſlew as many of the weake Guarders as they could: by meanes whereof, a ſtrong out-crie was ſuddenly made there: which when the King heard, he imagined that freſh and new forces intended to give him another battell, and to trie him with another ſtrength.

An unfortunate ſervice for the French Priſoners.

This conceit, and this fearing doubt, occaſioned him forthwith to proclaime, that on paine of death all ordinary Priſoners ſhould bee ſlaine, leſt in the new conflict they ſhould be troubleſome and dangerous to his armie. Then was there ſeene a ſorrowfull ſpectacle of much unexpected crueltie. For ſome of their throats were cut: the bellies of others were ſo lanced, that their guts fell out: the braines of others were daſhed abroad with Malls and Axes: others with Daggers were ſtabbed, and with Swords thruſt through; and finally, almoſt all of them upon a ſudden were with much enforced cruelty put to death; whereat the King conceived extraordinary griefe and ſorrow, and lamented it with many teares, when he perfectly underſtood that no freſh armie was prepared to aſſaile him.

The King, though he perceived well, and did perfectly know that his Souldiers were much tired and wearied with the great travels of that victorious day, yet (doubting of the worſt) hee arranged his whole armie into a new battell, becauſe he was informed, that another enterpriſe againſt him was taken in hand. And aſſoone as he was fitly provided to defend himſelfe, he was aſſailed by the Earles of *Marle*, and of *Faulconbridge*, and ſixe hundred valiant men at armes; who had kept together, and had not fought one ſtroke that day. But as a ſmall and a weake veſſell is quickly ſwallowed up into a wrathfull Sea: ſo this poore handfull was by and by cruſhed, and almoſt every one of them was ſlaine.

Another victory.

Afterwards, when King *Henrie* by his Scouts received certaine intelligence, that every Coaſt about him was cleere, and that ſuch of his Enemies, as were couragious, and would fight, lay dead upon the

the ground, and none were ſo hardy as to ſhew their faces: the King about foure of the clocke in the afternoone of the ſame day cauſed his whole armie upon their knees to joyne with him in hearty prayer, and in thankfulneſſe unto Almighty God, who onely, and alone, by his powerfull aide and aſſiſtance, had given to him, and them, a moſt incredible and a glorious Victory. This duty being thus devoutly accompliſhed, the common ſouldiers had franke leave and licence granted them, to rifle thoſe whom they had ſlaine. By meanes whereof they not onely waxed rich, but alſo ſtored themſelves with all ſuch neceſſaries and proviſions as before they wanted: and then the King marched forward, and with much joy and great honour was received into his ſtrong towne of Callice. In this battell were ſlaine *Charles* Lord *Delabreth* high Conſtable of France, *Jaques* of *Chaſtilion* Lord of *Dampier* High-Admirall of France, *John* Duke of *Alenſon*, *Anthonie* Duke of *Brabant*, *Edward* Duke of *Barre*; the Earles of *Marle*, *Vawdemont*, *Blawmount*, *Grand-preé*, *Ruſſey*, *Faulconbridge*, *Foys*, and *Laſtrake*: twenty and five Lords, eight thouſand Knights, and Eſquires, and Gentlemen of armes, and name; and about ſixteene hundred of the common ſort: beſides thoſe who were taken, and remained priſoners: among whom theſe were the chiefe, *Charles* Duke of *Orleance*, *John* Duke of *Burbon*, the Lords of *Donvart*, *Foſſeux*, *Humiers*, *Roy*, *Cawny*, *Hamcourt*, *Noell*, *Bonciqualt*, and ſome others. And on the other part were ſlaine *Edward* Duke of Yorke, and the Earle of Suffolke; and of all others, not above ſixe hundred perſons.

The King and his Armie give thanks to God for their great victorie.

Priſoners taken.

When King *Henry* and his ſouldiers had a while refreſhed themſelves in Callice, they tooke ſhipping: and being enriched with Silver, Gold, and brave and coſtly Armours, they all arrived ſafely in England; and the King was received into London triumphantly, and with much joy.

The King with his army arrive in England.

When the French King and the Dolphin were informed of the ſaid great and inſupportable overthrow; it is not to be wondred at, if melancholy paſſions and much griefe ſurcharged them to the verie heart, and made them doubtfull of the event of this buſineſſe. But the ſlaughter of the French priſoners, fooliſhly occaſioned by the baſe attempt of *Robynet* of Bonvyle, and of his companions, who cowardly ranſacked the Engliſh Campe and the Kings Tents in the heat and fury of the aforeſaid Battell, perplexed them more than all the reſt: but eſpecially the Dolphin, who impriſoned the Ring-leaders of that folly, and would have ſentenced them to death, if ſuddenly himſelf had not after died: whoſe death much amazed the weake and much diſeaſed French King. But making a vertue of neceſſity, and intending by ſome provident courſe to prevent ſuch miſchiefes which future attempts did threaten, he made the Earle of Arminacke (who was a ſtout and a warlike Captaine) High Conſtable of France, and placed in his other great martiall Offices none but ſuch, as by their valour and good triall had made beſt proofe of their ſufficiencie to performe them. Theſe newly eſtabliſhed Officers levied many companies of the moſt able and ſtouteſt men in ſundry places of that Kingdome.

And at the ſame time, the Kings Uncle *Thomas* Duke of Exeter, and Captaine of Harflew (intending to exerciſe his ſouldiers in feates of Warre, and by ſome ſudden ſervice both to enrich them, to win honour to himſelfe, and to endammage his enemies) iſſued out of that Town

Thomas Duke of Exeter his gallant ſervice.

with three thouſand men, well armed to the proofe, and marched through thoſe Countries, burning, rifling, and ſpoyling, untill he came almoſt to the City of Roan : where he was encountred by the new Conſtable of France ; who with five thouſand horſemen (having a reſolution in this exploit to winne his Spurres) ſo ſharply charged the Duke and his Followers, that hee compelled him, though in good order, and with little loſſe, to retyre. But the Frenchmen determining their utter overthrow, purſued them ſtill with eager ſpirits, untill they came almoſt to the Barriers of Harflew: which when the reſt of the Engliſhmen who were within the Towne perceived, they iſſued forth in good order, joyned with the Dukes companies ; and then they all, with their entire ſtrength, ſo furiouſly oppoſed themſelves againſt the Conſtable and his Aſſoiates, that (with the ſlaughter of many of their horſes and ſouldiers) they were enforced to flie away, and were chaſed by the Engliſh Victors more than two miles : and divers of them who were taken priſoners, could not obtaine their liberty, untill they had procured it with large ranſomes.

Sigiſmond the Emperour in vaine mediateth a peace.

About this time, *Sigiſmond* the Emperour of Germany came into England, endevouring to conclude a friendly peace betwixt England and France. His hearty welcome and his great etertainment liberally ſorted with the high calling of ſo great a Prince : but his motion was barren and fruitleſſe of good ſpeeding. In his departure the King accompanied him to Callice ; from whence he returned home. And thither upon honourable hoſtages, repaired to King *Henrie* the Duke of Burgoine, and betwixt them a friendly peace, concerning onely the Counties of Flanders and of Arthois, was concluded. For which matter, the Duke was had in great jealouſie, and ſuſpected to be a ſecret enemy to the Crowne of France.

4
1415.
Harflew beſieged by the French.

Not long after, the new Conſtable of France with a ſtrong Armie upon the Land, and *John* Vicount *Narbon*, Vice-admirall of France, with five hundred ſhips, at the mouth of the river of Seyne, beſieged Harflew on every ſide ; and made little doubt to win it in few weekes. But when King *Henry* was advertiſed in what ſort the Town and his Subjects were diſtreſſed ; with extraordinary care and expedition hee levied a powerfull army, and tranſported it thither in two hundred warlike and ſtrong ſhips : of theſe he made Generall his brother *John* Duke of Bedford, and aſſociated to him in that expedition the Earles of March, Oxford, Huntingdon, Arundel, Salisbury, and Devonſhire, and many Barons, Knights, and Gentlemen of great valour and much worth.

The Engliſh Navie doe overthrow the French Fleet.

The Duke ſhortly after his departure being happily conducted by a pleaſing wind, fell upon the French fleet, who in the view of the Towne of Harflew fought couragiouſly, as men reſolved to win honour. But being unable to make good what they intended, they were at length utterly vanquiſhed and overthrowne, with an incredible ſlaughter of their men : and great numbers of them being taken, were ſent Priſoners into England. And thus was the Towne of Harflew happily reſcued, and delivered from the Frenchmen. For when the Conſtable perceived that all their Sea-forces were defeated, and in a manner, conſumed; he raiſed his Siege, and with a heavie heart marched diſhonourably unto Paris : and the Duke of Bedford (having new victualled, manned, and fortified the towne

towne) returned with great applauſe and much honour into England.

Theſe diſaſtrous misfortunes ruſhing every day upon the French nation, rather animated the Nobilty of France to ſeeke meanes to revenge their private quarrels and grudges one againſt the other, than as provident and wortny Peeres, to unite their forces for the defence and protection of their countrey: by meanes whereof a wide gappe was opened to King *Henry*, with leſſer danger to attempt great matters againſt the peace and eſtate of that kingdome. And to further his deſignes in thoſe negotiations, hee aſſembled his high Court of Parliament at Weſtminſter: in which he himſelfe pithily and effectually diſcovered his right and title to the Crowne of France, the often injuries which the Frenchmen had done from time to time to the Engliſh nation, his bleſſed and fortunate ſucceſſes in thoſe warres, the new diſſentions and ſecret revengefull grudges which divided the hearts and the ſtrength of the Frenchmen, and his undoubted hopes of winning both honour and profit, if by the ſufficient diſburſement of money and of treaſure, his preparations might be furthered and ſupported with all ſpeed.

Secret quarrellings among the French Nobility.

This ſpeech being graciouſly and artificially contrived, was ſo plauſible and pleaſing, and the Kings heroicall intendments were ſo well received and digeſted by all ſorts of people who were then preſent, that not onely a great ſumme of money with franke and free conſent was granted to him, but the ſame was quickly levied with great love and much eaſe.

The King being much encouraged in his French buſineſſe, by the forward bounty of his loving ſubjects, prepared a ſtrong fleet, furniſhed it with men, and all things needfull, and embarked therein a ſtrong army of luſty experienced ſouldiers; but ſent before him to ſcoure the ſeas, *John* Earle of Huntingdon, ſonne to that Duke of Exeter who was beheaded in the dayes of King *Henry* the fourth. This luſty Gallant being at all points readily provided, met luckily with nine Carricks of Genoa, which for money were waged to ſerve the French King: with thoſe he encountred, and fought ſtoutly, yet for a while with variable hopes of ſucceſſe: but in the end hee ſunke into the Sea ſixe of them, and tooke the other three, being ſtored with great ſtore of money and much treaſure, and brought them with his priſoners to the King.

Another victory at ſea, by John Holland Earle of Huntingdon.

This argument of good ſpeeding much encouraged King *Henry*, who with his copious army of gallant and luſty Lads departed out of England, and landed ſafely in Normandy before the ſtrong caſtle of Tonque; which by him was beſieged and won by ſtrong aſſaults, and yet he received the beſieged to his mercy.

The King with his army landed in Normandy.

When the Normans knew that King *Henry* was arrived in their countrey, and of his taking of that caſtle, they fled as men amazed with bagge and baggage into their walled towns; and ſo did all the ſouldiers which were placed every where for the defence and protection of thoſe countries: ſo that without reſiſtance King *Henry* marched forth, and pitched before the City of Cane, which was exceedingly well manned, and throughly provided of victuals, armour, and munition of all ſorts, for many moneths. Divers aſſaults were fiercely made, and the walls were often times ſcaled with deſperate reſolution by the Engliſh, and the Normans

The City of Cane in Normandy beſieged.

mans with no leſſe valour and ſtout courage defended the towne, to the great dammage of their enemies; untill at length King *Henry* (to ſave the lives of many valiant men, who otherwiſe muſt needs have died in that ſervice) proclaimed mercy to the beſieged, if they would yeeld. But their hopes to be relieved, and the truſt which they repoſed in their owne valour, perſwaded them to refuſe all compoſitions whatſoever. Whereupon many terrible aſſaults were fiercely made, and repulſed; the walls of the City were in many places undermined; the Engliſhmen with undaunted courage ruſhed into the towne, partly through the walls, and partly over them: ſo that in the end, although the Normans (to their continuall praiſe and commendation) performed the parts of worthy and faithfull ſouldiers: yet their towne was won, and all of them forſaking their armour and their weapons, fell upon their knees, and humbly craved mercy of the King. Which was not by and by granted unto them, becauſe they had obſtinately refuſed it before: yet ſome refreſhing words of comfort gladded their heavie hearts, ſo that they hoped the worſt was paſt.

Cane taken by aſſaults.

Then the King cauſed all the Townes-mens armour to bee heaped together in the market place, and to be defended by a ſtrong guard: which being done, with all the reſidue of his army he entred with great ſolemnity and reverence into the chiefeſt Church, and on their knees with true humility and devotion they yeelded their hearty thanks unto Almighty God for that victory.

Thanks given unto God.

This duty being thus performed, and ſtrong Watches being placed in every quarter of the City, the King upon the next morning aſſembled all the inhabitants at their Senate or Councell-houſe: where hee cenſured the principals of ſuch as obſtinately refuſed his favour when it was offered, to ſundry deaths; fined and ranſomed others, and divided the riches and the beſt things which were found there, among his ſouldiers, who in thoſe aſſaults had made ſufficient triall of their undaunted courage and bold valour.

Townesmen executed.

At this time the Earle of Arminacke High Conſtable of France, together with *Charles* the Dolphin (who was much grieved for his troubled countrey) propoſed to themſelves ſundry projects for the defeating of King *Henry*: and finding the want of money to be their chiefeſt impediment, the Dolphin (by the Conſtables advice) tooke from the Queene his mother a great maſſe of ſilver and of gold, which for many yeeres ſhe had ſcraped, ſcratched, and hoorded up together.

The Dolphin wanting money, taketh it from the Queen his mother.

This act ſo inwardly vexed and enraged the Queene, that in her heart ſhee vowed to be revenged upon them both: and knowing that *John* the Duke of Burgoine was their capitall and greateſt enemy, eſpecially to the Conſtable of France; and becauſe the King her husband by much ſickneſſe was weakened both in his body and in his underſtanding, ſhee procured him to bee made and to bee eſtabliſhed the Protector of the Kings perſon, and the Regent of his whole kingdome.

She procureth John Duke of Burgoin to be Regent and Protector.

Now when the ſaid Duke had obtained this authority and power, he forthwith reſolved to revenge his old diſpleaſures upon the ſaid Conſtable, and afterwards to bend his whole ſtrength againſt King *Henry*.

The Dolphin likewiſe and the Conſtable employed their chiefeſt care

care how they might enfeeble the new Regent and his adherents; and to oppoſe themſelves againſt the Engliſh forces it was their ſmalleſt thought. So blind is envie, and ſo revengefull is proud ambition, that the countries good is nothing at all reſpected, when men reſolve to purſue their private hatred and contention. And hereby all men might plainly ſee, that theſe diſſentions and theſe diſcords did more further the Engliſh army in their proceedings, than did their owne policie and their own ſtrength. For the Normans being utterly diſmaied, and hopeleſſe to bee aſſiſted, becauſe the malice which bare ſway among the French Nobility was too too great, fled as men amazed (and as not being the commanders of their owne wits) from place to place, from village to village, and from towne to towne: and in the mean time the Engliſh army commanded as it pleaſed.

King *Henry* beholding their feare, and ſeeking rather to win their caſtles, townes, and cities by policie, than by the ſword, proclaimed in all places, That ſuch of them as would yeeld, and ſweare to become his ſubjects, ſhould not onely enjoy freely all their lands, goods, liberties, and lives, but ſhould alſo be protected and defended by his ſtrength, and bee received into his Princely love.

The greateſt townes in Normandy are yeelded to K. Henry.

This practice quickly procured the ſurrendring into his hands without blowes, the ſtrong Townes of *Alanſon*, *Argenton*, *Boyeux*, *Camboy*, *Conde*, *Crewly*, *Eſſay*, *Falis*, *Thorygny*, and *Vernoyle*: and unto the Kings brother, the Duke of Clarence, were quietly yeelded the towns of *Avelhers*, *Barney*, *Bethelvyn*, *Chambroys*, *Cowrion*, *Crevener*, *Fangermon*, *Freſhney*, *Harcourt*, *Lyſoeux*, and *Ragles*. And into the hands of the Kings other brother, the Duke of Gloceſter, were given up and delivered theſe townes in the Countie of *Conſtantine*, that is to ſay, *Auranches*, *Briqueville*, *Cuventon*, *Chiergurge*, *Conſtance*, *Hambery*, *Hay du Pays*, *Pontorſon*, *Pont-done*, *S. Saviour*, *S. James*, *S. Clow*, *Vire*, and *Valoignes*: in all which the King and his brothers placed valiant Engliſh Captaines, and ſtrong garriſons to defend them, if the French ſhould attempt to regaine them to his owne power.

King Henry fortifieth all thoſe townes.

Cane is repaired and fortified.

The Citie of Cane alſo was newly repaired, fortified, and inhabited by Engliſh ſouldiers, and traders of all ſorts, Sir *Gilbert Umfreyle* being made Captaine of the caſtle, Sir *Gilbert Talbot* of the towne, and Sir *John Popham* was made Bailiffe there.

ANNO 6. 1417.

Roan is walled round.

Whileſt King *Henry* and his companies were thus buſied in *Normandy*, he was informed that the Citizens of *Roan* had compaſſed their City with a ſtrong wall, and had ſtrengthened it with extraordinary fortifications, towers, bulwarkes, and ditches, and that the whole wealth and treaſure of a great part of the countries round about it was brought thither. Whereupon he marched with his whole army towards that City, and in his paſſage, by ſtrong aſſaults he tooke *Pontl'arch*, *Louyers*, and *Eureux*, and came before the ſtrong Citie of Roan the laſt day of July, and compaſſed it round about upon the land parts with a ſtrong ſiege: and at *Pontl'arch* he placed over the river upon piles, a mighty chaine of iron, and a woodden bridge, which prohibited all ſuccours by water to come unto the City.

Roan is beſieged by land and water.

And the Earle of Warwicke having the command of an hundred gallant

Cawdebeck giveth paſſage to the Engliſh fleet.

lant ſhips, well manned, victualled, and provided for the warre, entred into the rivers mouth, and came before the towne of Cawdebecke, and ſo fiercely preſſed on it, that by way of compoſition they ſuffered him quietly to paſſe towards Roan; with faithfull promiſe to yeeld it into King *Henries* hands, if he fortuned to win Roan: but if he did not, then to give the ſaid Earle and his whole fleet a ſafe and a peaceable returne. And for the due performance thereof, they ſent him ſufficient hoſtages; whom he received lovingly, and carried them with him before Roan. Thus was this City girded round about on every part, ſo that no man could paſſe in or out.

1600. Iriſhmen repaire to the King.

At this ſiege there repaired voluntarily to the King, the Lord of Kylmay of Ireland, with ſixteene hundred tall, luſty, ſwift, and ſtrong men of that nation, they all being cloathed in coats of Maile, and armed with darts; whom the King entertained cheerfully, and was extraordinarily furthered by their helpe and aſſiſtance in thoſe his expeditions.

The towne aſſaulted and defended.

Daily the King gave terrible aſſaults unto the City, which with admirable reſolution and manlike valour, was bravely defended by the Normans. But when force and violence prevailed not, the King to ſpare his men, and becauſe he underſtood that there were above two hundred and ten thouſand men, women, and children within the towne, determined if he might to gaine it by famine, without blowes. For which purpoſe hee caſt a deepe ditch about the land parts of the City, and pitched it plentifully with ſharpe ſtakes, and guarded them with his Archers, ſo that the inhabitants could not iſſue out, either to offend him, or to relieve themſelves.

A great famine.

Thus this ſiege continued from Lammas, untill the whole Chriſtmas was ended: during wich time the famine ſo grievouſly encreaſed, that the Citizens dranke nothing but vinegar and water; and multitudes of them were enforced to prolong their lives, by eating of Rats, Mice, Cats, Dogges, Horſes, and ſuch like. Great numbers alſo of the poorer ſort uncharitably were thruſt out of the city, becauſe they ſpent their victuals, and could not fight: and becauſe they were not ſuffered to paſſe through the Engliſh army, they miſerably periſhed for want of food betwixt the gates and the trenches of their enemies. And upon new yeeres day, after the city had beene long viſited with this famine, there iſſued out at the bridge-gate certaine Commiſſioners, who craved conference with ſome man of authority in the Engliſh armie: unto whom the Earle of Huntingdon (who was quartered in that part of the city) ſent Sir *Gilbert Umfreville*. Their errand was, to procure ſpeedy acceſſe and free returne from King *Henry*.

Commiſſioners crave conference with the King.

The Commiſſioners repaire to the King.

The King was well pleaſed that twelve of them ſhould be kindly entreated, if they came. So the next morning, foure Knights, foure learned men, and foure of the choiceſt Burgeſſes of the towne, being all cloathed in blacke, repaired to the King; who beheld them with a countenance beautified with extraordinary Majeſtie and Grace: and unto him one of them boldly ſpake as followeth.

A proud

A proud Speech of a French-man to King HENRY.

RENowned and great Prince, the world is taught to know by good experience, that Kings and Noble Captaines doe win their chiefeſt reputation for their valour and for their fortitude, by maſtring and ſubduing of proud enemies and of valiant men, by martiall violence and with the ſword, and that it is, and ever hath been, a notorious badge of cowardly baſeneſſe in a Prince, to make them ſervile by Famine, and by the ſcarcity of food: in which kinde of cruelty there is neither found Manhood to praiſe him, nor Wit which may in any ſort commend him. To the end therefore that your Highneſſe may make your ſelfe equally famous with the greateſt Princes, for your generous diſpoſition, in taming us the Souldiery of this City by the ſword, ſuffer (I pray you) the multitude of our diſeaſed and ſicke folkes, and the weaker ſort of our men, women, and children, ſafely and charitably to paſſe through your Army: and then (if you dare) aſſault our fortreſſes, and our walls: and if by your valour you fortune to become our Lord, you may uſe us at your pleaſure, and make your ſelfe truly and heroically famous among great men, who doe ſcorne all baſe attempts, and can reliſh nothing but unſpotted honour.

When the King with a troubled mind had heard and conſidered of this bold bragge, he ſtoutly made this anſwer:

The KINGS diſcreet Anſwer.

FAntaſticall and fond Frenchmen, thinke you that I am ſo weak a Scholar in the Art of warre, that I have not yet learned the Principles in that Science. Are not the Sword, Fire, and Famine, the three Inſtruments with which worthy and renowned Kings, Princes, and the beſt Captaines ever have done, and doe ſtill endevour to ſubdue their enemies? Doe not all Hiſtories accord in one, That the greateſt Monarchs, and the Grand Commanders of the World, have ſtill atchieved their chiefeſt conqueſts by thoſe three? Is not either of them powerfull and able to torment and to affliſt the proudeſt foes? and are they not all three, being joyned together, of ſufficient force to overcome and to overthrow the greateſt nation in the world? It was my clemency and gentleneſſe to forbeare to aſſault your walls, becauſe I would not willingly haſten the death of any, except they would wilfully further their owne deſtruction. Neither doe I entend to conſume ſo faire a jewell as this City is in the fire, becauſe I deſire to preſerve it, the ſame being mine owne inheritance and my right. If then I uſe the mildeſt of theſe three, namely, Famine to correct you, and to frame and faſhion you to my will, then may you redeem your ſelves from her ſeverity, if you be ſo diſpoſed, by ſurrendring of this mine owne city into my hands. Which thing if obſtinately you refuſe to doe, then would I have you know, That Kings may not be

inſtructed

inſtructed in Martiall Policies by every bold companion, who dareth impudently to ſpeake: neither may they permit a bookiſh unexperienced ſouldier to read unto them a Lecture of warlike proceedings, eſpecially if he be their enemy, as you are mine. You deſire, nay, ſawcily you require, that with my leave and favour your ſicke and ſtarved people may paſſe into the countrey through mine army; and that then I ſhould (if I dared) by meane aſſaults attempt the winning of your towne. The world will wonder at your cruelty, who have barbarouſly and uncharitably thruſt out of your gates multitudes of harmeleſſe, poore, and diſtreſſed people, being of your own blood, kindred, and countrey, to the intent that I ſhould mercileſly ſlay and conſume them: yet ſuch hath beene my clemency and gentleneſſe towards them, that often times I have relieved them with mine owne ſtore. But becauſe I doe now find that your obſtinacy is not yet qualified and corrected, I will from henceforth abſtaine from giving unto them any further comfort: and if they periſh with extreme famine, as they needs muſt doe, their blood will be required by God at your hands, who doe moſt wickedly expoſe them to thoſe calamities; and not at mine, who would willingly preſerve them, if my favours in that behalf would not hinder me from the recovering of my right. Reſolve your ſelves therefore, that ſeeing you remaine ſtill froward, they ſhall not paſſe through mine armie, but dye at your Gates, except your hearts being mollified, you will relieve them, and ſuffer them to ſpend ſome part of your victuals: and when I ſhall ſee cauſe your towne ſhall bee aſſaulted, to your paine. But your advice and directions ſhall not appoint the time, for it ſhall bee and reſt wholly and onely at my pleaſure. And in the meane time I would have you know, that hee who dareth to enter into, and thus to paſſe through all your countries: hee who hath already taken, though not as large, yet as ſtrong townes as this; and hee who by the deſtruction of your Nobles, Captains, and braveſt men at armes, hath opened the way thus to beſiege your towne, dares alſo to aſſault it, and little doubts to winne it when he will.

Thus when the King had ſpoken, and ended his ſpeech, he commanded that thoſe French Commiſſioners ſhould dine among his great Officers of State: and with a frowning countenance he departed from them, and went into his chamber.

They deſire to ſpeak with the King againe.

When dinner was fully ended, upon a new conſultation had betwixt themſelves, the Frenchmen became humble Suitors to ſpeake once more with the King: who gently admitted them to his preſence. And then with much ſubmiſſion and humilitie they craved a ſtay from further violence, and a Truce for eight daies, that more deliberate advice might inſtruct them to reſolve what courſe was fitteſt for the towne to take; the King (who loathed all ſeverity, if mildneſſe might obtaine him victory) granted their requeſt: and then they departed (being thereby much comforted) into the city.

A truce granted for eight dayes.

Daily and hourely throughout thoſe eight daies the Frenchmen reſorted unto the Engliſh army, and oftentimes conſulted of thoſe affaires with the Earles of Warwicke and of Salisbury, and with other Commiſſioners appointed by the King. Much was demanded, nothing granted nor concluded; and yet thoſe eight daies were ſpent.

The eight daies are ſpent.

The townes-men againe earneſtly entreated, That the Truce might be

be prolonged one day more: which was frankly yeelded to them. The ſame day the multitude and the baſer ſort of the people within the Citie, being informed that nothing was agreed on, with hideous ſhouts, and fearefull cries and exclamations, accuſed their Magiſtrates, Captaines, and Commanders, and threatned to cut their throates, becauſe as murderers of their Countrimen and brethren they ſuffered them to ſtarve like dogges, thereby ſupporting the ſtoutneſſe of their owne ſtomacks, and their owne particular eſtates.

The Magiſtrates and the Captaines fearing the evill event of this unruly tumult, entreated all the Citizens to repaire unto the Market place. Which when they did, they then required of them what they would have: with one conſent and with one voice they cried out, That they were reſolved to ſave their owne lives, by yeelding of the City to King *Henrie*.

Upon this motion a new petition was ſent unto the King, craving the continuance of the Truce for foure dayes more; which requeſt was granted to them: And in the fourth day, being about the nineteenth day of Januarie, all matters were ſo throughly concluded and agreed on, that the ſtrong and faire Citie of Roan, the Inhabitants themſelves, and all their goods and riches, were yeelded to the Kings mercie.

Roan is yeelded to King Henries mercie.

The rendring of this Citie, and of all the aforeſaid Townes, and many more, did much perplex and coole the courage of the Normans: and the Duke of Burgoine, who (with the diſcontentment of the Nobilitie) ruled both the King and his Countries, feared much leſt theſe diſaſters would be laid unto his charge. Wherefore to prevent enſuing dangers, which as he ſuſpected did ſecretly threaten his Eſtate, hee reſolved by his beſt meanes and endevours, firſt to reconcile the two Kings if poſſibly he could, and then to avenge himſelfe upon the Dolphin, upon the Conſtable, and alſo upon all ſuch others, as he ſuppoſed were moſt likely to doe him the greateſt harme.

Upon the Dukes motion, King *Henrie* with his Nobles and greateſt Commanders, and one thouſand brave and gallant ſouldiers, and the French Queene (becauſe the King was weake and unable) the Lady *Katherine* his daughter, and the ſaid Duke, with ſome other Noblemen of France, accompanied with the like number, met oftentimes, and conſulted much. But whatſoever King *Henrie* did demand, all was denied, and all their travels ſorted to no end. Whereat King *Henrie* was much diſpleaſed, and taking leave, hee told the Duke, That he would have the Kings daughter, the Ladie *Katherine* for his wife, with all ſuch Seigniories, Provinces, and Countries as he required: or otherwiſe, hee would (ere long) drive both his Maſter and him alſo out of that Kingdome.

The Duke replyed, That thoſe words were ſpoken with great eaſe; but that he muſt take much labour and toyle to make them good.

The Dukes anſwer.

Now when this practice failed, the Duke upon faire tearmes reconciled himſelfe to the Dolphin. And this their new amitie and friendſhip was by publike Notaries reduced into a formall Inſtrument in writing, confirmed with both their Seales; and was proclaimed with great ſolemnitie in many Townes in France: yet was it fained and unfirme, as ſhortly after it appeared.

The Dolphin and the Regent outwardly reconciled.

But this outward reconciliation contented not King *Henrie*, becauſe

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